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THROUGH

TURKY into PERSIA, and the EAST-INDIES.

Giving an Account of the

Present State of those Countries.

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A Full RELATION of the Five Years WARS, between *Aureng-Zebe* and his Brothers in their Father's Life time, about the Succession. And a Voyage made by the Great Mogul (*Aureng-Zebe*) with his Army from *Dehli* to *Lahor*, from *Lahor* to *Bember*, and from thence to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, by the Mogols, call'd, *The Paradise of the Indies*.

TOGETHER

With a Relation of the Kingdom of JAPAN and TUNKIN, and of their particular Manners and Trade.

To which is added

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THE DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR.

Where he gives a brief Relation of his first Travels through the best parts of Europe *as far as* Constantinople.

IF the effect of Education may be liken'd to a second Birth, I may truly say, that I came into the World with a desire to travel. The daily discourses which several Learned men had with my Father upon Geographical subjects, which my Father had the reputation of understanding very well, and to which, though very young, I was with much delight attentive, inspir'd me betimes with a design to see some part of those Countries, which were represented to me in the Maps, from which I never could keep off my Eyes. By two and twenty years of Age, therefore I had seen the fairest Regions of *Europe*, *France*, *England*, the *Low Countries*, *Germany*, *Switze Land*, *Poland*, *Hungary* and *Italy*; and I speak indifferently well the Languages most necessary and most generally spoken.

My first sally was into *England*, where at that time Reigned King *James*; from thence I pass'd into *Flanders* to see *Antwerp*, my Father's Native Country, and so into the *Low Countries*, where my inclination to travel became the stronger, by reason of the great Concourse of Strangers which I met at *Amsterdam*, that crouded thither from all parts of the World.

Having seen what was most considerable in the united Provinces, I pass'd into *Germany*, and when I came to *Norimbergh*, by the way of *Frankfort* and *Auspurgh*, the noise of the Armies that were marching into *Bohemia* to retake *Prague*, instill'd into me a desire to go to the Wars, where I might learn something that might be useful to me in the series of my travels. I was not above a days journey from *Norimbergh*, when I met a Colonel of Horse, whose name was *Hans Brener*, the Son of *Philip Brener*, Governour of *Vienna*, who engag'd me to follow him into *Bohemia*. Sometime after I bore the same Colonel company to *Vienna*, who presented me to the Governour of *Raab*, his Uncle, then Viceroy of *Hungary* also; who receiv'd me into his Family as one of his Pages. For it is a usual thing in *Germany* for Gentlemen's Sons to serve in that quality 'till five and twenty years of age, and seldom to quit that service, till they have a Commission for a Cornet, or Ensign's place. Four years and a half I serv'd the Viceroy, when the Prince of *Mantua* came to *Vienna*, to engage the Emperour in certain

 designs

designs of his own without succeſs. At that time the Count of *Arc*, whoſe Siſter the Viceroy had Marry'd, was chief Miniſter to the Prince of *Mantua*; and coming to viſit the Viceroy at *Javarin*, I was appointed to attend him during his ſtay there. Upon his departure, he told the Viceroy, that the Prince of *Mantua* had no perſon about him that underſtood the Language, and that therefore he might be ſure that the Prince would take it for a great kindneſs, to permit me to attend his perſon during his ſtay at the Emperours Court. This was a thing eaſily granted to the Count of *Arc*; who thereupon carri'd one along with him to *Vienna*, where having had the good fortune not to diſpleaſe the Prince, he teſtify'd to me at his departure, that he ſhould be glad to ſee me at *Mantua*, where he would not forget the ſervices I had done him. This preſently infus'd into me a deſire of ſeeing *Italy*, eſpecially upon the opportunity that offer'd it ſelf not long after.

For Monſieur *de Sabran*, the King of *France*'s Envoy to his Imperial Majeſty, being to go for *Venice*, and deſirous of one that underſtood the *German* Language to bear him company, I laid hold of the occaſion; ſo that in eight days we got to *Venice*. While we ſtay'd at *Venice*, I took a view to my great ſatisfaction, of that moſt Celebrated City, and in regard it is in many things like to *Amſterdam*, as in Situation, Greatneſs, Magnificence, Commerce, and Concourſe of Strangers, my being there did but ſtill reinforce my inclination to Travel.

From *Venice* I went to *Mantua* with Monſieur *de Sabran*, where the Prince being glad to ſee me again, gave me my choice of an Enſign, or of a place in the Company of the Ordonnance of the Duke his Father. I accepted the latter as being glad to be under the Command of the *Conde de Guiche*, who was then Captain. At the Siege of *Mantua* I had like to have been ſlain, but for the goodneſs of a Cuiraſs which I had choſen out of the Princes Magazin, being hit with two Bullets above and upon the left pap, which had enter'd, had not my Arms been excellent proof: So that after I was recover'd of my Bruiſes, a longer ſtay at *Mantua* did not agree with my deſire to travel.

Therefore ſome time after the Siege was rais'd, I took leave of the Prince, who gave me an honourable Paſs, by vertue whereof five or ſix Horſe-men bore me company back to *Venice*. From *Venice* I went to *Lauretta*, from *Lauretta* to *Rome*, from *Rome* to *Naples*, from whence returning to *Rome* again, I ſtaid there ten or twelve dayes. After that I went to ſee *Florence*, *Piſa*, *Ligorn*, and *Genoa*, from whence I Embark'd for *Marſeilles*.

From *Marſeilles* I haſted to *Paris*, where I could not ſtay long; for being deſirous to ſee *Poland*, I paſs'd once more into *Germany* through *Switzerland*, after I had tak'n a ſurvey of the principal Towns of the *Cantons*. I went by the *Rhine* by Water, to viſit *Strasburgh* and *Briſack*; thence by Land croſſing *Suabia*, I paſs'd through *Ulme* and *Auſpurgh* to go to *Munich*. There I ſaw the Magnificent Palace of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, which *William* the fifth began, and which *Maximilian* his Son finiſh'd, in the heat of the Wars that troubl'd the Empire. From thence I went the ſecond time to *Norimbergh*, and *Prague*, and leaving *Bohemia* I enter'd into *Sileſia*, and paſs'd the *Oder* at *Breſlaw*. From *Breſlaw* I went to *Cracovia*, one of the greateſt Cities of *Europe*, or rather a Town compos'd of three Cities, the ancient Seat of the King

of

of *Poland*. From thence, keeping the *Viſtula* upon the left hand, I went to *Warſaw* and ſaw there the Court of King *Sigiſmund*, which is a noble and ſplendid Habitation.

From *Warſaw* I return'd to *Breſlaw*, taking the Road toward the Lower *Sileſia*, deſigning to viſit one of the principal Officers of the Emperours Houſhold, who was my particular acquaintance. But about two Leagues from *Glogaw*, meeting with Colonel *Butler*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, Colonel of one of the Emperours Regiment of Horſe, who afterwards kill'd *Walesteyne* in purſuance of the Orders he receiv'd, I gave over my firſt intended journey. His Wife was a great lover of the *French*, ſo that benig earneſtly oblig'd by both together, I could not withſtand the teſtimonies of their kindneſs. There I underſtood that the Emperour was going to *Ratisbone* with his Son *Ferdinand* the Third, to Crown him King of the *Romans*; ſo that I, who had ſeen the Coronations of the Kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, being ſo deſirous to ſee the third Solemnity alſo, took leave of my Colonel, and haſted to *Ratisbone*.

At that time arriv'd to *Ratisbone* ſeveral Jewellers, one of which came to his end by an accident ſo tragical, that all the whole Court pity'd his untimely fate. He was the only Son of one of the richeſt Merchants of *Europe*, that liv'd in *Frankfort*, whoſe Father had ſent him with Jewels to ſell at the Coronation. For fear of being Robb'd he had convey'd them before into the hands of a *Jew*, in *Ratisbone*, his Correſpondent, to be deliver'd to his Son at his coming. This young man arriving at *Ratisbone*, went to the *Jew*, who told him that he had receiv'd a ſmall Casket of Jewels from his Father, which he might take away, when he pleas'd. At the ſame time the *Jew* invited the young man to drink, and carry'd him to a publick Houſe upon the Key of the City, where they continu'd 'till about an hour after day was ſhut in. At this time, both going out together, the *Jew* led the young man through a private Street where poor people paſs'd by, and there having ſtab'd him five or ſix times in the Belly with a Dagger, left him wallowing in his Blood. A while after, one of the Emperour's Trumpets going that way in the dark, ſtumbl'd at the Legs of the unfortunate youth, who ſtill breath'd, and fell upon his Body. At firſt feeling his hands wet: he thought it had been ſome drunken fellow that had eas'd his ſtomach; but upon ſecond thoughts imagining it might be ſome wounded perſon, he ran and call'd the Officers, who coming with Lanthorns, beheld the tragick ſpectacle of a youngm man weltring in his own gore. Thereupon the Officers carrying the Body to the ſame publick-houſe, as being next at hand, his face was no ſooner waſh'd, but the Woman and Maid of the Houſe knew him to be the ſame young man that had been there drinking with the *Jew* not long before. But as for the young man he preſently expir'd, without being able to make the leaſt diſcovery. However the *Jew* was ſeized that evening, and being ſeiz'd, confeſs'd the Crime. The Imperial Laws ordain, that a *Jew* for killing a *Chriſtian* ſhould be hung upon a Gibbet by the Heels, and that two fierce Dogs ſhould be hung by him in the ſame manner to the end, that the Dogs in their madneſs ſhould tear out his Bowels. But the *Jew* made ſuch preſents to the Empreſs that the Sentence was chang'd, though the puniſhment was not much leſs rigorous. For his fleſh was torn with red hot Pincers from ſeveral

parts of his body, in ſeveral Streets of the City, and boyling Lead pour'd into the raw wounds; after which he was broken alive upon the wheel, at the publick place of Execution.

Being upon my departure from *Ratisbone*, I met with Father *Joſeph*, Reſident there for the King of *France*, who knowing me in *Paris*, propos'd to me to go along with the Monſieur, the Abbot of *Chapes*, Brother of the Marſhal *de Aumont*, and Monſieur St. *Liebau*, who were then intending for *Conſtantinople*, and ſo for *Paleſtine*. I lik'd the propoſition well, and immediately put my ſelf into the Society of thoſe two Gentlemen, from whom I never ſeparated 'till they departed for *Syria* from *Conſtantinople*.

But before we left *Germany*, we reſolv'd to ſee the Court of *Saxony*, whither we got in a few days. By the way we paſs'd through *Freyberg*, a ſmall City, but well worth ſeeing, for the beauty of the Electors Tombs, and moſt ſplendid and magnificent both for Materials and Workmanſhip in all *Europe*. From thence we went and view'd the ſtately Caſtle of *Auguſtburgh*, ſeated upon a high Mountain, wherein among other things there is a great Hall, adorn'd from top to bottom with nothing but Horns faſten'd to the Wall; among the reſt is the Head of a Hare with two Horns, ſent the Elector by the King of *Denmark* for a great Rarity. In one of the Courts of the Palace ſtands a Tree ſo large in Body, and ſpreading out the Branches at ſo wide a diſtance, that they will cover three hundred ſixty five Tables with their ſhade. And that which makes this Tree more wonderfull is, that it is only Birch, that rarely grows to that Immenſity.

Dreſde is the Reſidence of the Elector, a little City, but a very neat one, and well fortify'd; with a Stone a Bridge over the *Elbe*, that parts the Old and New Town. The Palace is one of the largeſt and faireſt in *Germany*. But it wants a *Piazza* before it, the Principal Gate ſtanding juſt at the bottom of a narrow Lane.

From *Dreſde* we went to *Prague*, which was a third time that I ſaw that great and fair City, or rather three Cities together, only ſeparated by the *Molda*, that throws it ſelf into the *Elbe*, ſome five or ſix Leagues below.

Having travers'd *Bohemia*, and touch'd upon the corner of *Moravia*, we enter'd *Auſtria*, and came to *Vienna*, reſolving there to Embark with all ſpeed, becauſe the Winter came on.

We ſtay'd one day at *Presburgh* to ſee the great Church, and ſome Relicks which they ſhew'd us, and from thence ſell down to *Altenburgh*.

Altenburgh is a City and Province belonging to the Count of *Arach*. It was the Childs part of one of the Queens of *Hungary*, who upon her death-bed bequeathed it to one of the Lords of her Court, upon condition that he and his Succeſſors ſhould always keep ſuch a number of Peacocks; for defect whereof, the Territory ſhould revert to the Crown.

Thence we came to *Signet*, from whence I took a little Boat and haſted to *Raab*, where I did my Devoirs to the Viceroy, who was glad to ſee me, and gave noble entertainment to the *Meſſieurs de Chapes*, and *de St. Liebau*. Here we ſtaid eight or ten days for the *Baſha* of *Buda*'s Anſwer, whether he would give liberty to two *French* Gentlemen, to paſs with their Train through his Garriſon or no; which being return'd

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ſuch as we could deſire, we Embark'd at *Comorra* in a ſort of Bigrantines well fitted for defence and convenience.

From *Vienna* to *Javarin* we lay three dayes upon the water, by reaſon of the great turnings and winding of the *Danaw*. Leaving *Javarin* we lay at *Comorra*; and from *Commorra* we row'd to *Buda* in two days. For the Road by Land is ſeldom travell'd in regard that the Frontiers of both Empires are full of Thieves and Boothaylers. In fair weather you may go from *Buda* to *Belgrade* in leſs than eight dayes, but we were forc'd to ſtay longer upon the Water, in regard of the Cold weather.

It is the cuſtom in *Hungary*, that in all Roads little frequented by Strangers, not to take any Money of the Travellers; For the Burghers lodge and entertain them civilly, for which the Burgo Maſter at the years end repays them out of the publick ſtock. But beſides, that they are not troubl'd with many Paſſengers; *Hungary*, which is one of the beſt Countries in *Europe*, affords proviſion at ſo cheap a rate, that to *Belgrade* it coſts us not above two Crowns a day for fourteen people.

Buda ſtands upon the right hand of the *Danaw*, about half an hours travelling from the River. The *Baſha* being advis'd of our arrival, ſent his Squire with led Horſes, and ſeveral ſlaves in very good Liveries to conduct us to the Town. And though we ſtay'd twelve days before we could ſpeak with him, by reaſon of his being ſick at that time, yet he allow'd us a fair proviſion of Mutton, Pullets, Rice, Butter, and Bread, and two *Sequins* a day for ſmall expences. He was a comly perſon, and of a handſom carriage and at our departure, he ſent ſix *Caleſhes* with two *Spahi's* to conduct us to *Balgrade*, with order to defray our expences, which would by no means be accepted.

Coming to *Belgrade* we found the *Sangiai* as rude, as we had found the *Baſha* civil before. For he made a ridiculous demand of two hundred Ducats a Head, and for fifteen days prolong'd the conteſt. But at length I ſo terrify'd him, by threatning to ſend our Complaints to the *Ottaman* Port, of his ill uſage of two Gentlemen, Kinſmen to the Ambaſſador of *France*, that he was contented with fifty Ducats for all. *Belgrade* is ſituated upon a point of Land, where two great Rivers, the *Danaw* and the *Sava* meet; and is furniſhed with Wine, Bread, and all ſorts of Proviſions at a cheap rate.

From *Belgrade* we took ſome ſaddle Horſes, ſome Coaches for *Adrianople*, as every one lik'd beſt. We paſs'd through *Sophia*, a large and well peopl'd City, the *Metropolis* of the Ancient *Bulgarians*, and the reſidence of the *Baſha* of *Romeli*. In it ſtands a fair *Moſquee*, which hath been a Chriſtian Church, built with ſo much Art, that three men may go up to the top of the Steeple, and not ſee one another.

From *Sophia* we came to *Philippoli*, between which Town and *Adrianople* we met with two Troops of *Tartars* well mounted. When they ſaw us, they made a Lane for us to paſs through them, with a deſign moſt certainly to have fall'n upon us; ſince they could not hope to do any good upon us, but by ſurprize and number; for they were ill provided of Weapons, and we rarely well well Arm'd. Thereupon we alighted and Barricado'd up our ſelves with our Chariots.

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In the mean time we sent our *Saphi's* to the Commander of those *Tartars*, to tell them, we would not stir 'till they were gone, and that being Souldiers as they were, they could not hope for any booty from us. The Commander answer'd, that he had divided his men in that manner only to do us Honour; but since we desir'd they should be gone, they requested us but to send them a little Tobacco. A boon which we readily granted them, and so we pass'd on.

We came to *Adrianople* the three and twentieth day after we parted from *Belgrade*. *Adrianople* takes its name from the Emperour *Adrian*, being formerly call'd *Orestes*. It is pleasantly situated at the mouth of three Rivers that throw themselves into the *Archipelago*. The old Town is not very big, but the *Turks* dayly enlarge the Suburbs, being a place which the Grand *Signors* very much delight in for the pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, especially, at the wild Duck and Heron.

The fifth day after we departed from *Adrianople*, and the forty second after we departed from *Vienna*, we happily arriv'd at *Constantinople*, and crossing through the City over to *Galata*, went to the Ambassador's House. While we stay'd there to winter, he made a small Voyage to the *Dardanells*, to the Ruins of *Troy*, where we beheld nothing but Stones, not worth the while of going so far to see. Another day we took three Barks and Sail'd to *Calcedon*, that lies upon the Sea. There is in it a very ancient Church; and they shew'd us the Room where the Council was held, with the same Chairs which were then made use of. Now it is only a Monestary, where two Bishops after they had shew'd us what they could, handsomly entertain'd us.

Then we went to view *Pompey's* Pillar at the mouth of the *Black* Sea. Concerning the Channel of which Sea, I must make one Observation; that though there be no part of the Sea but has one Current, yet this has two quite contrary one to another. That part next to *Europe* carries the Vessel to the *Black* Sea; and that next *Asia* brings it back again to the *Mediterranean*. So that you have no more to do but to cross over from one Shore to the other.

The Winter being over, the two *French* Gentlemen pursu'd their Voyage for *Alexandretta*. But for my part, I having another design in my head, stay'd at *Constantinople*, in expectation of of a *Caravan*, which the people told me from Month to Month was coming I was then ignorant, and did not understand that every year there were five or six *Caravans* that went from *Bursa*. Besides, that sometime eight or ten Merchants travelling together, might go safe to *Ispahan*. Which ignorence of mine made me stay longer than I intended. At length, after I had continu'd eleven Months in *Constantinople*, I departed with a fair and numerous *Caravan* for *Ispahan*, which was the first time I travell'd into *Asia*. After that I made five others, wherein, I had time better to understand the Qualities of the Countries, and the Genius of the People. The three last times I went beyond *Ganges*, to the Island of *Java*; so that for the space of forty years, I have travell'd above sixty thousand Leagues by Land; never returning but once into *Europe* by Sea. And thus in my six Voyages, and by travelling different Roads, I had the leisure and opportunity

to

to see all *Turky*, all *Persia*, and all *India*, particularly the famous Diamond Mines, where no *European* had been before me. Of these three great Empires therefore have I resolv'd to make an ample and exact Description: and I will begin with the several Roads which may be taken from *Paris* into *Persia*.

These

Place the Cuts as they are Paged:

PERSIAN Travels.

The Spear, *Pag.* 13. Erivan, *p.* 15: *Money of* Persia, *p.* 51. Bagdat, *p* 87. Comouchs, *p.* 129. Persian *Seals*, *p.* 178, 179. Gomrom, *p.* 257. Candahar, *p.* 258. [9 *Cuts.*]

INDIAN Travels.

LArins, *Money of the* Great Mogul, *of a* King, *and two* Raja's *Pag.* 2, *Pieces of Gold call'd* Pagods, *p.* 5. *Money of* Beda, Pera, Achen. Siam, *p.* 7. China *Money*, *p.* 8. Japon *Money*, *p.* 9. *Silver* Ingots of *Japon, and representing the* 12 Signs, *p.* 10. Portugals Muscovy, *p.* 13. Stones, Diamonds, *p.* 148. 2 Cuts more, *p.* 149. Balais Rubies, *p.* 150. Pearls, *p.* 150. Musk Cat, *p.* 153. Faquirs Tree, *p.* 166. Faquir, *p.* 167.

[14 *Cuts.*]

These Computations are made, supposing a *French* Crown to be in value Sterling 54 pence, or 4 *s.* 6 *d.* the reputed *Par*, and that 12 *Deniers* make a *Sous*, 20 *Sous* a *Liver*; whereof 3 make an *Escu*. By which Computation 10 *Sous* is in value 9 *d.* and 10 *Deniers* 3 *q.*

Persian Money.	*French.*	*English.* l.	s.	d.	q.
A Bassi	18 Sous, 6 Deniers	0	01	04	2 $\frac{3}{5}$
3 Abassi's *and* 1 Chayet	1 Ecu	0	04	06	
2 Mamoudi's	1 Abassi	0	01	04	0 $\frac{4}{5}$
2 Chayets	1 Mamoudi	0	00	08	0 $\frac{1}{5}$
Casbeké *Simple*	5 Deniers, 1 Half-peny	0	00	01	2 $\frac{41}{100}$
Double Casbeké	11 Deniers	0	00	03	0 $\frac{82}{100}$
Basti 1	2 *Double* Casbekés	0	00	06	1 $\frac{74}{100}$
Chayets 1	5 *Double* Casbekés	0	00	04	0 $\frac{1}{5}$
1 Or	5 Abassi's	0	06	11	1
1 Toman	46 Livers, 1 Denier, $\frac{1}{15}$ Piaster	3	09	00	0 $\frac{9}{15}$

Indian Money.	*French.*	*English.* l.	s.	d.	q.
Larins 5	1 Ecu French, *within* 8 Sous	0	03	10	3 $\frac{2}{5}$
Demi-Larins 10	*Half as much*	0	01	11	1 $\frac{3}{5}$
Roupy *of Gold*	21 Livers	1	11	06	
Roupy *of Gold*	30 Sous	0	02	03	
Pecha	6 Deniers	0	00	00	1 $\frac{4}{5}$
Half Roupy	16 Sous	0	01	02	1 $\frac{3}{5}$
Quarter of a Roupy	7 Sous, 6 Deniers	0	00	06	3
Pagods	Demi-Pistol (*in Gold a* Pistol *is* 11 Livers)	0	08	03	
Fano's 6	1 Ecu	0	04	06	
Cheda *Money* 1. 2.	2 Sous	0	00	01	3 $\frac{2}{5}$
Cheda 3. 4.	4 Deniers	0	00	00	1 $\frac{1}{5}$
Achen *Gold*	16 Sous, 8 Deniers	0	01	03	
Macassar *Gold*	23 Sous, 8 Deniers	0	01	09	1 $\frac{1}{5}$
Camboya *Silver*	4 Sous	0	00	03	2 $\frac{2}{5}$
Siam *Gold*	7 Livers, 1 Sous	0	10	06	3 $\frac{3}{5}$
Siam *Silver*	32 Sous, 4 Deniers	0	02	05	0 $\frac{4}{5}$
Asem *Silver*	23 Sous	0	01	08	2 $\frac{4}{5}$
Tipoura *Silver*	22 Sous	0	01	07	3 $\frac{1}{5}$
Arakan *Money*	21 Sous	0	01	06	3 $\frac{1}{5}$
Pegu *Silver*	20 Sous, 6 Deniers	0	01	06	1 $\frac{4}{5}$
Gold Fanos 15.	1 Real	0	04	04	
Asem Fanos 22.	1 Ecu	0	04	06	
China Goltschut	1350 Livers	101	05	00	
China *Silver pieces*	59 Sous, 8 Deniers	0	04	05	2 $\frac{4}{5}$
Japon *Gold* No 1.	87 Livers, 10 Sous	6	11	03	
No 2. 3.	29 Livers, 31 Sous, 4 Deniers	2	05	10	1
Japon *Silver pieces*	30 Sous	0	02	03	
Silver Ingots, No 1.	24 Livers, 10 Sous	1	16	09	
2.	8 Livers, 10 Sous, 7 Deniers	0	12	09	2 $\frac{1}{10}$
3.	4 Livers, 5 Sous, 5 Deniers	0	06	04	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
4.	3 Livers, 10 Sous, 11 Deniers	0	05	03	3 $\frac{1}{10}$
5.	3 Livers, 8 Sous, 8 Deniers	0	05	01	3 $\frac{4}{5}$
6.	1 Liver, 5 Sous, 1 Denier	0	01	10	2 $\frac{1}{10}$
7.	1 Liver, 9 Deniers	0	01	06	2 $\frac{7}{10}$
8.	16 Sous, 4 Deniers	0	01	02	2 $\frac{4}{5}$
A Tesle	4 Livers, 5 Sous	0	06	04	2
Moscovy *Gold*	20 Sous, 1 Denier, 1 Half-peny	0	01	05	0 $\frac{1}{10}$
Moscovy *Silver*	1 Sous	0	00	00	3 $\frac{1}{5}$

THE

THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

MONSIEUR TAVERNIER's

Persian Travels,

Containing the several

ROADS

From *PARIS* to *ISPAHAN* the Chief City of *PERSIA*.

Through the *Northern* Provinces of *TURKY*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Roads from France *to the hither parts of* Asia, *and the Places from whence they usually set out for* Ispahan.

A Man cannot travel in *Asia*, as they do in *Europe*; nor at the same Hours, nor with the same ease. There are no weekly Coaches or Wagons from Town to Town; besides, that the Soil of the Countries is of several natures. In *Asia* you shall meet with several Regions untill'd and unpeopl'd, either through the badness of the Climate and Soil, or the sloth of the Inhabitants, who rather choose to live miserably, than to work. There are vast Deserts to cross, and very dangerous, both for want of Water, and the Robberies that the *Arabs* daily commit therein. There are no certain Stages, or Inns to entertain Travellers. The best Inns, especially in *Turkie*, are the Tents which you carry along with you, and your Hosts are your Servants, that get ready those Victuals which you have bought in good Towns. You set up your Tent in the open Field, or in any Town where there is no Inn: and a good shift too in temperate weather, when the Sun is not too hot, or that it does not rain. In the *Carvansera's* or Inns which are more frequent in *Persia* than in *Turkie*, there are persons that furnish you with Provisions, and the first come are best served. As for *Turkie* it is full of Thieves, that keep in Troops together, and way-lay the Merchants upon the Roads, and if they be not very well guarded will certainly rob them: nay many times murder them. A mischief prevented in *Persia* by the well order'd convenience which is provided for Travellers. To avoid these dangers and inconveniences, you are oblig'd to stay

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Fish with the long Nose: It is speckl'd like a Trout; but of a better taſt, and more eſteem'd. *Polia* or *Polis*, is a City ſeated at the foot of ſeveral Mountains, the Inhabitants whereof are for the moſt part *Greeks*. Theſe Mountains are very high, and extend themſelves along the Road for Two days journey. They are full of ſeveral ſorts of Trees, which are ſtreight and tall like Firr-Trees: and divided by ſo many Torrents, which it would be hard to paſs over, where it not for the Bridges that the Grand Viſier *Kuprigli* caus'd to be built. In regard the ſoil of theſe Mountains is very fat, there would be no drawing for the Horſes after great Rains or the melting of the Snow, had not the ſame Viſier caus'd all the Ways to be Pav'd and Pitch'd, even as far as *Conſtantinople*. A Work of great charge, in regard there is not a Flint in any part of the Mountain, and for that the Stone is to fetch'd a great way off. There are abundance of Pigeons as big as Hens, and of an excellent taſt, which not only pleas'd our Appetites, but afforded us very good Paſtime to ſhoot them. Between the City and the Mountain, there is a Plain about two Leagues in length; near to which, there glides a River that waters it, and very much contributes to its fertility. It is an excellent Soil, and produces all things neceſſary for humane Life. Upon each ſide of the way I counded above Twenty Churchyards. For it is the cuſtom of the *Turks* to bury near the Highway, believing that the Travellers pray for the Souls of the deceas'd. Upon every Tomb, there is to be ſeen a Marble Pillar, half fix'd in the Earth: of which Pillars there are ſo great a number, of various Colours, that it is from thence conjectur'd, that there were a very great number of Chriſtian Churches in *Polia*, and the parts thereabouts. They aſſur'd me likewiſe, that there was a vaſt quantity of theſe Pillars in the Villages up and down in the Mountains which the *Turks* every day pull down and ſet up their Tombs.

Bendourlour is a Village in the Mountains where there is one Inn.

Gerradar is beyond the Mountains, where there are two Inns.

Cargeſtar has two Inns, and lyes in a good Country.

Caragaler is a Town where there are two Inns.

Coſizar is a Village with one Inn.

Tocia is a great City ſituated upon riſing Hills, that joyn to very high Mountains. Upon the Winter Weſt, there appears a fair Champain Country, water'd by a Stream that falls into a River of a greater bigneſs, call'd *Guſelarmac*. Upon the higheſt of the ſmaller Hills toward the Eaſt, there is a Forteſs, where a *Baſha* reſides; and in the Town is one of the faireſt Inns upon the Road. The greateſt part of the Inhabitants are Chriſtian *Greeks*, who have the advantage to drink excellent Wine, with which the Country furniſhes them in abundance.

Agiſenſalou ſtands upon a River, and there is an Inn and a fair Moſquee in it.

Ozeman is a little City ſeated at the foot of a Hill, upon which there ſtands a ſtrong Caſtle, and below two very commodious Inns. The River *Guſelarmac*, broad and deep, waſhes the South-ſide of the City, which you croſs over one of the faireſt Bridges that ever was ſeen. It conſiſts of Fifteen Arches, all of Free-ſtone, and is a work that ſhews the Grandeur of the Undertaker. Somewhat at a diſtance from the Bridge ſtands Six Corn-Mills all together, with little wooden Bridges to go from one to another. This River falls into the *Euxin* Sea, about eight days journey from *Ozeman*.

Azilar is a great Town where there are two Inns.

Delekiras is a great Village, with one Inn.

Theſe Four days Journeys are very dangerous, by reaſon that the Ways are narrow, and commodious for Robbers. They are very numerous in this Country; and therefore underſtanding that we were way-laid, we ſent and deſir'd a Convoy of the *Baſha*, who lent us fifty Horſemen.

Amaſia is a great City, built upon an aſcent in the hollow of a Mountain. It has no proſpect, but only from the South over a fair Plain. The River that runs by it comes from *Tocat*, and throws it ſelf into the *Black Sea*, four days journey from *Amaſia*. You croſs it over a wooden Bridge, ſo narrow that not above three perſons can go a-breſt. To bring freſh Water to the City, they have cut a League into Rocks as hard as Marble, which was a prodigious Labour. On the Weſt-ſide, upon a high Mountain, ſtands a Fortreſs, where they can come by no other Water than

what

what they preſerve in Ciſterns when it rains. In the middle of the Mountain is a fair Spring, and round about it are ſeveral Chambers cut out of the Rock, where the *Dervichs* made their abode. There are but two Inns, and thoſe very bad ones, in *Amaſia*. But the ſoil is good, and bears the beſt Wine and Fruits in all *Natolia*.

Ainabachar, is the name of an Inn, diſtant a quarter of a League from a great Town where they fetch their Proviſions.

Turcall is a great Town near to a Mountain, upon which there ſtands a Caſtle. The River that comes from *Tocat* waſhes the Houſes, and we caught excellent Fiſh in it. In that place is another of the faireſt Inns upon the Road.

From *Turcall* you may travel in one day to *Tocat*, where the Road from *Smyrna* to *Iſpahan* meets.

Tocat is a good fair City built at the foot of a very high Mountain, ſpreading it ſelf round about a great Rock that ſtands almoſt in the midſt of the Town, upon the top whereof a high Caſtle commands the neighbouring parts, with a good Garriſon in it. It is very ancient, and the remainder of three others that ſtood there in former times. The City is very well inhabited with *Turks*, who are the Lord Controllers, *Armenians*, *Greeks*, and *Jews*. The Streets are very narrow, but the Houſes are indifferent well built; and and among ſeveral Moſquees, there is one very magnificent, which ſeems to be newly rear'd. There was alſo a very fair Inn going up, which when I laſt travell'd that way, was not quite finiſh'd. There is one thing more particular and more commodious at *Tocat*, which is not to be found in any Inns upon the Road, That round about all the *Caravanſera's* in the Town, there are Lodgings which they let out to Merchants, that deſire to be by themſelves out of the noiſe and hurry of the *Caravans*, whiles they ſtay at *Tocat*. Beſides that, in thoſe private Lodgings you have your liberty to drink Wine, and provide for the reſt of your Journey; which is not ſo eaſily done in the publick Inns, where the *Turks* will have an eye upon the Merchants, to draw Money out of their pockets. The Chriſtians have twelve Churches at *Tocat*, and there reſides an Archbiſhop, that has under him ſeven Suffragans. There are alſo two Monaſteries for Men, and two for Women; and for fourteen or fifteen Leagues round *Tocat*, the Country is all inhabited by *Armenian* Chriſtians, but very few *Greeks* being intermix'd among them. The greateſt part of theſe Chriſtians are Tradeſmen, and for the moſt part Smiths. A fair River runs about half a quarter of a League from the City, which riſes near to *Erzerom*, and is croſs'd at *Tocat* over a very beautiful ſtone Bridge. Upon the North ſide of the City, it waters a Plain three or four days Journey in extent, and two or three Leagues broad. It is very fertil, and repleniſh'd with fair Villages very well peopl'd. A man may live very cheap at *Tocat*: the Wine is moſt excellent, and all ſort of rare Fruit very plentiful. It is the only place in all *Aſia* where plenty of Saffron grows, which is the beſt Commodity you can carry to the *Indies*, where a Pound, as the Years fall out, is worth thirteen or fourteen * Franks, though the Wax that preſerves it, be as much in weight as the Saffron. This City, with the Lands belonging to it, uſually is the Dowager *Sultaneſſes* Joynture. There is only an *Aga* and a *Cady*, that command there in the behalf of the Grand *Signor*: for the *Baſha*, from whom they receive their Orders, lives at *Sivas*, which is the ancient *Sebaſtia*, and a very great City, ſome three days journey from *Tocat*. In ſhort, *Tocat* is one of the moſt remarkable Thoroughfares in the Eaſt, where are continually lodg'd the *Caravans* from *Perſia*, *Diarbequer*, *Bagdat*, *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Synopus*, and other places; and here the *Caravans* turn off, as they are variouſly bound. They that are for *Conſtantinople*, take to the Winter Weſt upon the right hand; they that are for *Smyrna*, incline to the Summer Weſt, upon the left hand. When you ſet out either way out of *Tocat*, there is a Toll-gatherer that counts all the Camels and Horſes that paſs by, and exacts for every Camel a quarter of a Rixdollar, and for every Horſe half as much. As for the Horſes or Camels that carry the Paſſengers or their Proviſions, they pay nothing. This continual concourſe of the *Caravans* trolls the Money about at *Tocat*, and makes it one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of *Turkie*.

* Every Frank being 2 s. ſterling.

Setting out of *Tocat* to go to *Erzerom*, you diſcover a little Village ſo ſituated under a Hill, as if the Mountain lay atop of it; and between that Mountain and the River, the Road is very narrow where the *Caravan* is to paſs. In this Road it was, that we met the Grand *Viſier* returning from Hunting, with a Train of four

hundred

hundred men: ſo ſoon as he perceiv'd us, he fil'd off all his men to give us liberty to paſs by. But among all the Company, there was not above four *Franks* upon which he particularly caſt his Eye; which made him ſend for the *Caravan Bacchi* to know who we were. The *Caravan Bacchi*, to avoid the ill Conſequences of jealouſie which the *Viſier* might have of the *Franks*, at a time when the Grand *Viſier* made War in *Perſia*, told him we were *Jews*; at which the *Viſier*, ſhaking his Head, reply'd only that we did not look like ſuch, and happy it was for us that he took reply'd only that we did not look like ſuch, and happy it was for us that he took no farther notice. For it was twenty to one, but that upon better conſideration he might have ſent after us to have ſtopt us. But when he came home to his Lodging he found a *Capigi* ſtaying for him, with Orders from the Grand *Signor* to take off his Head, which were preſently executed. For *Amurath* being troubl'd for the loſs of his Army, had no way but to revenge himſelf upon the perſon that had the command of it.

Notwithſtanding that the *Caravans* reſt at *Tocat*, yet they ſtay likewiſe two or three days at *Charkliqueu*, which is not above two Leagues diſtant from it; for *Charkliqueu* is a great Town in a lovely Country, between two fertil Hills, where there grows excellent Wine. It is for the moſt part inhabited by Chriſtians, who are generally Tanners. The fine blew Goat leather Skins being dreſt in *Tocat*, and the Parts thereabout. It is thought the Water contributes very much to their Art. For *Tocat* is as famous for the blew Goats-leather Skins, as *Diarbequir* and *Bagdat* are for the red, *Mouſſul* or the ancient *Niniveh* for the yellow, and *Ourfa* for the black. About two thouſand Paces from this Town, in the midſt of a Plain riſes a vaſt Rock, upon the North-ſide whereof you aſcend about nine or ten ſteps into a Chamber with a Bed, a Table, and a Cupboard in it, all hewn out of the Rock. Upon the Weſt ſide you aſcend other five or ſix ſteps that lead to a little Gallery, about five or ſix Foot long, and three broad, all hewn out of the Rock, though it be of an extraordinary hardneſs. The Chriſtians affirm that St. *Chryſoſtom* made this Rock his retiring-place during his Exilement, and that he had no other Bed or Bolſter than the Rock it ſelf, in a place where they ſhew you the print of a Man's Body. Hence it is, that the *Caravans*, conſiſting for the moſt part of Chriſtian Merchants, ſtay at *Charkiqueu*, to pay their Devotions to this Rock, where the Biſhop of the place, attended by ſome Prieſts, with every one a Taper in their Hands, goes and ſays Maſs. But the main Reaſon is, becauſe there grows excellent Wine in this place, which being cheaper by half here, than it is at *Tocat*, obliges the *Armenians* to ſtop here, to provide themſelves for the reſt of their Journey.

Two Leagues from *Charliqueu*, you croſs over very high Mountains, with Precipices on both ſides. It is the cuſtom of the *Armenians*, when they hear of the approach of a *Caravan*, to ride out two or three days journey to meet their Country-men and carry them freſh Proviſions. Theſe of *Charliqueu* coming to meet our *Caravan*, three of the *Armenians* took a large Morning-draughts, which made them ſo Pot-valiant, that they would needs ride before to the Town alone by themſelves; but by the way they were ſet upon by ſix Horſe men that came from the North, where there are higher Mountains than thoſe which we were to croſs. Immediately the Thieves darted their Half-Pikes at the *Armenians*, in ſo much that two of them fell down mortally wounded, and the other ſav'd himſelf among the Rocks, but the Thieves got their Horſes and Goods, which were valu'd at ten thouſand Crowns. The *Caravan* at the top of the Hill beheld the misfortune of thoſe poor men which their own folly had brought upon them, but could not help them, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the ways; beſides, that the Thieves knowing all the by-turnings, were preſently out of ſight. And therefore it is a dangerous thing to leave the Body of the *Caravans*, either by ſtaying too far behind, or running too faſt before: and ſome have ſuffer'd for diſtancing themſelves not above five hundred Paces from it.

The *Caravans* do not not make their Journeys all alike; but come to their Stages ſometimes ſooner, ſometimes later, according as they meet with Waters and Inns, or places fit to pitch their Tents in, to which places the Natives bring Proviſion and Provender from the Mountains. There are ſome places where there is a neceſſity to provide Straw and Barley for two or three days. If you travel in *May*, when the Graſs is high, it coſts nothing to feed the Horſes and Camels. For as

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ſoon as the *Caravan* is lodg'd, the Servants go and cut the Graſs from off the Hillocks, where it is much better then upon the Plains. But while the Beaſts feed only upon Graſs they are much weaker, and cannot travel ſo far as at other times.

From the Mountain where the *Armenians* were ſet upon, you come to *Almous*, a little Village upon a River, which you croſs, over a Bridge of Wood.

Going out of *Almous*, you croſs a large Plain, at the end whereof you lodge upon the Bank of a fair River, call'd *Tonſanlou ſou*, which falls into the River of *Tocat*.

Having paſs'd this River, you aſcend a high Mountain, which the People of the Country call *Kara behir beguiendren*, or, the Mountain that ſtops the Grand *Signors*, for it is very rugged, and you muſt of neceſſity alight to aſcend it. In that bad Way two Horſes that carry'd each of them two Bales of *Engliſh* Cloth burſt under their Burthen, which prov'd excellent Food for ſeveral *Tartars* that were before us, and were pitch'd in the place where we intended to have lodg'd our ſelves; ſo that we were forc'd to go a quarter of a League farther. Theſe *Tartars* when they heard of our two dead Horſes, made immediately to the Mountain fifteen or ſixteen of them with all joy imaginable to devour it. They flea'd the Horſes, and when they came back (for I ſtay'd to ſee them) they brought every one a great piece of Fleſh between the Saddle and their Horſes backs. For by that means the Fleſh mortifies, and bakes as it were, through the motion and heat of the Horſe, and ſo they eat it without any more a-do. I ſaw one of them that took a piece of thoſe Horſes Fleſh, and after he had beaten it ſoundly between two naſty Linnen Clothes, with a piece of Stick, ſet his Teeth in it, and devour'd it with a very greedy appetite.

Upon the top of the Mountain which I have mention'd, there is a Plain, and in the midſt of the Plain a Fountain call'd *Cheſmé-beler*, or, *A Fountain of Chriſtal*; near to which, on the South-ſide, there ſtands a Village.

From the place where we lodg'd, we came to a little Town called *Adras*, the Inhabitants whereof are all *Armenians*.

Aſpidar is but two Leagues from *Adras*, and is but a Village.

Isbeder is another Village in the Mountains, where the *Caravan* generally ſtays one or two days; as well to pay the Cuſtom, which is the fourth part of a Rixdollar upon every Camel, and half as much for every Horſe; as for the excellency and cheapneſs of the Wine, where every Man provides for himſelf.

Twice we paſs'd by and paid nothing, in regard that the *Caravan* was too ſtrong for the Toll-gatherers; and were it not that they ſtay for the Wine, they might go directly forward without paying any thing.

Leaving *Isbeder*, we came to another great Town in the Mountains; all the Houſes are hewn out of the Rock upon which it is ſeated, as are alſo all the Stair-Caſes. From this Village, having paſs'd a River, over a wooden Bridge, at the end whereof there ſtands an Inn, you come to *Zacapa*, another Village, from whence through very narrow paſſages, where you are forc'd to unload the Camels, and carry your Goods upon Mens ſhoulders for thirty Paces together, you come to encamp in a little Plain. It lyes at the foot of a high Mountain, which they call *Dikmebell*, beyond which lies the Town *Kourd Aga*, after which you croſs three Rivers; one fordable, the other over two Bridges, and then you come to a Village call'd *Garmera*.

From *Garmera* you go to *Seukmen*, another Village; from *Seukmen* to *Louri*; from *Louri* to *Chaouqueu*, which are two very handſom Towns.

I ſaw an Old man at *Chaouqueu* who was above a Hundred and Thirty Years old, who when *Sultan Amurath* beſieged *Bagdat*, gave his whole Army as much Oats as ſerv'd them one whole day. In recompence whereof, the *Sultan* exempted him and his Children from all Taxes and Tolls for their Lives.

Leaving *Chaouqueu*, you come to a high craggy Mountain which is call'd *Aaggidogii*, or, *The Bitter Mountain*. The Ways being narrow, the *Caravan* is forc'd to travel ſingle; and then it is that they count all the Horſes, and all the Camels; every Horſe and every Camel paying to the *Caravan*-Maſter a certain Duty, which amounts to a good Sum if the *Caravan* be numerous. One part of that Money is to pay ſeven or eight *Armenians*, that guard the *Caravan* all the way; another part

defrays

defrays the Expences upon the Road; and the remainder is the Captain of the *Caravan*'s Profit.

Having pass'd this Mountain, you come to lodge in a Plain which they call *Giogandereſi*, and from thence to *Erzerom* you meet only with three Villages by the way, *Achikala*, *Gimnis*, and *Higia*, which are the *Caravan*'s Stages. During these three last days journeys, you keep all along the Banks of *Euphrates* for the most part, which is yet but narrow, taking its source Northward of *Erzerom*. 'Tis a wonderful thing to see the vast quantities of large *Asparagus* that grow all along the River, with which you may load several Camels.

A League on this side *Erzerom* the *Caravan* is constrain'd to stop; for the Officer of the Custom-House accompani'd with the *Basha*'s Lieutenant, comes here and tyes all the Bales and Chests with a cross Cord, upon which he puts a Seal, to the end that when the Merchants come to the Town, they may not be able to take out any Bags of Money, or any pieces of Stuff on purpose to hide them till they go away. The particular Business of the *Basha*'s Lieutenant in meeting the *Caravan*, is to see whether the Merchants be well provided with Wines. And if he desire any Bottles, whether it be then, or in the City, where they are not asham'd to visit every Merchant, there is no refusing them. For there grows no Wine at *Erzerom*, all that is drank there being a small Wine of *Mingrelia*, which is always green: which forces the Merchants to furnish themselves with Wine at *Tocat*, which they may do sufficiently to last them into *Persia*. The Officer of the Custom-House generally allows the *Caravan* three days to rest; during which time, he sends to the principal Merchants some Fruit and other small Refreshments, by which he is no loser. After the three days are over, he comes and opens all the Bales and Chests, and takes a particular account of all the Merchandizes. This Search and the changing of Beasts, causes the *Caravan* to stay generally twenty or five and twenty days at *Erzerom*.

Erzerom is a frontier Town of *Turkie* toward *Persia*. It is situated at the end of a large Plain environ'd with Mountains, the Plain being beautified with many fair Villages. If you take in the Castle and the Suburbs, it may pass for a City, but the Houses are ill built of Wood, without any neatness or proportion. There are some Remains of Churches and of the ancient Buildings of the *Armenians*, by which you may conjecture that it never was very beautiful. The Fortress stands upon a high ground, with a double Wall, square Towers close one to another, and a pitiful Moat. The *Basha* resides there but in a very ill House, all the Buildings about the Fortress being in a bad condition. In the same Enclosure there is a little rising Ground upon which they have rais'd a small Fort, wherein the *Janisary-Aga* lives, and where the *Basha* has no Power. When the Grand *Signor* has a mind to the Head of this *Basha*, or any other considerable Person in the Province, he sends a *Capigi*, with order to the *Janisary* to send for the Person to the little Fort, where the Execution is presently done. One Example hereof I saw in my last Travels into *Persia*: For the *Basha* of *Erzerom* not having sent Twelve thousand men so soon as the Grand *Signor* requir'd them for his Wars in *Candy*, the same *Capigi* that brought the Sentence of his Death, had the same Order for the Execution of the *Basha* of *Kars*; and meeting this *Capigi* upon the Road in a Village, upon his return for *Constantinople*, he would needs shew me whether I would or no, the Heads of the two *Basha*'s, which he was carrying to the Grand *Signor* in a Bag.

Between the first and second Gate of the Fortress are to be seen four and twenty Pieces of Cannon, most excellent Guns, but lying one upon another without Carriages. They lye at *Erzerom* to be ready upon all occasions when the Grand *Signor* makes war against the *Persians*.

There are in *Erzerom* several great Inns; this City, like *Tocat*, being one of the greatest Thoroughfares in *Turkie*. The Country about it bears Wine, but not very good, and in regard the People are strictly forbid to drink Wine, the Merchants are forc'd to buy it very privately, for fear it should come to the knowledge of the *Cadi*. Though it be very cold at *Erzerom*, Barly grows there in fourty days, and Wheat in sixty, which is very remarkable. The Customs paid there for the carrying out of the Gold and Silver, and upon all other Commodities, is very severe. Silk, that comes out of *Persia*, pays four and twenty Crowns for a Camel's

Camel's Load, which is eight hundred Pounds. For in the mountainous Countries a Camel's Load is no more; but in the plain and even Countries they make 'em carry above ten hundred weight. A Load of *Indian* Calicuts pays a hundred Crowns; but the Loads of Linnen are much heavier than thoſe of Silk. As for other Commodities, they pay Six *per cent* according to their value.

From this Stage the *Caravan* ſets forward to a Fortreſs call'd *Haſſan Kala*, where you muſt pay half a Piaſter for every Camel's or Horſes Load going from *Erzerom* to *Erivan*, but returning you, pay but half as much.

Leaving this Fortreſs, you muſt go and lodge at a Bridge near to a Village which is call'd *Coban Cupri*. Over this Bridge, which is the faireſt in the whole Journey, you croſs two Rivers which there meet, one is the *Kars*, and the other is a Stream that falls from a Mountain call'd *Binguiel*, both which disburthen themſelves into the *Aras*. The *Caravan* uſually ſtays a day or two at this Bridge; becauſe the *Caravan* divides it ſelf at this place, ſome continuing on the High-road, others taking the Road of *Kars*, as well to avoid fording the *Aras* ſeveral times, as the paying a great Duty upon the great Road, where they exact four Piaſters upon every Camel's Load, and two upon every Horſe-Load, whereas at *Kars* you are diſmiſs'd for half ſo much.

I went *Kars* Road twice; but it is longer, and more troubleſome than the other. As ſoon as you leave the Bridge, for the firſt four days you travel over woody Mountains, and very deſert Countries, where you meet but with one Village; but coming near *Kars* the Country is more pleaſant, and well manur'd; bearing all ſorts of Grain.

Kars is in 78 Deg. 40 Min. of Longitude, and 42 Deg. 40 Min. of Latitude; in a very good Soil. The City is very large, but thinly peopl'd, though Proviſion be very plentiful and very cheap. But the Grand *Signor* always chooſing that place to rendezvouz his Army, whenever he intended to recruit it, and to lodge his People there which he ſent to build Villages; the King of *Perſia* has ruin'd all the Country, as he did at *Sulfa*, and in many other Frontier places, for nine or ten days journey together.

From *Kars* to *Erivan* the *Caravan* makes it nine days journey, and lyes where it can find moſt convenience, there being no certain Stages. The firſt days journey ends at a Monaſtery and a Village, the one no leſs deſerted than the other. The next day you come to the Ruines of a great City, call'd *Anikagae*, in the *Armenian* Language the *City of* Ani, which was the name of an *Armenian King* that was the Founder of it. By the Wall, on the Eaſt-ſide, runs a rapid ſtream that falls from the Mountains of *Mingrelia*, and empties it ſelf into the River of *Kars*. This City was very ſtrongly ſituated; being placed in a Merſh, where are to be ſeen the Remains of two Cauſeys that only lead to the Town. There are the Ruines of ſeveral Monaſteries; among the reſt two that are entire, ſuppos'd to be Royal Foundations. From thence to *Erivan* for two days journey, you meet with only two Villages; near the laſt of which you ride by the ſide of a Hill, whether when the *Caravan* paſſes by, the people bring Horſes from ſeveral parts to be ſold. The Great Road from the Bridge, where the *Caravan* parts, lyes thus:

Two Leagues from the Bridge, on the right hand toward the South, lyes a great Mountain which the People of the Country call *Mingol*. In this Mountain there are abundance of Springs, and from one ſide of it falls *Euphrates*, from the other ſide the River of *Kars*, which empties it ſelf into the *Aras* fourteen or fifteen Leagues on this ſide *Erivan*. The *Aras*, which the Ancients call'd *Araxes*, falls from other Mountains Eaſtward of *Mingol*, which after many windings through the Upper *Armenia*, where it receives many other Rivers that ſwell its Streams, it diſcharges it ſelf into the *Caſpian* Sea, two days journey from *Shamaki*, upon the Frontiers of the ancient *Medes*.

The whole Country is inter-cut by the Rivers *Aras* and *Kars*, and ſeveral other Streams that fall into them, inhabited by very few, but what are Chriſtians; thoſe few *Mahumetans* that live among them being ſo ſuperſtitious, that they will not drink the Water of any of thoſe Rivers, nor waſh in them; believing them impure and defil'd by the uſe which the Chriſtians make of them. They have their particular Wells and Ciſterns by themſelves, which they will not ſuffer a Chriſtian to come near.

Comasour is the first Village where you lodge after you leave the Bridge of *Choban-Kupri*, going to *Erivan*.

Halicarcara is the next Stage to *Comasour*: this is a great Town also inhabited by Christians, but the Houses are built all under ground like Caves. Coming thither the 7th of *March* 1655, the Snow was so deep that there was no travelling, so that we were forc'd to stay there eight days. But the Customer of *Erzerom* understanding in what a bad condition we were, came in person with five hundred Horse to make way for us, and sent for the Country people round about to clear away the Snow. But it was not so much out of kindness to us, as for his own Interest. For a new Officer being to succeed him upon the 22d of *March*, and our *Caravan* being very numerous, he would have lost above an Hundred Thousand Crowns, had we not come to *Erzerom* before that day. Many of the Passengers were almost blinded by continually looking upon the Snow, the colour whereof very much dims the Sight: for preservation whereof the Travellers are wont to wear black Cypress Hoods, made on purpose, over their faces. Others wear furr'd Bonnets fring'd about with Goats hair, which being long, falls over their Eyes, and does altogether as well as the Hood.

The *Caravan* is usually twelve days upon the Road, from *Erzerom* to *Erivan*. Leaving *Halicarcara*, you ford the *Aras* three times, and cross it the next day again: for it winds exceedingly. A League and a half from the place where you ford it the fourth time, upon the top of a high Mountain stands a Fortress call'd *Kaguisgan*, which is the last place which the *Turks* possess on that side. The Customers that live there come to the *Caravan* to take their Toll, which is four Piasters for every Camel loaden, and two for every Horse loaden. In the year 1655 the *Caravan* lodging about a League from the Fortress of *Kaguisgan*, the Mountains adjoyning being inhabited by Christian *Armenians*, there came to us a poor Bishop attended by fifteen or sixteen persons, among which there were certain Priests who brought us Bread, Fowl, and Fruit, desiring the Charity of the Merchants, who recompenc'd them to their satisfaction. About four or five Months after, this Bishop had one of his Eyes struck out by a *Janisary*. That wicked Fellow came to the Town where the Bishop liv'd, and lighting upon the Bishop, ask'd him for Money, which because the Bishop had none to give him, in a rage he stabb'd him in the Eye with his Dagger. Complaint was made to the *Aga*, who 'tis thought would have punish'd the Offender, but he fled, and left the Bishop without remedy of satisfaction.

From the last place where we encamp'd near the *Aras*, we went and lodg'd the next day upon the same River, in the sight of a Village not above a quarter of a League. The Next day we cross'd the River that runs from *Kars*, and parts *Turkie* from *Persia*. The next day we stop'd upon the Banks of *Aras*, half a League from a little Town; and this is the last time you see this River which you are constrain'd to pass so often.

Leaving *Aras*, we came to lodge in a plain, in sight of a Town which is not far distant. The next day the *Caravan* lyes in the Field, and the next day it comes to a place where there are three Churches, whence it is but half a days journey from *Erivan*.

CHAP. III.

A Continuation of the Road from Constantinople *to* Ispahan, *from the Borders of* Persia *to* Erivan.

THE first Place worthy observation, entring into *Persia* through *Armenia*, is that which they call the *Three Churches*, three Leagues from *Erivan*; which *Three Churches*, are three Monasteries distant one from the other. The biggest and the fairest is the Residence of the *Patriarch* of the *Armenians*. There is another to the South of that, about a Musket-shot distant, and another a quarter of a League from it toward the East, which is a Nunnery

Nunnery for Virgins. The *Armenians* call this place *Egmiaſin*, or the *Only Daughter*, which is the Name of the chief Church. You may find in their Chronicles, That it began to be Built about three hundred Years after Chriſt, and that the Walls being rais'd to a good height, the Devil came in the Night and pull'd down what they built up in the Day; which he did for ſeveral Years: but that one Night Chriſt himſelf appear'd, and that from that time the Devil ſurceas'd to moleſt them any more; ſo that they finiſh'd the Church. It is dedicated to St. *Gregory*, whom the *Armenians* have in very great veneration. And there is a Table of Stone, whereupon, according to their Chronicles, Chriſt reſted when he appear'd to St. *Gregory*. They that go into the Church, kiſs this Stone with a very ſolemn Devotion.

The ſecond is built in honour of a Princeſs that came with forty Virgins of Quality to viſit St. *Gregory*. This Lady an *Armenian* King caus'd to be thrown into a Well full of Serpents? but ſhe receiv'd no harm. For ſhe liv'd therein 14 Years by a great Miracle, and from that time to this, the Serpents that breed thereabouts never did any harm. That Idolatrous King had a deſign to have enjoy'd that Princeſs, who was very handſome, and all her Companions; but they overcame him by their Virtue: who thereupon, ſeeing he could not have his Will, put them all to Death.

The Cuſtom of all the *Armenians*, as well thoſe that come out of *Perſia*, as thoſe that travel into *Perſia*; is to perform their Devotions at theſe *Three Churches*; and the *Caravan* ſtops uſually five or ſix days, during which time they Confeſs, and receive Abſolution from the Patriarch.

The Patriarch has under him forty ſeven Archbiſhops, and every Archbiſhop has under him four or five Suffragans, with whom he lives in a Convent, where there are ſeveral Monks under their Juriſdiction. So ſoon as they have ſaid their Maſs, which is generally done an Hour after Day, they all go to work, and to dig and delve for their living. The Revenue of the Patriarch is 600000 Crowns or thereabouts: for all the *Armenian* Chriſtians that are above fifteen Years of age, ought to pay him yearly five Sous. However there are many that do not pay him, by reaſon of their poverty. Yet their defect is ſuppli'd by the rich, who ſometimes pay him two or three Crowns a Head. But this Money does not ſtay in the Patriarch's Pocket: nay he is ſometimes behind-hand; for he is engag'd to relieve the poor *Armenians*, who have not wherewithal to pay the *Carage*, which is an Annual Tribute that they owe to the *Mahometan* Princes, to whom they are ſubject: Otherwiſe neceſſity would force them to become *Mahometans*; and they, their Wives and Children would be liable to be ſold, which the Grand Patriarch labours all he can to prevent. Every Archbiſhop ſends him out of his Dioceſs what is neceſſary to be rais'd for that intent. So that the Patriarch does but only receive it with one Hand, and pay it with the other; making no profit to himſelf of a Revenue which he has out of 400000 Villages, which the Archbiſhop of St. *Stephen's* affirm'd to me to be under his Juriſdiction.

As I return'd from *Perſia* in the Year 1655, I came to the *Three Churches* about the end of *February*; the *Caravan* ſtay'd there eleven Days, as well by reaſon of the great Snows that ſtop'd up the Ways, as for that the *Armenians* reſolv'd to keep their *Carnival* there, and after that to perform their Devotions. The next day I went to viſit the Patriarch, who was ſitting croſs-leg'd upon a Mat. There were four Archbiſhops, and nine Biſhops ſitting about him in the ſame poſture, among whom there was one that ſpake very good *Italian*. I ſtayed with him three Hours; and while we were diſcourſing together, in came one of the Monks of the Covent, who had not ſpoken to any perſon whatſoever in Two and twenty Years, by reaſon of a Penance that was impos'd upon him. Never did Man appear ſo meager and deformed; but the Patriarch ſent for him, and by his Authority commanded him to break ſilence, which he did, by ſpeaking at the ſame Inſtant.

The Saturday before *Shrove-Sunday* the Patriarch invited all the *Caravan*, as well Maſters as Servants, to hear Maſs the next day, and then to dine at the Covent. Maſs being concluded, the People were brought into a long Gallery, about 15 or 20 Foot broad, there being a Table on both ſides, made of ſeveral Stones, and Benches next the Walls. At the upper end of the Gallery ſtands a Table four Foot ſquare, over which is a vaulted Roof ſuſtain'd with four Pillars, which ſerves

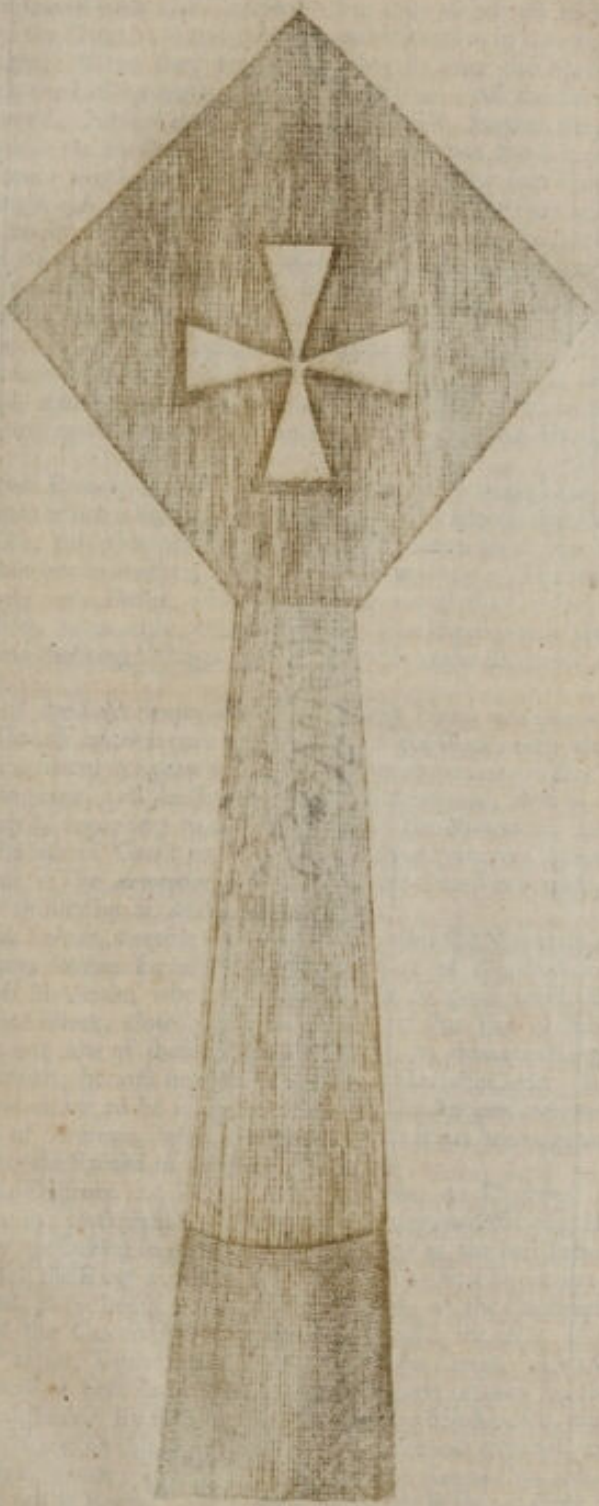
for a Canopy: in the midſt whereof is a Chair ſet for the Patriarch, who from thence has a full view of both ſides the Gallery; with two other Chairs of each hand, for two Archbiſhops: the other Archbiſhops, Monks, and Gueſts ſate at the long Tables. The Meat which they brought us was ſeveral ſorts of Pilaw, and ſeveral Diſhes of Fiſh, among the reſt excellent Trouts. The Pilaw was brought in forty wide Plates, ſo well fill'd and ſo large, that they were every one as much as a Man could carry. They were all ſet down upon the Ground before the Patriarch; who then Pray'd and gave Thanks. Then ſix Biſhops with Ladles took out the Meat out of the great Platters, and putting it into leſſer, ſerv'd both the Tables. Every one had alſo his earthen Pot of Wine, which was very good, and was fill'd again when it was empty. The Patriarch and the two Archbiſhops eat nothing but two Eggs, and a few raw Herbs; no more did the other Archbiſhops that ſate at the Table.

At the end of the Feaſt, a Biſhop comes with a Paper and Pen and Ink in his Hand, and asks of every one what he pleaſes to Subſcribe for the Benefit of the Church; then every one propoſing, according to his Devotion, the Biſhop writes down the Names of the Perſons, and the Sum which they mention; which he comes and gathers the next day. There are ſome rich Merchants that will give two *Tomans*, but the meaneſt Servant will give an *Or*. The Biſhop having done writing, the Table was clear'd, and then they brought us Melons and other Fruits. In a ſhort while after the Bells rung to Evening Service, and the People went to Church.

After Evening Service the Patriarch ſent for me to behold a Combat of *Bufalo's*, of which there are great ſtore in that Country, ſome ſerving to Till their Ground, while the Female ones yield ſtore of Milk, of which they make Butter and Cheeſe, and which they mingle with all ſorts of other Milk: There are ſome of theſe female Beaſts that will give two and twenty Pints of Milk a day.

They brought us into a wide Incloſure, to behold the Sport, wherein there were eight *Bufalo's*. To provoke them one againſt another, they ſhew them a Red Cloth, which puts them into ſuch a Rage, that there were two that dy'd with the ſtroke of their Horns upon the place, and there were none of the reſt which were not very much Jam'd. The Sport being at an end, they bring a great quantity of Wood, which they pile together on purpoſe to ſet it on Fire. When the Wood was heap'd in as big a Pile as they intended, one of the Archbiſhops preſented a Taper of white Wax to all the Company, both Maſters and Servants, who every one agreed with him what they ſhould give the next day for their Tapers. The Tapers being lighted, the Patriarch with a Stick like a Biſhop's Croſier, march'd before, ſinging an Hymn, attended by all the Perſons both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, till they had in that manner walk'd three times about the Pile. When the Pile came to be lighted, there was great ſtriving who ſhould have the Honour. One of the Merchants offer'd a quantity of Oyl, for Lamps for the Church; another out-did him, and a third proffer'd more than he; and the Honour of Lighting the Pile was given to him that offer'd moſt. Immediately upon that every one put out his Taper: For they eſteem it a moſt precious buſineſs; believing that the lighting of one of thoſe Tapers in a Storm, and throwing it into the Sea, is a preſent Charm againſt Shipwrack. For ſay they, The Virgin *Mary*, forty days after ſhe was brought to Bed, went to *Jeruſalem* with *Joſeph* and her Son; and going into the Temple met old *Simeon*, who taking the Child in his Arms, began to ſing the Song, *Lord now let thy Servant*, &c. the Song being ended, all the People began to cry that Chriſt was born, and to publiſh it about the City. Now in regard it was Night, every one ran out with Torches in their Hands, and ſome made Fires before their Doors, where Chriſt was to paſs along. This Feſtival among the *Armenians* is like that of *Candlemas*-day; and they call it in their Language, *Ter en Areche? Where is the Lord?* The *Armenians*, Maſters and Servants, drank all Night to make an end of their *Carnival*; while the Patriarch was buſie in dreſſing up the Church with its gayeſt Ornaments.

I could not believe there had been ſo much Riches in the Chriſtian Churches under the Power of the *Mahumetans*. It is not a hundred Years ſince this Patriarchal Church was in a much meaner Condition: But ſince the great *Sha Abas* put the *Armenians* upon Traffick, they have very much enrich'd themſelves: For as they got great Gains; ſo they made great Vows, and gave largely to the Church: wherein



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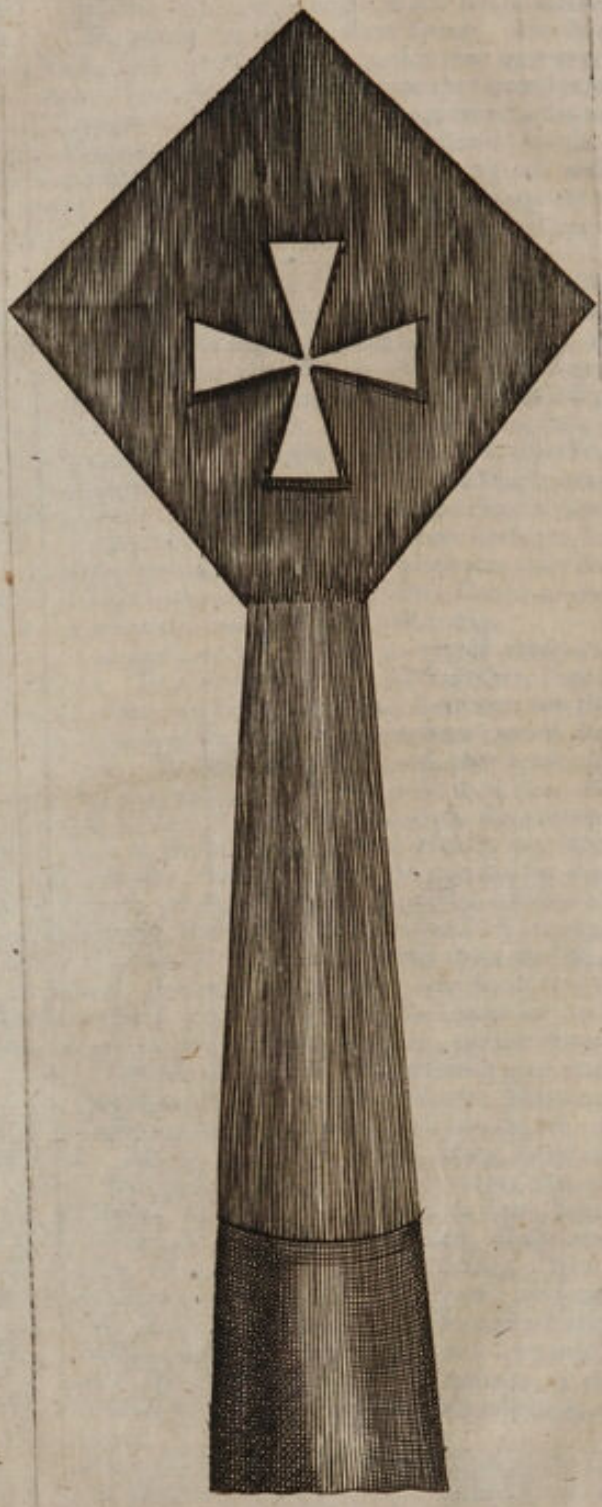

wherein there are now as rich Ornaments as in any Church of Christendom. The Choir of the Church was hung round with a *Venetian* Tissue of Gold. The Pavement also of the Choir and the Body of the Church, together with the Steps to the Altar, were spread with rich Tapestry. For they all put off their Shooes before they go into the Church; nor do the *Armenians* kneel as in *Europe*, but stand all the while upright. When they hear Mass, they sit after the Mode of the Country, but when the Lessons are reading they stand up. All the Service time their Heads are cover'd, unless at the Elevation of the Host, for then they take off their Bonnets, and kiss the Earth three times. There was upon the Altar a Cross, with six Candlesticks of Gold; and upon the Steps to the Altar four Candlesticks of Silver five foot high. After they had sung several Hymns, the Patriarch seated himself in a Chair cover'd with Silk Tapestry, four Archbishops sitting with their Backs to a Pillar at his right hand. The Service was solemnly perform'd by an Archbishop, with two Bishops on each side of him. After the Archbishop had made certain Prayers, he took the Book wherein he had read the Gospel and gave it the Patriarch, the Archbishops, Bishops, and all the People to Kiss. On the one side of the Cover of that Book there are two Relicks enchas'd, which are cover'd with Crystal, which was the side of the Book that was given to be Kiss'd. The Ceremony being ended, many went to Kiss the Patriarch's Hand, and so retir'd.

Ten Leagues from *Erivan*, toward the North, appears a great Lake, wherein there is an Island, upon which is built a very fair Covent. The Monks that live there, live so austere a Life, that they never eat Fish or Flesh above four times a Year: neither do they speak one to another, but upon those four Days. The rest of the Year they feed only upon Herbs, which they gather out of the Garden: for say they, it is not Fasting, to eat either Butter or Oyl. The Bread which they eat is brought from the neighbouring Villages: and the Island is repleniss'd with all sorts of excellent Fruits.

On the one side of the Lake nearer to *Erivan* is a large Plain, wherein there are six Monasteries. One of which is entirely hewn out of the Rock, with the Pillars that sustain it, being seated in a very hard Rock. The *Armenians* call that Church *Kickart* in their Language, and the *Turks* in theirs *Guieurghiecbe*, that is, *See and away*. In this Church, according to the Traditions of the *Armenians*, is kept the Lance wherewith the Side of Christ was pierc'd; the Figure whereof I caus'd to be drawn upon the Place. The *Armenians* have this Lance in great Veneration, saying, that it was brought thither by St. *Matthew*.

Five Leagues from *Erivan*, towards the South-East, begins the Mountain *Ararat*; which will be always famous for being the resting-place of *Noah*'s Ark. Half a Leaugue from that Mountain, where the Plain begins to grow level, stands a Church upon a little Hillock, close by which are several Pits like Wells. They report that it was into one of these Wells that *Gerda*, an *Armenian* King, caus'd St. *Gregory* to be thrown, because he would not Worship his false Gods. Between this Church and *Erivan* are to be seen the Ruines of the Ancient *Artaxate*, the Seat of the Kings of *Armenia*, which demonstrate that it has been a great City; besides, there appear the Ruines of a fair Palace.

Erivan lies in 64 Degrees, 20 Minutes of Longitude; 41 Degrees, 15 Minutes of Latitude; in a most plentiful Country of all things necessary for Humane Life, but especially abounding in good Wine. It is one of the best Provinces of all *Persia*, and yields the King a very large Revenue, as well by reason of the goodness of the Soil, as for being the great Thoroughfare of the *Caravans*. The yearly Revenue of the Governour only, otherwise call'd the *Kan of Erivan*, amounts to above 20000 Tomans, which make 84000 Livres. This City lying upon the Frontiers of both Empires, has been taken and retaken by the *Turks* and *Persians*, several times. By which means the old City being ruin'd, they have built a new one, 800 Paces on this side, upon a Rock, at the foot whereof, upon the West side runs a rapid Stream: it is call'd by the Name of *Sangui-Ciai*, and in many places it is deep and full of Rocks. You cross it, over a fair Bridge of three Arches, in which are built little Chambers, where the *Kan* retires in the heat of the day. It is full of Fish, especially Trouts, which nevertheless are dear enough. This River comes from a Lake called *Gigagusi*, about 25 Leagues from *Erivan*, toward the North,

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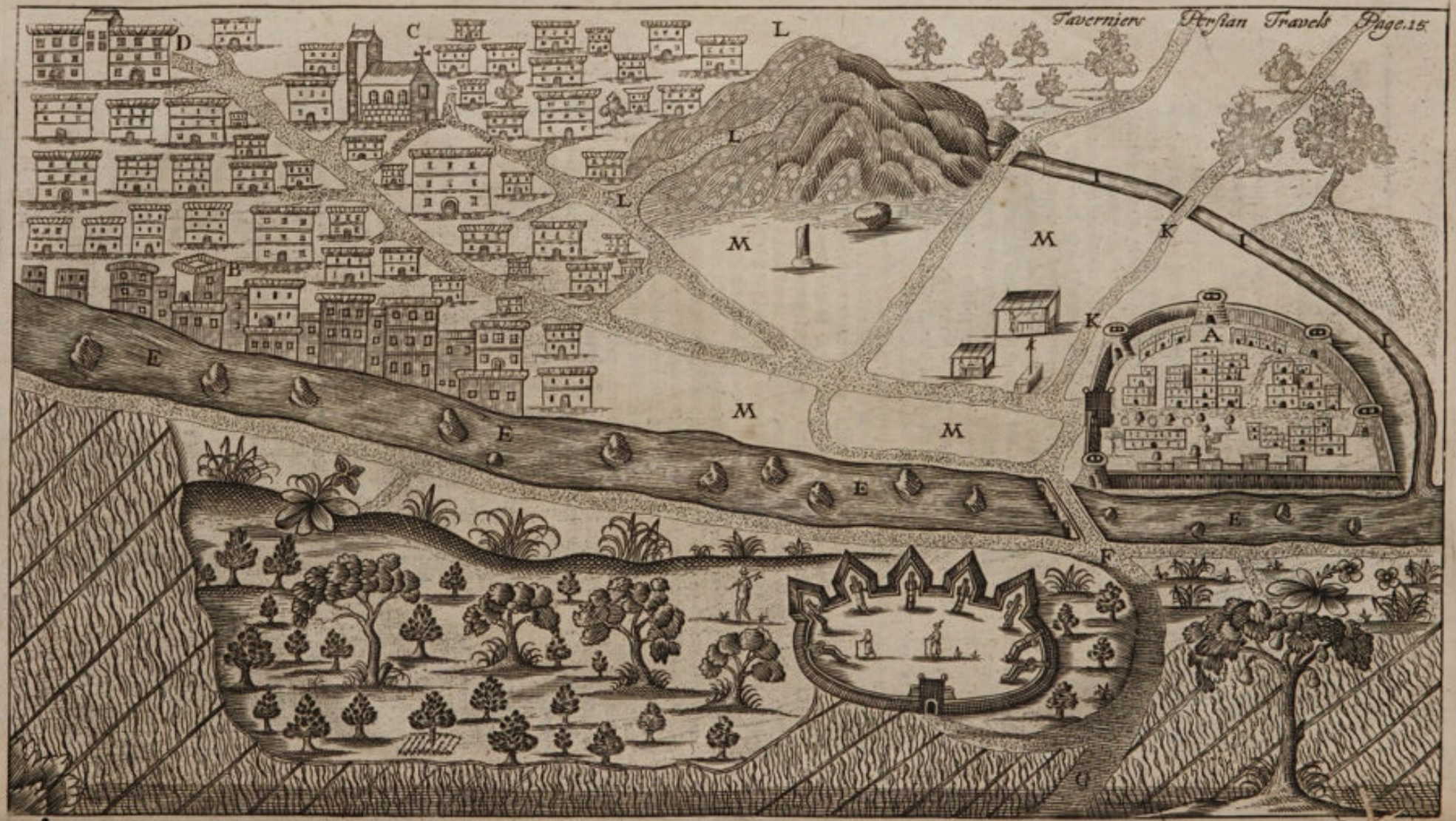
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The Platform of *Erivan* and the Suburbs.

A. *The Town and Fort.*
B. *The Suburbs, inhabited by the* Armenian *Christians.*
C. *The Church.*
D. *The Covent.*
E. *The River of* Sangui-cija.
F. *The Stone-Bridge.*
G *The Highway for the* Caravans.
H. *The Fort which* Sha-Sefi *built to batter the City.*
I. *The River that falls from the Mountain.*
K. *The Highway to* Tauris.
L. *The way to* Teflis *the chief City of* Georgia; *and the way to the Mountain where the* Kan *of* Erivan *goes twice a Summer to drink.*
M. *The Market-places, for Sale of Goods.*

CHAP. IV.

A Continuation of the same Road from Erivan *to* Tauris.

IT usually takes up ten days journey for the *Caravan* to go between *Erivan* and *Tauris*; and *Nakshivan* is almost in the mid-way between both. The first days journey you travel through large Plains sow'd with Rice, and water'd with several Rivulets. The next day you contiue to Travel through Plains of the same nature, in sight of the Mountain *Ararat*, which is full of Monasteries, leaving it upon the South. The *Armenians* call this Mountain *Mesesoufar*, *The Mountain of the Ark*; because the Ark of *Noah* rested upon it. It is as it were unfasten'd from the other Mountains of *Armenia*, and from the half-way to the top, it is continually cover'd with Snow. It is higher than any of the neighbouring Mountains; and in my first Travells I saw it for five days Journey together. So soon as the *Armenians* discover it, they kiss the Earth, and lifting up their eyes to Heaven, say their Prayers. Yet you are to take notice, that the Mountain is hid in Clouds for two or three Months together: In the plains that you cross in this second days journey, to the Southward a League and a half from the High-way, is to be seen a work of great Art; being the Ruines of a Magnificent Castle, where the Kings of *Armenia* were wont to reside in the time of their Hunting Divertisements; more especially when they continu'd their sports at the Mallard and Heron. The next day we lodg'd near to a Village where there was good Water, which constrain'd the *Caravan* to stay there; there being none to be met with for ten Leagues farther. The next day you must Travel one by one through the Pass of a Mountain, and cross a large River nam'd *Arpason*, which falls into *Aras*. It is fordable when it is low, but when the Snow melts and swells the stream, you must go a League out of your way to the Southward to cross it, over a Bridge of Stone. From thence you go to lodge near a Village call'd *Kalisakiend*, where you are forc'd to fetch your Water a good way off. The first days journey is through a Plain, at the end whereof you meet with an Inn, call'd *Kara-bagler*, standing upon a Rivulet; which was finish'd in 1664. The Head of this Rivulet springs three or four Leagues higher toward the North; and half a League below *Kara-Bagler*, the Water congeals and petrifies; and of those Stones is the Inn built. The Stone is very slight; and when they have need of it, they make Trenches all along the Stream, and fill them with the same Water, which in eight or ten Months turns into Stone. The Water is very sweet, and has no bad taste; yet the Country-men thereabouts will neither drink it, nor water their Grounds with it. The *Armenians* say, that *Sem* the Son of *Noah* caus'd the Rock to be hollow'd, out of which this River issues; which four or five Leagues from its Head, and two from the Inn, falls into *Aras*. From this Inn to *Nakshivan* is but a small Journey. *Nakshivan*, according

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with Feavers. There are two or three of those Convents, where they civilly entertain such Christians as come out of *Europe*; though the Monks there are very poor. They also live very austere lives, feeding upon nothing but Herbs. That which makes them so poor, is the often change of Tyrannical Governours, whom they are oblig'd to present with large Gifts. But in regard they cannot give much, those Governours have no kindness for them; for which reason, being instigated by those other *Armenians* who are able to oblige them, they use them so severely, that they are often forc'd to complain to the King; which I have many times seen done at *Ispahan*.

A League and a half from the chief of these Covents there is a high Mountain, separated from all the rest, which rises like a Sugar loaf, as doth the Pike of a *Teneriff*. At the foot of this Mountain are certain Springs, that have the virtue to heal those that are bit by Serpents; in so much that Serpents carry'd to that place will dye immediately.

When the *Caravan* is ready to set out from *Nakshivan* for *Zulpha*, which is not above a days journey from thence, the principal *Armenians* usually go out of the way to the Covent of St. *Stephen*, which lyes to the South.

Now the Road from *Nakshivan* to St. *Stephen's* lyes first to a great Village call'd *Ecclisia*, where live the richest *Armenians*, that drive a great Trade in Silk, and have built them a very fair Church.

Two Leagues from *Ecclesia* you must cross the River *Aras* in a Ferry-Boat, being as it were squeez'd between two Mountains in that place: Once I went over upon the Ice. About two Musket shot from thence, you must cross over a Bridge, another River that falls into the *Aras*. From the foot of the Bridge you begin to ascend a little Hill, at the top whereof you meet with a great Village, call'd *Shambé*, all the Inhabitants whereof, as well Men as Women, grow Mad at 18 years of age; but it is such a madness that it is not mischievous. Some believe it to be the Punishment of Heaven, for that their Forefathers in these Mountains persecuted St. *Bartholomew* and St. *Matthew*.

From hence to *Stephen's* it is not above a League, but the Way is very troublesom. St. *Stephen's* is a Convent built not above 30 years ago. It stands upon the Mountains, in a barren place, and of difficult access. But the reason why the *Armenians* chose that place before any other, is because that St. *Bartholomew* and St. *Matthew* retir'd thither in the time of their Persecution. They add, that St. *Matthew* did a Miracle in that place; for that there being no Water there before, he only struck his stick upon the Ground, and presently there arose a Spring. This Spring is about half a quarter of a League from the Convent, under a Vault with a good Door to it, to keep the Water from being wasted. The *Armenians* go to visit this Spring in great Devotion, having laid the Water into the Covent with Pipes. They also say, that in this place they found several Relicks which St. *Bartholomew* and St. *Matthew* left there, to which they add a great many others; among the rest a Cross, made of the Basin wherein Christ wash'd his Disciples Feet: In the middle of the Cross is a white Stone, which as they report, if you lay upon a Sick person, will turn black if the person be likely to dye; and recover its former whiteness after the death of the party.

A Jaw-Bone of St. *Stephen* the Martyr.

The Scull of St. *Matthew*.

A Bone of the Neck, and a Bone of the Finger of St *John* Baptist.

A Hand of St. *Gregory*, who was the Disciple of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*.

A little Box, wherein they keep a great number of pieces of Bones, which they believe to be the Relicks of the Seventy Two Disciples.

The Church is built in the form of a Cross, as are all the Churches of the *Armenians*; in the middle whereof rises a fair *Duomo*, round about which stand the twelve Apostles. Both the Church and Covent are of Free-stone, and though the whole Edifice be not very big, there has been abundance of Gold and Silver wasted upon the Walls: Many *Armenian* Families have been very much endamag'd thereby; for the Women were so devout, that unknown to their Husbands they sold their Jewels, and their very Cloaths to defray the Expences of Building.

The first time that I was at St. *Stephen's*, in the company of some *Armenians*, two Bishops, attended by several other Monks, came out to meet us, and led us

into a great Hall, where we were very well treated. For it is the custom of the *Armenians*, a little before Meals to present their Guests a large Cup of Aqua-Vitæ, with Sweet-meats of all sorts, besides Citron and Orange-peels candy'd, in seven or eight Portelan-dishes, laid in a great *China* Basin. This is a little Prelude to excite the Appetite; for the *Armenians*, both men and Women, will empty great Cups of Aqua-Vitæ. After Dinner they go to Church, where they sing certain Hymns: when you return, there are a sufficient number of Mattresses or Quilts to lye upon; for they use no other sort of Beds over all *Asia*: only at Night you spread a Carpet upon a Quilt, and shut the Door. We saw not the Archbishop all that Evening, only at Church.

About Midnight all the Bells rang, and every body rose to go to Church. I believe it was more than usual, because it was *Shrovetide*; for both the *Office* and the *Missa* were both concluded by break of day. Between eight and nine in the Morning the Cloth was laid; before which time we saw abundance of the Neighbouring Country people, who brought Wine, Fruits, and other Provisions, and presented all to the Archbishop.

While we were at Breakfast news came that a certain Bishop was dead, in his return to the *Three Churches*; whither he was sent by the Patriarch to gather certain Duties due from the Villages. Immediately the Archbishop rising from the Table with all his Assistants, and having made a Prayer for the Dead, sent a Bishop and six Monks to fetch the Corps; who returning a little after Midnight, the Body was presently laid in the Church upon a Carpet spread upon the Ground, with the Face turn'd toward the Altar. In the mean time, a great number of Wax-candles were lighted, and all the rest of the Night two monks watch'd by turns to Pray for the Dead. Early in the Morning the Archbishops, the Bishops, and all in Religious Orders, said the *Office for the Dead*, which lasted half an Hour; and at the end of the Mass they brought the Corps to the Altar, so that they made the Feet of the Corps to touch it. Having so done, they took off the Linnen Cloth that cover'd his Head, at which time the Archbishop anointed him in six places with the Holy Oyl, saying certain Prayers every time. Then they cover'd him again, and said other Prayers which lasted half an Hour. These Ceremonies perform'd, they carry'd the Corps out of the Church with Crosses and Banners, and every one a Taper in his Hand. As the Corps pass'd by, one of the Bishops put a Paper in his right hand, containing these words, *I came from the Father, and I return to the Father.* Being brought to the Grave upon a little Mountain near the Covent, and set down, they said other Prayers which lasted a quarter of an hour. In the mean time a Bishop going down into the Grave, took away all the Stones and made the place smooth, after which the Corps was let down wrapt in a large Linnen Sheet. Then the Bishop, according to ther custom, rais'd his Head a little higher than his Body, turning his face to the East. Which being done, the Archbishop and Assistants took every one a handful of Earth, which the Archbishop blest, and giving it to the Bishop, he strew'd it over the Body. Then the Bishop coming out again, the Grave was fill'd up.

From St. *Stephen's* there is a descent for a League together to *Aras*, by the side whereof you are to keep along till you come to *Zulpha*, where you come into the high Road again. There is another way quite over the Mountain, which is the nearer way by a League, but 'tis very troublesom and toylsom, and therefore the less frequented.

But to return to the High Road from *Nakivan*; half a League from *Nakivan* you meet with a River which falls into *Aras*, which is to be cross'd over a Stone-Bridge of 12 Arches, though there be but little Water, unless it be when the Snow melts, or the Rains fall. In a Meadow, next the Bridge, where we lodg'd one time that I travell'd that way, there is a Spring of lukewarm Water, which will loosen the Bellies of them that drink it. At this Bridge it is that the Toll-gatherer comes and takes his Duties, when the *Caravan* stays not at *Nakivan*. You must pay ten *Abassi's* for every Camel's Loading, or nine Livers, which is for the securing the Highways. These Duties are demanded in many places of *Persia* without searching the Packs. The Governours also in their Provinces are made to answer for every Robbery committed: which makes it so safe travelling in *Persia*, that you need not keep with the *Caravan*, unless you will your self.

From

From this Bridge to *Zulfa* is but one days journey; which Town being altogether ruin'd, ſhews the reaſon wherefore the *Caravan* lodges upon the Bank of the River five hundred Paces on this ſide.

Zulfa, the ancient Habitation of the *Armenians* which *Sha-Abas* carried into *Perſia*, is a Town ſqueez'd between two Mountains, through which the *Aras* runs, leaving but little Land on either ſide. It carries no Boats till about two Leagues below, (for upward it will hardly bear a piece of Timber) and in regard the Country grows low and extends it ſelf into Plains, there is no fear of Rocks, the courſe of the Stream being very quiet. There was a fair Stone-Bridge, which *Sha-Abas* caus'd to be broken down, when he wholly deſtroy'd the Town, that it might be no harbour for the *Turks*. Neither by the Ruines, nor by its Situation, doth it appear to have been a City of any ancient Beauty; the Stones were clapt unskilfully together without Morter, ſo that the Houſes were more like Caves than Houſes. The North-Weſt ſide was moſt inhabited, there being nothing on the other ſide worth taking notice of. The Lands about *Zulfa* being very fertil, there are certain *Armenian* Families return'd, who live very quietly. *Cogia Nazar*, one of the chief *Armenians* that went out of *Zulfa*, growing rich by Trade, and being in great reputation with *Sha-Abbas*, and *Sha-Sefi* his Succeſſor, who made him *Kelonter*, or Chief Judge of the *Armenian* Nation, built two great Inns, for the Honour of his Country, in *Zulfa*, upon each ſide of the River one. He ſpent above an hundred thouſand Crowns, but dying left two remarkable Pieces of Work unfiniſh'd.

Half a League on this ſide *Zulfa*, before you croſs a Torrent that falls into *Aras*, you may take your choice of two ways to go to *Tauris*. The one upon the right hand, leading to the South-Eaſt, which is the ordinary Road; the other upon the left hand, toward the North-Eaſt, which we took eight or ten in company together on horſeback, the laſt time I went to *Iſpahan*. We left the *Caravan*, that takes the great Road, and never goes the other way, becauſe it is full of Rocks and Stones that ſpoil the hoofs of the Camels. However I was willing to ſee a new Country, which I ſhall deſcribe before I come to the great Road.

From the Torrent where we left the *Caravan*, we went forward, and lay at a Village not above a League and a half off.

The next day, after we had kept along by the Banks of the *Aras* for five or ſix Hours, we came to *Aſtabat*, which lyes a League from the River, where we ſtaid above two Days to divert our ſelves. This is but a little City, but a very neat one; where there are four Inns, and every Houſe has its Fountain. The great plenty of Water makes the City very fruitful in all things; more eſpecially in good Wine. This is the only Country in the World that produces the *Ronas*, for which there is a vaſt utterance all over *Perſia* and *India*. The *Ronas* is a Root that grows in the Earth like Liquorice, and is not much bigger. The uſe of it is to dye Red, and this is that Red which gives that beautiful tincture to all the Calicuts that come out of the *Mogul*'s Country. Though the Roots which are pull'd out of the Earth are very long, yet they cut them into pieces not above as long as a Man's Hand, for the better accommodation of Carriage. It is a wonderful thing to behold at *Ormus* whole *Caravans* laden with this *Ronas*, which they Ship off from thence to the *Indies*.

The Root is full of Juyce, and yields a very high Tincture; for I remember that an *Indian* Veſſel that was laden with it, being caſt away in the Road of *Ormus*, where the Bags of *Ronas* floated, the Sea look'd of a red colour for ſeveral days.

Departing from *Aſtabat*, it behov'd us to provide our ſelves with Straw and Barley for our Horſes, underſtanding that we ſhould meet with none all that days journey. From thence we travell'd upon a deſcent for an hour together to the River *Aras*, which we croſs'd in a Boat; and all the reſt of the day we travel'd through Mountains, over Torrents and Stones. That Evening we lay upon the Bank of a ſmall Stream.

The day following, after we had travel'd through a ſpacious Valley for two or three hours, we aſcended a high Mountain, at the top whereof we met with two or three pitiful Houſes, where we ſtopt that day.

The next, which was the fifth after, we left the *Caravan*, we travel'd upon a

descent for two or three hours, till we came to a great Village neatly situated, where there grows excellent Fruit. There we repos'd for an hour or two; and from thence we came to a great Stone-Bride on a River where there is no Water but when the Rains fall. It falls into the Lake *Roumi*, but the Water of the River is so sowr and ill tasted, especially when it is low, that it is not to be drunk. About a quarter of a League from the Bridge are three long Stones set in the Ground like Pillars: the Natives say that they were placed there for a Monument, in the same place where *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* was elected King by the cunning of the Gentleman of his Horse: from whence to *Tauris* is but half a League. The Mountains of the *Medes* which we crost'd in this Road, and those which run along toward the ancient *Parthians*, are the most fertil in all *Persia*. They bear Corn and Fruit in abundance; for upon the high Mountains there are fair Plains sow'd with Wheat, which are extraordinary fertil. The Springs which rise there, and Rains which fall give a fresher beauty and a higher tast to what grows there, more than in any other part of *Persia* that wants Water; and the products of those Fields are of a higher price.

Now for the great Road. The *Caravan* having crost'd the Stream where we left it, lodges the next Night upon the Banks of *Aras*, over which it ferries the next Morning. It does not go thorough *Zulfa*, though it be so near it; because that on the other side of the City, there are three Leagues of Way very bad and unfrequented. For which reason you must leave *Zulfa* on the right hand, which is not much out of the way. After two hours travel you go by a Bridge which is call'd *Sugiac*; after which you come upon Heaths encompass'd with high Rocks. All this days journey you meet with no Water, but only one little Fountain, and the Water is so bad that the Beasts will hardly drink it.

The day following you travel through an even Country, but very barren: where you meet with nothing but a forlorn Inn; though it be a place where Cost has been bestow'd, and built all of Free-stone, that was fetch'd a great way off. The next Stage is *Marante*, famous for the Burying-place of *Noah*'s Wife. The Town is not very big; resembling rather a Thicket than a City: but the situation is very pleasant, in the middle of a fertil Plain adorn'd with several well peopl'd Villages. This Plain does not extend above a League round about *Marante*, the Country beyond it being all barren. However it is not altogether unprofitable: for being a continual Heath, it affords feeding for the Camels, which are there bred for the *Caravans*. Which is the reason that there are so many Camel-Masters at *Sugiac* and *Marante*, who furnish great part of the Road. At *Marante* you must pay thirteen *Abassi's*, or four Crowns for every Camel's Load, for the security of the Road.

Leaving *Marante*, you lodge the next night a League from *Sophiana* in a bushy Plain, where the Water is worth nothing; after you have travell'd a mix'd Country, barren enough, where you meet with but one Inn in a Valley: but it is a very fair one. *Sophiana* is an indifferent large City, which you cannot see till you come within it, by reason of the great number of Trees planted in the Streets and round about it, which makes it look rather like a Forest than a City.

The next day, which is usually the tenth days journey from *Erivan*, the *Caravan*, having crost'd fair, large and fertil Plains, arrives at *Tauris*. Those Plains are water'd with several Streams that fall from the *Median* Mountains; but the Water is not all of the same goodness, for there is some which cannot be drunk.

In the mid-way between *Sophiana* and *Tauris*, lyes a Hill, from whence you have a prospect over those Plains, upon which the Army of *Sultan Amurath* Encamp'd, when he besieg'd *Tauris*. The news coming to *Sha-Sefi* King of *Persia*, that he had burnt it, and was marching further into the Country with a hundred thousand Men, *Let him come*, said he, *without any disturbance, I know how to make the* Turks *pay for their Invasion without any great trouble.* They were then not above fifteen days march from *Ispahan*, when *Sha-Sefi*, turn'd the course of all the Streams both before and behind, which only run from certain Springs, and are brought in Cutts or Chanels into the Inland-parts of *Persia*, where there are no Rivers: By which means the whole Army of the *Turks* perish'd for want of Water in those vast unwater'd Countries where they had engag'd themselves too far.

Tauris lyes in 83 Degrees, 30 Minutes of Longitude; and 40 Degrees, 15 Minutes of Latitude, in an open place where there is not a Tree to be seen; and environ'd

environ'd with Mountains on every ſide, but only upon the Weſt. The furtheſt Mountain is not above a League from the City; but there is one which almoſt touches it, being only ſeparated from it by the River. 'Tis a good Country, and fruitful in Corn; there is good Paſturage, and great ſtore of Pulſe. Some think that *Tauris* was the ancient *Echatane*, the *Metropolis* of the Empire of the *Medes*. It is at this day a great City and well peopl'd, as being the Mart for *Turkie*, *Muſcovy*, the *Indies*, and *Perſia*. There are an infinite number of Merchants, and vaſt quantities of all ſorts of Merchandize: particularly of Silk, which is brought out of the Province of *Guilan*, and other places. There is alſo a great Trade for Horſes, which are handſom and cheap. Wine, Aqua-vitæ, and indeed all ſorts of Proviſions are cheap enough; and Money trolls about in that place more than in any other part of *Aſia*. Many *Armenian* Families have got great Eſtates there by Trade, and underſtand it better than the *Perſians*. A little River, the Water whereof is very good, runs through the middle of *Tauris*; it's call'd *Scheinkaie*, over which there are three Bridges to croſs from one part of the City to the other.

The moſt part of the Buildings in *Tauris* are of Bricks bak'd in the Sun; the Houſes not being above one or two Stories high at moſt. The tops of the Houſes are terraſs'd; the Roofs within are vaulted, and plaiſter'd with Earth, mix'd with chopt Straw, which they whiten afterwards with Lime. In the year 1638 the City was almoſt ruin'd by *Sultan Amurath*; but it is almoſt all rebuilt again. There are in it *Bazars*, or Market-houſes, which are well built, and many Inns very commodious, two Stories high. The faireſt is that of *Mirza-Sadé* Governour of the Province, who caus'd it to be built with a Market-houſe adjoyning, to which he has added a Moſquee and a Colledge, with good Revenues.

The great Trade of *Tauris* renders it renown'd over all *Aſia*: for it has a continual Traffick with *Turks*, *Arabians*, *Georgians*, *Mengrelians*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, *Muſcovites*, and *Tartars*. The *Bazars* or Market-houſes, which are cover'd, are always full of Goods: for there are ſome which are peculiar to the Handicraft-Trades; the moſt part whereof are Smiths, ſuch as make Saws, Axes, Files, and Steels to ſtrike Fire, with Tobacco-ſtoppers belonging to them. Some there are that make Pad-locks: for the Eaſtern People faſten their Doors only with wooden Bolts. There are alſo Turners, that furniſh the neighbouring Parts with Spinning-Wheels and Cradles: and ſome Goldſmiths, that make trifles of Silver. But there is abundance of Silk-weavers that are Artiſts, and work very neatly; and indeed there are more of thoſe than of any other Trade. Here it is that they dreſs the greateſt part of the Shagrin-Skins that are vended ſo plentifully all over *Perſia*; for there are none unleſs it be the Country-people, but wear Boots or Shooes of Shagrin-Leather. This Leather is made either of the Hides of Horſes, Aſſes, or Mules, and only of the hinder part of the Hide: but the Aſſes Hide has the beſt grain.

There are to be ſeen at *Tauris*, Ruines of the ſtately Edifices round about the great *Piazza*, and the neighbouring parts: they have alſo let run to ruine four or five Moſquees of a prodigious height and bigneſs. The moſt magnificent and the biggeſt ſtands as you go out of the Town, in the Road to *Iſpahan*. The *Perſians* will not come near it, but look upon it as defil'd, and a Moſquee of Hereticks, in regard it was built by the *Sounnis*, or the followers of *Omar*. 'Tis a vaſt Structure fairly built, the Front whereof is fifty Paces broad, with an aſcent of eight Steps. It is lin'd without with Brick-work varniſh'd with different Colours; and adorn'd within with very fair Painting *A l'antique*, and abundance of Cifers and *Arabian* Letters in Gold and Azure. Upon two ſides of the Fore-front are rear'd two *Minarets* or Towers very high, but not very wide, yet with Stairs to go up to the top. They are lin'd with varniſh'd Brick-work, which is the uſual Ornament of the *Perſian* Buildings: and at the top ſtand two *Cupola's*, form'd like the Turbants which the *Perſians* wear. The Gate of the Moſquee is not above four Foot wide, cut out of a great tranſparent white Stone, four and twenty Foot high, and twelve broad. Entring at the Door of the Moſquee, you come into a ſpacious *Duomo*, thirty ſix Paces in Diameter, rais'd upon twelve Pillars within, and ſupported by ſixteen without, which Pillars are very high, and ſix Foot ſquare. Below there is a Baluſtrade or Rails that run round about the Building, with Doors to go

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lying along upon the Ground. There are also in the Mosquee certain Tombs of the ancient Kings of the *Medes*, the Remains whereof shew that the Work was very Excellent.

Upon the Road from *Tauris* to *Ispahan*, about half a League from the utmost Gardens, between several knaps of the Mountain which you leave upon the right hand, upon the top of the highest of all, where there never was any Water, and where it is impossible to bring any, appears a Bridge Fifty paces long, the Arches whereof are very fair ones, but it falls to decay. It was a *Mollah* that built it, out of what design no person new: nor can you come to *Tauris* upon that side, but you must see that Bridge, because there is no other way, there being nothing but Water and Precipices on either hand. Afterwards he confess'd that he built it out of meer Vanity, knowing that *Sha-Abbas*, the first of that name, was to come to *Tauris*. The King indeed came some time after, and seeing an unprofitable Bridge upon the top of a Mountain, he demanded who built it, and what was his design. To whom the *Mollah* return'd this answer, Sir, said he, I built that Bridge, that when your Majesty came to *Tauris*, you might inform your self from the mouth of him that built it. By which it appear'd that the *Mollah* had no other ambition than to oblige the King to speak to him.

A League from *Tauris* to the West, in the middle of a field, stands a great Brick Tower, call'd *Kanbazun*. It is about fifty Paces in Diameter, and though it be half ruin'd, yet it is very high. It seems to have been the Dungeon of some Castle, there being very high Walls round about it; which though they be but of Earth, nevertheless appear to be very ancient. It is not certainly known who built this Tower, but the *Arabian* Letters upon the Gate afford us some reason to conclude that it was a *Mahometan* structure. In the year 1651 there happen'd a terrible Earthquake in *Tauris* and the parts thereabouts, by which many Houses were overturn'd, and this Tower then cleaving from the top to the bottom, a good part of it fell down, and fill'd up the hollow within-side.

Besides the little River that runs by *Tauris*, there is another bigger to be cross'd about half a League from the City, over which there is a very fair Stone-Bridge: Near to it stands a Sepulcher, cover'd with a little *Duome*, where the *Persians* say that the Sister of *Iman Riza* lyes interr'd; and they have it in great veneration. The River that runs under the Bridge comes from the Mountains of the North, and falls into the Lake *Roumi*, thirteen or fourteen Leagues from *Tauris*. They call it *Aggi-son*, or *Bitter-water*; for the Water is very bad, and without any Fish. The Lake which is fifteen Leagues in compass, has the same quality, the Water being blackish: the Fish that happen into it out of other Rivers that fall into it, presently become blind, and in a short while are found dead by the Shoar. This Lake takes its name from a Province and a little City, which are both call'd *Roumi*, being not above Eleven Leagues from *Tauris*.

In the middle of the Lake, upon the way that leads to a little City call'd *Tokoriam*, there is a little Hill that rises insensibly, the ascent whereof is very smooth, and out of it there rise many little Springs. The farther they run from the Head, the wider grow the Streams. And the Earth which they water is of two distinct qualities; the first Earth that is digg'd serves to make Lime: the next to that is a hollow spungy Stone, that is good for nothing: but under that again is a white transparent Stone, which you may see through as through Glass, which being smooth and polish'd serves to adorn the Houses. This stone is only a congelation of the Waters of these Streams; for sometimes you shall meet with creeping Animals congeal'd within. The Governour of the Province sent one piece to *Sha-Abbas*, as a great present, wherein there was a Lizard congeal'd of a Foot long. He that presented it to the Governour had Twenty Tomans, or three hundred Crowns; afterwards I offer'd a thousand for the same Piece. In some parts of the Province of *Mazandron*, where the *Euxin* Sea stretches farthest into the *Persian* Territories, these congeal'd Stones are to be found, but not so frequently as near the lake *Roumi*; and you shall many times find pieces of Wood and Worms congeal'd in the Stones. I brought away a Camels loading of these Stones, and left them at *Marseilles*; till I could find what use to put them to.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

A Continuation of the Conſtantinopolitan *Road from* Tauris *to* Iſpahan, *through* Ardevil *and* Casbin.

FRom *Tauris* to *Iſpahan* the *Caravan* makes it generally twenty-four days journey.

The firſt day you croſs over dry Mountains, and four Leagues from *Tauris* you meet with one of the faireſt Inns in *Perſia*. This Inn *Sha-Sefi* caus'd to be built; it is very convenient, and large enough to lodge a hundred perſons with their Horſes. Over all *Perſia*, eſpecially from *Tauris* to *Iſpahan*, and from thence to *Ormus*, you meet every day with Inns at an equal diſtance.

The next day you deſcend a Mountain, in very rugged and narrow way. At the foot of this Mountain there are two ways for the Merchants to chooſe that will go to *Iſpahan*. They that will go the ordinary road and the direct way through *Kom* and *Kachan*, leave a Lake upon the left hand that parts the two Roads; and they that will go through *Ardevil* and *Casbin*, two other good Cities, leave the Lake upon the right hand, and coaſt along by the ſide of the Mountain. From *Tauris* to *Ardevil* it is not above a dozen Leagues; and having paſs'd the Lake, the Country is very good: Which is the Road I intend to deſcribe firſt.

Ardevil being at ſo ſmall a diſtance from *Tauris*, lyes almoſt in the ſame Degrees and Minutes of Longitude and Latitude. This City is famous, as well for being the firſt Market of Silks that come from *Guilan*, from which it is not far off; as alſo for the Sepulcher of *Sha-Sefi*, the firſt of that name, King of *Perſia*. The avenues to it are very pleaſant, being as it were Alleys of great Trees, which are call'd *Tchinar*, planted in a ſtreight line, at a due diſtance. It is of a moderate bigneſs, and ſeated in a lovely opening of the Mountains. The next to the Cities, which is call'd *Sevalan*, is the higheſt in all *Media*. The Houſes of *Ardevil* are built of Earth, as are moſt of the Houſes in the City of *Perſia*: but the Streets are very uneven, dirty, and narrow. There is but one which is handſom, at the end whereof is built the *Armenian* Church. A little River runs through the middle of the City, which deſcending from the neighbouring Mountains runs from Eaſt to Weſt. It is by Induſtry brought into many Cuts to water the Gardens, and in many places there are very fair Trees planted, which are very delightful to the Sight. The *Meydan* or Market-place is a very great one; more long than round; where ſtands a very fine Inn, upon one ſide, which the *Kan* caus'd to be built. There are ſeveral others in ſeveral parts of the City, which have the Proſpect over ſeveral lovely Gardens, eſpecially that which belongs to the King; to which you go through a long and ſtately Walk of four rows of Trees, at the end whereof ſtands a large Gate that gives you entrance. Though the Country about *Ardevil* be proper to bear Vines, yet there are none thereabouts; nor is there any Wine made till about four or five Leagues from the City. The *Armenians* that dwell in the City are very well ſtor'd with it; though there be no place in all *Perſia*, where there is ſo much Caution to be us'd, either as to the Importing it, or the Drinking it; both which muſt be done very privately: Which proceeds from the *Mahometan* Superſtition; the *Perſians* having ſo peculiar a veneration for that place, that they believe it a ſin to ſuffer Wine to be publickly drank therein.

The people come in Pilgrimage from all parts of *Perſia* to the Sepulcher of *Sha-Sefi*; which together with the vaſt Trade of Silk, makes *Ardevil* one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of all *Perſia*. There are ſeveral other Buildings added to the *Moſquee* wherein he lyes interr'd; the Entry whereof faces the *Meydan*, to which it is joyn'd upon the South-ſide with a large Portal. The Gate is chain'd with Chains faſten'd a croſs with great Rings; which if any Criminal Offender can but touch, and enter into the firſt Court, he is ſafe; for no perſon can apprehend him. This is a large Court, yet more in length than breadth, without the Wall whereof that looks upon the Market-place, ſeveral Shops are built for Merchants and Tradeſmen.

Out

Out of this Court you paſs into another which is leſs, and pav'd with broad Stones, with a Rivulet running through the middle. The Entry into it is through a Door, fortifi'd with Iron Chains like the former, and is made at a corner of the great Court upon the left hand. It brings you preſently under a *Portico*, where there are fair Balconies rais'd after the faſhion of the Country. Thoſe Balconies are full of ſeveral People; either Pilgrims, or perſons whoſe Crimes conſtrain them thither for Sanctuary. In that place you muſt leave your Stick and your Sword, before you go any farther; and give ſomething beſides to a *Moullah*, who is always attending there with Books.

In that ſecond Court through which the Rivulet glides, on the one ſide are Baths, on the other Granaries for Rice and Corn; and upon the left hand, at the end of the ſame Court, there is a little Door which brings you to a place where the Royal Alms are diſtributed to the Poor, Morning and Evening; being juſt againſt the King's Kitchin. This Gate is cover'd with Plates of Silver; and in the Kitchin there are about thirty Ovens contriv'd in the Wall, with as many great Caldrons to dreſs Pilaw and other Food, as well for the Poor as for the Officers of the *Moſquee*. While theſe Alms are diſtributing, the Maſter-Cook, who commands all the reſt, ſets upon a Chair cover'd with Plates of Silver, and ſees that every thing be done in order. He ſees to the meaſuring out the Rice every day for the Kettles, and cauſes the Victuals to be divided in his own ſight: For there is an excellent Oeconomy in the King's Houſe.

At the end of the *Portico* beyond the firſt Court there are two Gates, one beyond another, both cover'd with Plates of Silver, between thoſe two Gates on the right hand appears a little *Moſquee*, where are the Tombs of ſeveral *Perſian* Princes of the Blood Royal. You muſt have a great care not to tread upon the Threſholds of the Gates; for it is a Crime not to be expiated without a ſevere Puniſhment. From hence through a little Ile, you come into the Body of the Church, richly hung with Tapeſtry, and ſet about with high Desks, where lye a great many Books, wherein the *Moullahs*, or Doctors of the Law read continually, having Stipends to Officiate in the *Moſquee*. At the end of the Body of the *Moſquee*, is a little Octagonal Monument, like the Choir of a Church, in the midſt whereof ſtands the Monument of *Sha-Sefi*. It is only of Wood, but curiouſly carv'd and inlaid. It exceeds not the height of a Man of an ordinary ſtature, and ſeems like a great Cheſt, having four Apples of Gold ſet up at each corner. It is cover'd with a Crimſon Satin purfl'd with Gold; and all the other Tombs that are by it, are cover'd with Silks as rich. As well in the Choir as in the Body of the Church, there are abundance of Lamps, ſome of Gold, ſome of Silver; but the biggeſt of all is of Silver, gilded and vermilion'd, and neatly engrav'd. There are alſo ſix great Branches of a curious ſort of Wood, cover'd with Silver, with great Wax Candles in them, which are never lighted but at their great Feſtivals.

From the *Duomo* where ſtands the Tomb of *Sha-Sefi*, you go under a little Vault, which encloſes another Monument of another King of *Perſia*, whoſe Name I could not learn. It looks like another great Cheſt, curiouſly wrought, and cover'd with Satin. The Roof of the *Moſquee* is adorn'd within with a Painting of Gold and Azure, *a la Moreſque*; on the out-ſide, with a fair Varniſh of ſeveral Colours, like the ſtately *Moſquee* at *Tauris*.

In the adjacent Parts round about *Ardebil* are ſeveral Monuments worth a Man's ſight, being very ancient; and ſome which are ruin'd, ſhew by what remains the care with they took to enrich them with curious Workmanſhip. A quarter of a League from the City ſtands a *Moſquee*, in which are the Tombs of the Father and Mother of *Sha-Sefi*. It is a fair Structure, with Gardens and Courts, in one of which there is a very clear Fountain where they keep Fiſh.

Ardebil is not only famous, as I have ſaid already, for the Royal Sepulchers which are in it, and for the Pilgrimages which have been made to it from all parts of *Perſia*; but the numerous *Caravans* of Silk, which ſometimes conſiſt of eight or nine hundred Camels, add very much to its Grandeur. For being near to *Guilan* and *Shamaqui*, from whence thoſe vaſt quantities of Silk come; and for that the Road from both thoſe places, to *Conſtantinople* and *Smyrna*, lyes through this City, there is a continual confluence of Merchants, and all ſorts of Merchandizes are here to be had as well as at *Tauris*.

From *Ardebil* to *Casbin* you travel through a good Country; for every three or four Leagues you meet with little Rivers that fall from the Northern Mountains, and water the Earth. The *Caravan* is usually five days between *Ardebil* and *Arion*, between *Arion* and *Taron* two, between *Taron* and *Casbin* two more. Half a League on this side *Taron* you must cross a great River over a stone Bridge, and half a League beyond you come to *Kalkal*.

Arion is a little City, *Taron* and *Kalkal* are two great Towns; and there are but these three places in all *Persia* where there grow any Olives, or that they make any Oyl. Leaving *Kalkal*, you travel over a Plain for three hours, at the end whereof is a Way which you you cannot get over in less than four hours. The way is so bad that the Horses and Mules can hardly get up; but for the Camels, they must take the lower Road, which is also very tedious, and full of Stones, which the Torrents tumble down, and it is three or four Leagues about. When you are up, the Country is level, and you have not above three Leagues to *Casbin*.

Casbin lyes in 87 Degrees and 30 Minutes of Longitude, and 36 Degrees and 15 Minutes of Latitude. It is a great City, the Houses whereof are low and ill built; except seven or eight, which are next to the King's Gardens. It has no Walls, and indeed the best half of the City is in Gardens. There are three Inns, with Market-places round about; one of the three being large and commodious. It is inhabited altogether by *Mahometans*; or if there be any Christians, they are very few.

The Soil about *Casbin* produces Pistaches. The Tree that bears that is never bigger than a Walnut-tree of ten or twelve years old. The great quantity of Pistaches that are exported out of *Persia* come from *Malavert*, a little City twelve Leagues from *Ispahan*, toward the East. These are the best Pistaches in the World, and the Country being of a large extent, produces them in such abundance, that it furnishes all *Persia* and the *Indies*.

Leaving *Casbin*, you come to a little Village where there is but one Inn; and you travel that day six Leagues through Countries fertil enough, and well water'd.

The next day you travel through a good Country, and in nine or ten hours you come to *Denghé*. This is a great Village at the foot of a Hill, through which there runs a fair River. It abounds with excellent both White and Claret Wine, where the Travellers take care to repleniſh their Bottles. But generally they never lye here; being desirous to go a League farther, for a good Inn's sake, which makes it a handsom Stage.

At this Town of *Denghé* it is where the two Roads from *Tauris* to *Ispahan* meet: the first, through *Ardebil* and *Casbin*, I have already describ'd. Hither also come the *Caravans* that go for the *Indies* through *Meshéhead* and *Candahar*, and where they leave *Ispahan* Road to take the left-hand Way, which carries them Eastward.

CHAP. VI.

The ordinary Road from Tauris *to* Ispahan. *through* Zangan, Sultanie, *and other places.*

WE must now return again to the Lake six Leagues beyond *Tauris*, where they that will take the ordinary short way through *Zangan* and *Sultanie*, leave the left hand way of *Ardebil* and *Casbin*. This Lake is usually full of large red Ducks, which are very good Meat.

From thence, after twelve or thirteen hours travel, in which time you meet with three Inns, you come to *Karashima*, a large Town in a deep Valley, that seems to be well manur'd. There is in it only a small Inn built of Earth, the Doors whereof are so low, that the People are forc'd to creep upon their knees to get in.

The next day you come to another large Village call'd *Turcoma*, where the Soil is fertil, though it be very cold. There are several *Caravanseras* built like a long

Alley

Alley cover'd, which are only of Earth, the Men lying at one end, and the Horſes at another.

The next day you travel over an uneven and deſert Country, and in eight hours time you come to *Miana*, a little City ſituated in a Marſh, where you pay a Toll for Guarding the Highways. In this City is one of the faireſt Inns in all *Perſia*.

Two hours after you leave *Miana*, you muſt croſs a River, over a fair Bridge which runs to decay; the Arches whereof are hollow within; it is built of Brick and Free-ſtone, being near as long as *Pont neuf* in *Paris*. This Bridge ſtands almoſt at the foot of a Mountain call'd *Kaplenton*. *Sha-Abas* caus'd all the way to be Pav'd, becauſe the Land is ſo fat and ſloughy, that when it thaws, or that the leaſt Rain falls, it is impoſſible for the *Caravan* to paſs. Beſides, there are a ſort of Camels in *Perſia*, that when it comes to rain in a deep Soil, are not able to keep their Legs: nay through the weight of the Burthens which they carry, their very Quarters will rive from their Shoulders, and their Bellies will burſt. So that before the way was pav'd, they were forc'd to ſpread Carpets in the moſt ſlippery ways where thoſe Camels were to paſs: which muſt be ſtill done in ſome places, where the Pavement is worn away.

At the lower part of the deſcent toward *Iſpahan*, upon the knap of a Hill which ſtands by it ſelf, appears an old forſak'n Fortreſs; it is near the Highway, and a River, which falls into the *Caſpian* Sea, after it has croſs'd the Province of *Guilan*, where it is cut into ſeveral Chanels. But generally the Corn and Fruits which grow in *Perſia* by the help of Water forc'd into Chanels, are of little eſteem, and much cheaper than thoſe that grow in the Provinces whoſe Fertility is not Artificial. Moreover, that ſort of forc'd Grain will not keep above a Year; and if you keep it longer, it breeds a Vermin that eats it. 'Tis the ſame thing if the Corn be ground; and more than that, there breeds a Worm in the Flower, that makes it ſo bitter that 'tis impoſſible to eat it.

On this ſide the Mountain *Kaplenton* appear at a diſtance two others very high, one toward the North call'd *Saveland*, another toward the South call'd *Schand*: there is a third, which cannot be ſeen in *Iſpahan*-Road, being two far out of the way, near the City of *Hamadan*. Theſe three Mountains are full of Springs, from whence moſt of the Streams do fall that water *Perſia*: And the *Perſians* do ſay, that formerly there were many more of theſe Springs, but that about a hundred Years ago ſeveral of them have been dry'd up, or otherwiſe no body can tell what is become of them.

There are ſeveral Villages near the Mountain that pay nothing to the King, but are oblig'd to ſend him a certain quantity of Rice and Butter, for the uſe of the *Moſquee* at *Ardebil*. They have alſo one great Priviledge, That if a Man commits a Murther, and flyes to any of theſe Villages, he cannot be apprehended, nor can the King himſelf puniſh him.

Leaving the River that runs at the foot of the Mountain *Kaplenton*, you come to a fair Inn call'd *Tſhamalava*, built ſome years ago: and for thirteen hours after, travelling over a very barren Country, you meet with another Inn, which is call'd *Sartcham*, ſtanding in a very deſert place: which makes the *Raders*, that lye there to ſecure the Highways, very inſolent, finding themſelves ſo far from any Towns or Villages.

From *Sartcham* you come to a River, by the Banks whereof you travel a good while, till you come to an Inn which is call'd *Digbé*, near a large Village. The Structure is very handſom, the lower part being of Free-ſtone undulated with red and white, and very hard.

The next day you travel a very uneven Country, till you fall into a deep Valley, at the end whereof you meet with *Zangan*, a great Town and ill built. However, it has a very fair Inn, which when I went laſt to *Iſpahan* was ſo full, that I had like to have lain abroad in the Rain, but for the Courteſie of two *Armenians*. From *Zangan* you go to an Inn, where you muſt pay the Duties due to the *Kan* of *Sultanie*.

Sultanie is a very large City, which you leave half a Mile from the Road, near to a Mountain. Formerly it had in it very beautiful *Moſquees*, as may be eaſily conjectur'd by the Ruines that remain. Many Chriſtian Churches alſo were con-

verted into *Moſquees*; and if you will believe the *Armenians*, they will tell you, that there were in *Sultanie* near eight hundred Churches and Chapels.

Three Leagues from *Sultanie* ſtands an Inn, and a League farther a great Town call'd *Ija*, where there is another very commodious Inn, and moſt excellent Wine.

From thence you go to *Habar*, an ancient City and of a large extent, but very much ruin'd, inhabited by *Armenians* for the moſt part: Here, for the good Wines ſake the Travellers ſtay to recruit their Bottles.

From *Habar*, after ſeven hours travel you come to a Village call'd *Partin*. From *Zangan* to *Partin* you reach in two days. It ſtands in a fertil Plain, where there are ſeveral other Villages. It is not above three Leagues broad, being enclos'd on each ſide, to the Eaſt and Weſt, with a row of high Mountains.

Having paſs'd this Plain, you come to a barren Country and ill inhabited, which laſts all the day, till you come to *Saxava*. You paſs by the Ruines of a Village, where there are but two Houſes ſtanding, with the Tower of a *Moſquee*, which is very high and ſlender. Then you come to a Mud-wall'd-Inn, built ſome few years ſince; and near to that a Caſtle call'd *Khiara*, upon the peek of a Hill, but very ill built.

Sexava is a little City in a Soil that bears excellent Nuts. The Inns that are there being built of Earth, and being but little, are very handſom and covenient, their number ſupplying the defect of their ſmalneſs.

From *Sexava*, after ſeven hours travel, you come to a great Inn, call'd *Idgionp*, which was formerly a nobler place than now it is, ſtanding alone in a Field. Three Leagues from thence you meet with another ſpacious Inn, call'd *Cochkeria*; and four hours farther you come to the Inn *Denghé*, where the two Roads meet which I ſpake of in the foregoing Chapter.

From *Denghé* to *Kom* are three days journey, over a barren, dry, and deſert Country, where there is no Water but Ciſtern-water, except in ſome very few places, where it is very good. Four Leagues from *Denghé* is a fair Inn; and three Leagues farther ſtands another, about a Mile from a Village to the South, where there grows excellent good Wine, white and red. From this laſt Inn to *Sava* is not above three hours travel with the *Caravan*.

Sava is a good City in a fertil Plain, where there are ſeveral Villages. The greateſt Trade of the Town is in little grey Lamb-skins, the curl whereof is very neat, of which they make Furrs. Two or three Leagues beyond *Sava* the Country is very well manur'd, and after you have forded a River half a League from the City, after two hours travel you come to one of the faireſt Inns in all *Perſia*, which was finiſh'd when I went laſt to *Iſpahan*. From thence to *Kom* it is about ſeven or eight hours journey, through a dry and ſandy Road: but half a League on this ſide *Kom* the Land is very good and fruitful.

Kom is one of the great Cities of *Perſia*, in a fat Country abounding in Rice. There grow alſo excellent Fruits, particularly large and excellent Granates. The Walls are only of earth, with little Towers cloſe one to another; and the Houſes being only of Earth, are never the handſomer within ſide. At the entry into the Town, you muſt croſs a River, over a ſtone Bridge, and then turning to the right hand over a fair Key, you come to an Inn very well built and very convenient.

That which is moſt remarkable in *Kom* is a large *Moſquee*, no leſs in veneration among the *Perſians*, than the *Moſquee* of *Ardebil*. There it is that you may ſee the Sepulchers of *Sha-Sefi* and *Sha-Abas* the Second; as alſo the Tomb of *Sidi-Fatima*, the Daughter of *Iman-Hocen*, who was the Son of *Haly* and *Fatima Zahra* the Daughter of *Mahomet*. The great Gate of the *Moſquee* anſwers to a *Piazza* more long than broad, where ſtands an Inn and certain ſhops, which without-ſide are ſomewhat beautiful. One of the ſides of the *Piazza* is clos'd up with a low Wall, over which appears the Shore, and a River which you croſs at the end of the *Piazza*. Over the great Portal of the *Moſquee* ſtands an Inſcription, in Letters of Gold, in the praiſe of *Sha-Abas* the Second. The firſt place that you enter into is a Court of more length than breadth, which may be term'd a Garden, in regard that on each ſide of the Alley in the middle, which is pav'd, there are ſeveral ſquare Beds of Flowers, yellow Jaſmin, and other Plants; which are rail'd in by a Rail that runs all the length of the Alley on each ſide. It is not an eaſie thing for the Chriſtians to

get

get in to this Court, eſpecially ſuch whoſe Habits and Aſpect they do not like: But as I cloth'd and carry'd my ſelf, I never was deny'd entrance into any place either in *Perſia* or *India*.

In this firſt Court on the left hand as you enter, are little Chambers, where they that receive the Alms, which by the Foundation of the *Moſquee* are to be diſtributed every day, come and eat their proportion, and then go their ways. Thoſe Chambers ſerve as an *Aſylum* to thoſe that cannot pay their Debts, as at the *Moſquee* of *Ardenil*. Neither are theſe Priviledg'd places like ours, where they that retire muſt live at their own Charge: For in *Perſia* they are fed at the expence of the *Moſquee*; and being in that manner freed from Care, their Friends more eaſily bring their Creditors to Compoſition.

Out of the firſt Court you paſs into a ſecond, which is larger, and all pav'd; and from that into a third, which is ſquare, and rais'd like a Terraſs. You enter into it through a large Gate, at the end of an open Paſſage, where ſtand the Lodgings of the *Moullah's*.

Out of that Court by an aſcent of Brickwork of ten or twelve Steps, you enter into a fair Court, which is alſo rais'd like a Terraſs; in the midſt whereof is a fair Fountain. It is continually fill'd by little Pipes of Water which run into it, and is empty'd by others that carry the Water into ſeveral parts of the whole Encloſure. There are ſome Buildings in this Court, but one of the ſides of it is taken up with the Front of the *Moſquee*, which is no diſpleaſing Structure. There are three large Gates belong to it, very well expanded, according to the mode of the Country; with a Brick-wall before, about the height of a Man, with Holes in it for Light, made like a Lozange. The Threſhold of the middle Gate is cover'd with a plate of Silver; and between theſe three Gates and that of the *Duomo*, are ſeveral Doctors that hold Books in their hands, and read perpetually.

This *Moſquee* is Octagonal, and at every angle is a ſmall wooden Door of Walnut-tree, varniſh'd with grey and yellow. The Tomb of *Sidi-Fatima* is at the farther part of the *Moſquee*, there being only room for one Man to paſs between the Wall and the Tomb. It is encompaſs'd with a large Silver Grate, ſixteen Foot ſquare; the Bars whereof are round, and knob'd in thoſe places where they croſs each other; it is lighted by ſeveral Lamps of Gold and Silver: which altogether is very pleaſing to the Eye. The inſide of the *Moſquee*, to the elevation of the Angles that ſupport the *Duomo*, is compos'd of ſquare Tiles varniſh'd over with divers Colours; and the *Cupola* of the *Duomo*, as alſo the Vault of the *Portico* of the *Moſquee*, is a *Moreſco* piece of Painting in Or and Azure. Upon each ſide of the *Moſquee*, and near the ſide where the Tomb of *Sidi-Fatima* ſtands, appears a great Hall, where the Royal Alms are diſtributed to the Poor, which conſiſt of Pilaw and other diet, very well dreſt. From this Tomb you turn to the left hand toward an Aſcent, diſtant five and twenty or thirty Paces; and at the top of this Aſcent is a Door, over which there is an Inſcription in Honour of *Sha-Abas* the Second. The Door being open'd, ſhews you the place where the Body of that King repoſes: and through another Door with a Grate in it, you may diſcover, under a ſmall *Duomo*, the Tomb of *Sha-Sefi* his Father; which is cover'd with a Carpet of Cloth of Gold. They were continually at work upon the Tomb of *Sha-Abas*, which they ſaid, they would make very famous.

I had not been two hours in *Kom*, but a multitude of People ran by the Inn Gate, all in extraordinary haſt. Asking what the matter was, they anſwer'd me, that it had been a day long deſign'd for the two *Prophets* to fight. Thereupon I went to the *Piazza*, which was ſo crowded, that I had much ado to get to ſee. In the firſt place a ſufficient number of Tumblers and Puppet players, divided into two Bands, kept the middle of the *Piazza*, and made a ſufficient Ring for the Combat. Each Band held a Bull by the Horns, one of which they call'd *Mahomet*, and the other *Haly*: and whether it were by accident, or by the cunning of the Bull-Maſters, after an obſtinate Combat, wherein the Beaſts foam'd again with heat and rage; *Mahomet* at length quit the Field, and yielded *Haly* the Victory. Then all the People ſhouted for joy, and all the *Piazza* was fill'd with the noiſe of Flutes and Hautboys; and every one coming as if it were to adore *Haly*, cry'd out, *Behold the Works of God, that* Haly *has made!* At length they bring the Bull *Haly* under a Gate, with his Head turn'd toward the People; where after they

have

have rub'd him to refresh him, after a Combat so courageously maintain'd, every one sends him Presents, which are all the Tumblers profit. The *Kan* or Governour of *Kom*, who was present with a hundred Horses richly trap'd to behold the Sight, sent the Bull a Present of 50 *Tomans*, or 750 Crowns. They who accompany'd him, and the chief Inhabitants of *Kom*, gave him some a Garment, others a Girdle. Neither did the meanest of the People spare to send or carry him Fruits, or other things, according to their abilities.

The *Kan* was a Lord who was very civil, and there was no Stranger that did not commend his behaviour, in regard he was so obliging.

So soon as I came to the place, whether it was that he perceiv'd me with a *Dutchman* that I had brought along from *Constantinople*, or whether any one had inform'd him that there were Strangers near him, he sent for us, and after he had ask'd us some Questions concerning the occasion of our Travelling, he sent for a Seat and caus'd us to sit down. Then he ask'd us whence we came, and what we did at *Ispahan*; to which when we had answer'd him, that we went to wait upon the King, he approved our Intention, complaining that we had not given him advice of our Arrival. In the Evening he sent us several Delicacies, among the rest, six fair Melons, and four Bottles of excellent Wine.

He appear'd to me so brave and generous a Person, that I was very much troubled afterwards for his being in dis-favour with the King, and his death, which ensu'd. For this *Kan* finding the Walls of the City, which were only of Earth, and the Bridge over the River to be out of repair, without writing to the King, of his own head, laid a slight Imposition upon every Basket of Fruit that was brought into the City. Now there are in all the Cities of *Persia*, persons who are hir'd to take an account every Week what the Commodities may be worth, and to take care that no more than such a Toll be laid upon any thing; which they tax among themselves, and when they had set the Rate, they cause it to be cry'd at the beginning of every Week. *Sha-Sefi* then reign'd, it being the year 1632. The King being inform'd by these people of the Impost which the *Kan* had set upon Fruit without his knowledge, was so enrag'd against him, that he caus'd him to be brought in Chains to *Ispahan*, where he us'd him with a strange severity. For at that time the Son of the *Kan* stood at the King's Elbow, it being his Office to give him his Pipe and his Tobacco, which is a very honourable Employment in *Persia*. When the *Kan* came, the King caus'd him to be carry'd to the Gate of the Palace, in the presence of all the People, and then commanded his Son to pull the Hair of his Father's Mustaches by the roots from his Skin. After that he commanded him to cut off his Nose and his Ears; after that to put out his Eyes, and lastly to cut off his Head. When he had done the Execution according to the King's pleasure, he commanded him to go and take possession of his Fathers Government, and allowing him an experienc'd Old Man for his Lieutenant, he sent him to *Kom* with these words; *If thou govern'st no better than this dead Dog has done, I will put thee to a more cruel Death than this.*

Leaving *Kom*, for four hours you travel over a fair Champain Country, after which you come to a fair Village with five or six Inns in it. Beyond that is nothing but Sand, till you come to a place call'd *Abschirim*, or *Fresh-water*, where there are three Inns at a Distance from any Villages. From *Abschirim* to *Cachan* is six hours journey through a Corn Country, and stor'd with great Villages.

Cachan is a large City, well peopl'd, and furnish'd with all things necessary for humane subsistance: There is an old Wall about it which is faln down in many places, so that there is no need of seeking for Gates to get into the City. On that side which looks toward *Ispahan* the Soil is good, and produces great store of Fruit and Wine, which the *Jews* take care to make. It is reckon'd that there are in *Cachan* a thousand Families of *Jews*; in *Ispahan* about six hundred; but in *Kom* there are not above nine or ten. Not but that there are many *Jews* in *Persia*, but those that live in *Ispahan*, *Cachan* and *Kom*, boast themselves particularly of the Tribe of *Judah*.

There are an abundance of Silk-Weavers in *Chachan* that are very good Workmen, which make all the best purfl'd Sattins mix'd with Gold and Silver, that come out of *Persia*. There they also coyn Money, and make Copper-vessels, which they vend in great quantities at a good distance off. The Market-houses are very fair ones,

ones, and well vaulted, the Inns large and convenient: but there was one among the reſt which was very magnificent, near the King's Gardens, at the entry of the City. As well the Inn as the Gardens were made by the order of *Sha-Abbas*, the firſt of that Name, who was at a vaſt charge. The Inn is above a hundred Paces ſquare, built of Brick two Stories high, containing twenty-ſix vaulted Chambers of a reaſonable bigneſs. It was a Structure too fair to be ſo little regarded, as now it is, being much faln to decay. In the middle of the Court was a Fountain to receive Water, which is ſpoil'd. The *Perſians* and *Turks* are of that bad humor, rather to build new Houſes than to repair old Buildings. For which reaſon they have ſince built at *Cachin* four or five Inns, as fair and commodious as that of *Sha-Abas*. This Cuſtom is grown to that height, that the Children are ſo far from taking care to repair the old Houſes where their Parents liv'd, that they will not ſo much as live in them after their deceaſe, covetous of the honour of building Houſes for themſelves.

Before we leave *Cachan* you muſt take notice, that as you are to travel from that City to *Guilan*, you cannot avoid travelling thorough Plains for twelve hours together, which are all pure Salt; and there is nothing to be met with by the way, but one Ciſtern; nor can the Water which is in it be otherwiſe than very bad.

Leaving *Cachan*, you croſs a Plain of three Leagues, after which you enter in among the Mountains, where you come to a very fair Inn of Brick. From thence you deſcend a pleaſant Vale, where you travel a long time by the ſide of a River, over a very narrow way. At the end of the Valley you meet a great Wall, which croſſes it, and joyns the two Mountains together. This Wall is above a hundred Paces long, above thirty Foot thick, and fifty high. It was the *Work* of the Great *Sha-Abas*, whoſe deſign it was to ſtop the Waters that fall from the Mountain, and to make a Receptacle for Water in that place, to ſerve his occaſions. At the foot of the Wall there is a Sluce, which being let down keeps in the Water; but is pull'd up to let out the Water over all the neighbouring Lands to the Plain of *Cachan*. From this Receptacle to *Coron* is about two hours travel.

Coron is a very large Village, and well peopl'd, in a Soil environ'd with high Mountains, and planted with great ſtore of Walnut-trees. The Houſes conſiſt but of one low Story, being built of Flint-ſtone; but the Inn therein is very fair and commodious. This Village conſiſts but of one Street, but it is almoſt half a League long, and very troubleſom in the Winter, by reaſon of a great River that runs through it, and the great quantity of Stones that lye in the way. All about this Village, as in ſeveral other places of *Perſia*, there are a great number of *Shacales*; which are a kind of Foxes, that in the night time make an ugly noiſe; for if but one cry, all the reſt will make anſwer, and ſet up a howling.

From *Coron* you muſt travel three Leagues between Mountains, after which you have but twelve Leagues to *Iſpahan*. It is a continued Plain that extends it ſelf beyond the City, and in many places the Soil is very good. At every three Leagues end you meet with Inns. The firſt is call'd *Achaba-Acacamala*; the ſecond, which is the half-way between *Coron* and *Iſpahan*, is call'd *Michiacour*. This place conſiſts not only of one Inn, for there are many others, ſo that it reſembles a large Village. From *Michiacour* you come to *Aganura*, another Inn, but ill built; and from *Aganura*, after you have travel'd three Leagues through a fat and fertil Country, you come to *Iſpahan*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Road from Smyrna *to* Iſpahan, *through* Natolia.

SMyrna is at this day for Trade, whether it be by Sea or Land, one of the moſt celebrated Cities of all the *Levant*, and the greateſt Market for all ſorts of Commodities which are tranſported out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, or out of *Europe* into *Aſia*. Hither all the Weſtern Fleets are moſt regularly bound, that came formerly no farther than *Ligorn*, and from whence, at times moſt regularly appointed, the faireſt *Caravans* ſet out

This City lyes in 50 Degrees of Longitude; and 38 Degrees, 45 Minutes of Latitude; at the bottom of a Gulf in the *Archipelago*, which is ſeven Leagues in length, upon the right ſide of the *Iſthmus* which begins to form the *Peninſula* of *Clazomene*, right againſt the Iſland of *Schio*. It lyes in that part of the Leſſer *Aſia*, which the *Greeks* poſſeſs'd, under the Name of *Iconium*; at a diſtance almoſt equal, between *Epheſus* and *Sardis*; and was one of the ſeven Churches mention'd in the Revelation of St. *John*. It is at this day a great City, built like an Amphitheater, upon the deſcent of a Hill that looks toward the Summer-Weſt. But it is neither ſo great, nor ſo beautiful as formerly it was, as may be eaſily conjectur'd by the Ruines of certain Edifices that remain upon that Hill, which from the middle to the top, where the ancient City ſtood, are altogether uninhabited. There are alſo to be ſeen the Walls of a fair Caſtle, and above that the Ruines of an Amphitheater, where they ſay St. *Polycarp* was expos'd to fight with Lions. This Amphitheater was not in the form of thoſe other, which are uſually round; for it contain'd but half a Circle, being left open to the Sea-ſide. The *Turks* have almoſt quite deſtroy'd it: making uſe of the Stones to build a Fort two Leagues from the City, upon the Gulf, where the paſſage is very narrow; which the Ships are forc'd to ſalute as they inter in, and to ſpeak with when they ſail out. Moreover, that they might not be put to ſend for Stones a-far-off, they conſulted whether they might not make uſe of the Stones of the Chriſtians Monuments, as alſo of thoſe of the *Jews*, which are near the Shore: But they took very few, whether out of kindneſs to the Tombs, or whether they did not think them ſo proper for uſe as the Stones of the Amphitheater. This Caſtle had not been long built, but upon an occaſion very remarkable. In the laſt Wars of the *Turks* with the *Venetians*, the *Ottoman* Fleet having been beaten in the *Archipelago*, the Grand *Signor* reſolv'd to re-fit another to Sea, and thereupon ſent to all the parts of his Empire, where he knew any *Engliſh* or *Holland* Veſſels uſually were wont to ride, to ſollicit them to ſerve him for his Pay. More particularly he aim'd at thoſe Veſſels which were in *Smyrna*, where there were generally more than in any other Port. But the Captains, who rejected his Propoſition of fighting againſt the *Venetians*, believing that he would put ſome force upon them, ſuddenly hois'd Sail and got away; it being at a time when he could not keep them in, having no Caſtle then built to command them. The Grand *Viſier* nettl'd at the refuſal of the Captains, as an affront done to his Maſter, and to ſee that the Ships could come in and go out, without any let or moleſtation, bethought himſelf (to the end he might keep them for the future under ſubjection) of building a Fort upon the Gulf, in ſuch a part where the Veſſels muſt neceſſarily touch; where now there lye great Cannons level with the Water, which no Veſſel can eſcape. Ever ſince the Convoys will not come to *Smyrna*, as they were wont to do, but lye out at Sea, out of the reach of the Fort.

Near to the Sea are yet to be ſeen ſome Remains of a Church, two ſides whereof ſeem to have been diſtinguiſh'd into Chappels by little Walls, which are yet ſtanding: But the Natives doubt whether they be the Ruines of a Church dedicated to St. *Polycarp*, or of an ancient Temple of *Janus*.

Smyrna has been oftentimes ruin'd either by the Wars, or by the Earthquakes which often happen there. One time that I ſtaid there, there happen'd one, which did not laſt long, but was very terrible. About ſixty Paces from the Sea are to be diſcern'd the Ruines of great Walls two Foot under Water; and at the end of the City

City that looks toward the Winter-Weſt, near to the Sea, appear the Ruines of a Mole, and certain ancient Magazines.

The *Engliſh* Merchants have dig'd among the Ruines of *Smyrna*, and have found great ſtore of fair Statues, which they tranſported into their own Country. There are ſtill found ſome or other every day; but when the *Turks* find any, they disfigure them preſently. It may be conjectur'd, that there was one of a prodigious bigneſs, by a great Toe broken off of ſome one, and for which I paid ſufficiently, out of the deſire I had to buy it. I ſent it to *Paris* to a Perſon of Quality, who look'd upon it as a great Curioſity. This Toe was of a hard white Stone, and well ſhap'd, and by the proportion whereof, the Figure could not be judg'd to be leſs than the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*.

Upon that ſide of the City where the Mole was, ſtands an old Caſtle of no defence, at the foot whereof the Sea makes a ſmall Creek, where ſometimes the Gallies of the Grand *Signor* lye.

The City is well peopl'd containing no leſs than fourſcore and ten thouſand Souls. There are reckon'd no leſs than 60000 *Turks*, 15000 *Greeks*, 8000 *Armenians*, and about ſix or ſeven thouſand *Jews*. As for the *European* Chriſtians that Trade there, their number is very ſmall. Every one of theſe Nations has the exerciſe of their Religion free to themſelves. The *Turks* have in *Smyrna* fifteen *Moſquees*, the *Jews* ſeven Synagogues, the *Armenians* but one Church, the *Greeks* two, and the *Latines* three. There are alſo *French* Jeſuits, and *Italian* Obſervantins, or a ſort of Grey *Franciſcans*. The *Turks*, the *Greeks*, the *Armenians*, and *Jews* live upon the Hill; but all the lower part toward the Sea is inhabited only by the *European* Chriſtians, *Engliſh*, *French*, *Hollanders*, and *Italians*. The *Greeks* have alſo in the ſame Quarter an old Church, and ſome few ſmall Houſes, where Sea-men make merry.

All theſe different People of *Europe* are generally known in *Smyrna* by the Name of *Franks*. Every Nation has its *Conſul*: and the *French Conſul* has two *Vice-Conſuls* under him; the one at *Scalanova*, the other at *Chio*.

Scalanova, or the *New Port*, is two Leagues beyond *Epheſus*, and being a good Haven, the Veſſels were wont to unlade there; but the *Turks* would not permit it any longer. For that Place being the Dowry of the Grand *Signor*'s Mother, the *Vice-Conſul* agreed with the Governour of *Scalanova*, who permitted the Tranſportation of Goods to *Smyrna*, which is not above three little days journey with the *Caravan*: A thing that ſpoil'd the Trade of the City, and injur'd the Officers of the Cuſtom-Houſe. Whereupon they Petition'd the Grand *Signor* that no more Goods might be unladed at *Scalanova*: ſo that now no more Veſſels go thither, unleſs it be to take in freſh Victuals.

Chio is one of the greateſt Iſlands in the *Archipelago*, of which in another place: but the *Vice-Conſul* that lives there has no more buſineſs there than the other at *Scalanova*; for the Veſſels that touch there, neither unlade nor export any Goods from thence.

The Quarter of the *Franks* is only a long Street, one ſide whereof lyes upon the Sea; and as well for the Proſpect, as for the convenience of Unlading Goods, the Houſes upon the Sea are much dearer than thoſe that lye upon the Hill.

The Soil about *Smyrna* is fertil, and abounds in all things neceſſary for humane ſupport; but particularly in good Oyl and good Wine. There are Salt-Pits alſo half a League from the City, toward the North. The Sea affords great ſtore of good Fiſh; Fowl is very cheap; and in a word, *Smyrna* is a place of great plenty. There is a lovely Walk all along the Sea to the Salt-Pits, where generally abundance of People walk in the Summer-time to take the freſh Air: and there being more liberty at *Smyrna* than in any other part of *Turkie*, there is no neceſſity of taking a *Janiſary* along, when a man goes abroad. If a man loves Fowling, it is but taking a Boat, which lands him two or three Leagues from the City, toward the Mountains, where there is ſo much Game that he can never return empty. For the value of three *Sous* you may buy a red Partridge at *Smyrna*, and all other Fowl is proportionably cheap.

But if *Smyrna* have theſe great advantages, it has alſo its inconveniences: the Heats are very exceſſive in Summer, and indeed they would be inſupportable, were it not for the Breezes that come off the Sea: theſe Breezes riſe about ten in the Morning, and continue till the Evening; but if they fail, 'tis very bad for the

Inhabitants. Beſides, there hardly paſſes a Year but the City is infeſted with the Plague, which however is not ſo violent as in Chriſtendom. The *Turks* neither fear it nor flie it, believing altogether in Predeſtination. Yet I believe, if the Inhabitants of *Smyrna* would take care to drain away the ſtanding Puddles that gather in the Winter about the City, they would not be ſo frequently moleſted with the Plague as they are. It is moſt rife in *May*, *June*, and *July*; but the malignant Fevers that ſucceed it in *September* and *October* are more to be fear'd, more People dying of them than of the Peſtilence. In all my Travels I never was in *Smyrna* at theſe unfortunate Seaſons. There is no *Baſha* in that City; it being govern'd only by a *Cady*, who is not ſo ſevere to the Chriſtians as in other places: For ſhould he abuſe his Office, *Conſtantinople* is at hand, where you may complain to the *Mufti*, and have relief; who for ſome good Preſent may be eaſily perſwaded to depoſe the *Cady*, as being glad of the opportunity to diſplace him, and to put another in his room.

The Cuſtoms of *Smyrna* yield a great Revenue to the Grand *Signor*, being paid there very exactly. But were there a certain Rate put upon Commodities, the Merchants, who would otherwiſe be loſers, would not ſtudy ſo many ways as they do to deceive the Cuſtomers: For thoſe Cuſtomers lay what Price they pleaſe upon Commodities, valuing that at a thouſand Crowns, which perhaps is not worth three hundred, being abſolute Maſters of the Rate. In my laſt Voyage to *Smyrna*, four *Dutch* Women that went thither in our Ship from their own Country, carry'd a-ſhoar under their Coats whatever I had of rich Merchandize: for the *Turks* have ſuch a reſpect for that Sex, that they will not ſo much as offer to ſearch them. If a man be tak'n in ſtealing Cuſtoms, there is no other puniſhment than to pay double.

The Trade of *Smyrna* is very great, and the principal Merchandizes which the *Franks* tranſport from thence, are raw Silk, which the *Armenians* bring out of *Perſia*; Chamlet-yarn, and Chamlet or Goats-hair, which come from a little City call'd *Angouri*, fifteen or ſixteen days journey from *Smyrna*; Cotton twiſted; Skins and Cordovans of ſeveral colours; Calicuts, white and blew; great quantities of Wool for Mattreſſes, Tap'ſtries, quilted Coverlets, Soap, Rhubarb, Galls, Valanede, Scammony, and Opium; which four laſt Commodities are to be had in the Countries near to *Smyrna*, but not in great quantities. The *Caravans* come generally to this Town in the Months of *February*, *June*, and *October*; and depart again to the Countries from whence they came the ſame Months.

Epheſus not being above a day and a halfs journey from *Smyrna*, on Horſe-back, I took an opportunity to go thither. There were twelve of us that joyn'd together, *Franks* and *Hollanders*, who took three *Janiſaries* along with us, and three Horſes to carry our Proviſion.

We travel'd this little Journey in the Summer, and ſetting out of *Smyrna* about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, we rode through a Country part Plains, and part Hills, till we came to a great Village, where we ſup'd.

After we had ſtaid there three hours, we took Horſe and travel'd till Midnight, to avoid the Heats: By the way we met with nine or ten Arches, very narrow; which we could not conjecture to be any thing elſe than the Ruines of ſome Aqueduct. From thence to *Epheſus* the way is very pleaſant, through little Thickets watred with Rivulets.

A quarter of a League from *Epheſus* you meet with another *Moſquee*, which was formerly a Chriſtian Church, built out of the Ruines of the Temple of *Epheſus*. This *Moſquee* ſtands enclos'd with Walls, and you muſt aſcend up to it by two Aſcents of twelve Steps a-piece, which bring you to a large Paſſage. From thence you enter into a large Cloyſter, the Arches whereof are ſuſtain'd with Marble Pillars of ſeveral colours, delicately wrought; and the lower part of the Gallery, which runs along three of the ſides, that conſiſts of great Squares of Stone. The *Moſquee* takes up the fourth ſide upon the left hand, the Gate being in the middle. The *Moſquee* it ſelf is a wide Arch, ſupported by five Columns, all of moſt exquiſite Work. There are four of Marble, and every one of a different Colour; but the fifth is a moſt rare piece, being of Porphyry, and the bigneſs of it makes it ſo much the more to be admir'd.

Epheſus does not look like a City, being ſo abſolutely ruin'd, that there is not a Houſe ſtanding. It was built upon the deſcent of a Hill, in a ſituation not much

unlike

unlike that of *Smyrna*, at the foot whereof runs a Rivulet, after it has made a thousand *Meanders* in the Meadows. The City seems to have been very large, for you may discern upon the top of the Gates the compass of the Walls, with several square Towers, some of which are still standing: and there is one very remarkable, having two Chambers in it, one of which is a very fair one, the Walls and Pavement whereof are Marble.

The famous Temple of *Diana* stood at the bottom of the Hill, near one of the Gates of the City. There remains nothing of it at present but the great Portal, which is entire. The Vaults of the Arches under ground stand to this day, and are very large, but all full of nastiness. We went in with Lanthorns; and though you must creep to get in, by reason that the Wind has almost stopt up the Hole, by gathering the Dust about it, yet when you are in, you may go upright; for the Arches are high and fair, and little the worse. Near the Gate lye four or five Columns upon the Ground, and near to that a Fountain, ten Foot in Diameter, and two deep. The People of the Country report, that it was the Fountain wherein St. *John* Baptiz'd the Christians. For my part, as I have seen in the *Indies* several *Pagods* and Edifices much more beautiful than ever the Temple of *Ephesus* could be; I believe it rather to have been a Basin wherein the People put their Offerings, of which there are several such that belong to the *Indian Pagods*. The *Greeks* and *Armenians*, but above all the *Franks*, when they go to *Ephesus* always endeavour to break off some piece of that Basin, to carry it away with 'em as a Relick: but the Stone is so hard, that they can break off but very little at a time.

Not far from the Temple appears another Gate of the City, over which there lyes a great Stone seven or eight Foot square, with an embos'd Figure of *Q. Curtius* that Famous *Roman*, who threw himself, Horse and Arms into the gaping Earth, for the good of his Country. Many Merchants have offer'd Money for liberty to carry it away, but cannot obtain leave. About five hundred Paces from *Ephesus* is the *Grotto* which they call the *Seven Sleepers*, at the bottom of the same Hill where the City was built.

From *Ephesus* we went to *Scalanova*, which is not above two Leagues off. By that time you come half the way, the little River that runs by *Ephesus* falls into the Sea, in the mouth whereof there are always a great number of *Greek* Barks fishing for Sturgeon. Of the Spawn of this Fish they make *Caveare*, and drive a great Trade in it in those Parts: then they take the most delicate and smallest Entrails of that Fish, which they fill with the same Spawn, of which they make a kind of a flat Pudding, as long as a Bisket, which they call *Botargo*. This they dry in the Smoak, and cut it afterwards in slices to eat. Upon this and the Cuttle-fish the *Greeks* generally feed during their *Lent*, which is very austere.

Scalanova is a Port of which I have already spoken, and thither we came by seven a Clock in the Evening; where the Governour of the Place, more civil than usually the *Turks* are accustom'd to be, made us very welcom.

In the Evening one of our *Janizaries* had quarrel'd with one of our Servants, who thereupon had beaten him; and therefore he complain'd to the Fellow's Master, who not giving him that satisfaction which he desir'd, thereupon the *Turk* study'd to be reveng'd upon the whole Company. For this reason, upon some pretence or other, he went before, the better to bring about his design. We staid till the Morning, and then departed early from *Scalanova*, and by Noon we came with good Stomachs to the *Mosquee* near *Ephesus*, where we had been the day before: And some of the Company thought it a very convenient place to dine in, i'the shade; thereupon we sent for our Provisions, with a Boracho of Wine, and another of Water, and fell to eating in the Passage into the *Mosquee*, not dreaming any harm. We had not been long at it, when we perceiv'd two or three *Turks* about two hundred Paces off, who came from a Village very near to the *Mosquee*. I knowing the custom of the Country better than they, told them, that they were certainly coming to pick a quarrel with us, and therefore caus'd them to hide the Bottle of Wine immediately; for it was then the *Turks Ramezan*, or *Lent*; during which time Wine is strictly forbidden. These two ill-contriv'd and ill-clad Fellows were the *Janissaries* of the place, whom the *Cadi* had sent, upon the information of our *Janisary* (who knowing we had eaten in the same place before, as indeed we had done, made no question but we would do so again) thinking to surprize us

as we were drinking Wine, in a place which they esteem Sacred, and by consequence was among them accounted an act of Sacriledge. *Christian Dogs*, cry'd they, when they came near us, *to eat and drink in a* Mosquee, *and profane a holy place as you do, at a time that renders the offence more criminal! No*, cry'd I, answering for the rest, *we drink no Wine, we drink nothing but Water, and you may taste it*, said I to him that was the most busie; with that I caus'd a Glass to be pour'd out and giv'n him; and I gave one of the *Turks* a private wink, who understanding it was a promise of gratuity, turn'd about to his Comrades, and cry'd, *'Tis very true, they drink no Wine.* However in regard they had Orders to bring us before the *Cady*, there was no contending. Thereupon I and three others undertook to answer for all the rest. The *Cady* revil'd us as bad as the *Janisary* at first; but he was not only surpriz'd, but very much troubl'd, when they all unanimously affirm'd that we drank no Wine, believing they were confederates with us. But I had cunningly slipt eight Ducats into the Hand of the *Turk* to whom I had made a sign with my Eye, who over-joy'd at so plentiful a gratuity, had over-perswaded his Comrades not to say any thing against us. The *Cady*, though he did not like their Testimony, yet call'd for *Coffee* for us, according to the custom of the Country, and sent us to his Lieutenant; who having been often greas'd in the Fist by the *Smyrna*-Merchants, receiv'd us very kindly, and told us that the *Cady* was but newly come to his Place, and was needy; however a small matter would content him. Thereupon we gave the Lieutenant twenty-five Ducats, who most certainly went snips with the *Cady*, and so return'd us to our Company, who were much afraid we would not have come off so.

We were resolv'd to return to *Smyrna* not the same way we came, and so we took another Road, which was a very pleasant way, partly over firm Sands, and partly thorough Meadows, where we met with several narrow Dikes very well Pav'd. Then we cross a rugged high Mountain, and lay in a *Mahumetan* Barn.

The next day we return'd to *Smyrna*, having finish'd our small Journey to *Ephesus* in five days. When we told the *Consuls* how the *Janizary* had betray'd us, they made their Complaint to the *Janizary Aga* and the *Cady*, who, for his punishment put him out of the *Consul*'s service, which is an advantageous Employment. For besides that the *Consul*'s *Janizaries* are exempt from the Duties of War, they are well plac'd; for there is never a Merchant that is not beneficial to them some way or other; especially at good times, as *New-years-day* and other Festivals. Nor could the *Janizary* have been more severely punish'd; for the *Turks* love Money above all things in the World.

But to return to our matter. The Rendezvouz of all the *Caravans* is generally two Leagues from the City, near a Town call'd *Pongarbachi*. The day of their setting out being fix'd, every one provides himself for his Journey, and meets the Evening before at the place appointed, to be ready at the hour.

From *Smyrna* to *Tocat*, is thirty-five days journey with the *Caravan*, and the last time I went we made it thirty-eight from *Pongarbachi*.

The first day we travel'd eight hours through a Country whose prospect was not unpleasing, leaving some Villages more than a League from the Road; and we lodg'd in a Park, near the River *Pactolus*; which is a small River, the Sand whereof shines, and is of several colours. Which caus'd Antiquity to call *Pactolus* Golden-Sanded. It falls from the Mountain *Tmolus*, and after it has water'd the Territory of *Sardis*, mixes with the River *Hermus*, that throws it self into the *Archipelago* through the Gulph of *Smyrna*. The Mouth of it is not above two or three Leagues from the City, toward the North.

The next day in six hours we came to *Durgout*, a little City in a Plain. All Christians that live not in the Territories of the Grand *Signor*, and pass that way, once a Year pay *Carrage*, or a Tribute of four or five Crowns: but the *Franks* are exempt, both at *Durgout* and over all *Turkie*. There resides a *Bassa* in this City; and we were constrain'd to stop there a whole day, because the *Caravan* that comes from *Persia* arriv'd at that time, so that they were forc'd to change their Camels.

The third day, after five hours travel in extremity of Heat, we came to lodge near a paltry Village.

The

The fourth day we travel'd ſix hours, and ſtop'd near to a ſmall River. In the Morning we paſs'd over the Ruines of the ancient *Sardis*, the Capital City of *Lydia*, and Seat of King *Cræſus*. There were ſtill to be ſeen the Ruines of a large Palace and two fair Churches, with a great number of Pillars and Corniches of Marble. This City having held out ſix Years againſt the Army of *Temur-leng*, who beſieg'd it; ſo ſoon as he had taken it, in revenge he utterly deſtroy'd it. There is a Village near *Sardis* of the ſame Name, where ſtood the City, which was one of the Seven Churches mention'd in the *Revelation*. The fifth day we rode for ſeven hours through a Country, but ill manur'd, and took up our Stage in a Plain upon the ſide of a River.

The ſixth day we paſs'd by the Walls of the ancient *Philadelphia*, call'd at preſent *Allachars*, which was alſo one of the Seven Churches of *Aſia*. There is ſomething of Beauty ſtill remaining in thoſe Walls, and the City is very large, but ill peopl'd. It is ſituated upon four little Hills, at the foot of a high Mountain over-looking a fair Plain to the North, that produces excellent Fruit. To witneſs its Antiquity, there is yet the Ruines of an Amphitheater, with certain Sepulchers, from whence the Inhabitants report that the *European* Chriſtians took out the Bodies that were buried there, and tranſported them into *Europe*, believing them to be the Bodies of Saints. It is now all deſtroy'd, but re-built of Earth by the *Turks* after their mode. It was formerly one of the principal Cities of *Myſia*, and in regard it was alway very ſubject to Earthquakes, the moſt part of her Inhabitants liv'd in the Country. The laſt time I travel'd that way, in the year 1664, the ſeventeenth of *June*, the *Turks* were feaſting and rejoycing upon the News, as they ſaid, which they had receiv'd, of the defeat of the Chriſtians in *Candy*. But the News was falſe, and only contriv'd to encourage the People; for the Grand *Signor* was then making Levies in thoſe Parts. We lodg'd that day, after ſeven hours travel, upon the Bank of a ſmall River, a League and a half from *Philadelphia*.

The ſeventh day we travel'd eleven hours over a Mountain, where thoſe Trees plentifully grow that bear Galls, and Valanede, which is the ſhell or rind of an Acorn, that Curriers make uſe of to dreſs their Leather. We lodg'd in a Meadow on the top of a Mountain which is call'd *Ijagli-bogaſe*, or, *The Mountain of Robbers*.

The eighth day we continu'd our Journey over the ſame Mountain, which is a very barren Country where there is no Proviſion to be had. We travel'd but ſix hours, and lodg'd near a River in a Plain call'd *Sarroucabaqui*.

The ninth day the *Caravan* travel'd thorough dry Lands, where there is not one Village to be ſeen, and lodg'd near a Bridge built over a River call'd *Copli-ſou*, in the Plain of *Inabi*.

The tenth day, after we had travel'd eight hours over an uneven and barren Country, we ſtopt in a Valley near a River call'd *Bana-ſou*, the Water whereof is not good. In the Night there aroſe a Tempeſt that put us all in a diſorder, and the Rain that fell was as cold as if it had been in the depth of Winter. We were wet to the Skins, and were forc'd to throw Coverlets over the Bales to keep the Goods from being ſpoyl'd.

The eleventh day we travel'd through a pleaſant Country, between Vales adorn'd with a moſt delightful Verdure; and we were in view as we paſs'd along of certain hot Baths, though very little regarded. We lodg'd upon the Banks of a ſmall River, by the ſide whereof we had travel'd for ſome hours.

The twelfth day we continu'd our Road for ſix hours between the ſame Vallies, and lodg'd by a River.

The thirteenth day, we travel'd eight hours, and ſtop'd near to a Village in a Country call'd *Dougaſſe*.

The fourteenth, after a Journey of ſeven hours we paſs'd by the Walls of *Aphiom-Caraſſar*, that is, *The Black City of Aphiom* or *Opium*; becauſe it has a Proſpect over a fair and large Country well cultivated, where they ſow great ſtore of Poppies, whence they draw their *Opium* or *Aphiom*, as the *Turks* call it.

Aphiom-Caraſſar, is a great City, dirty and ill built, the ancient Name whereof I could never learn, for the *Greeks* and *Armenians* are very ignorant. But according to all probability and the ſituation of the place, it ought to be the ancient *Hierapolis* ſituated upon the *Maander*, a famous River of the Leſſer *Aſia*, that winds

winds and turns the most of any River in the World. And indeed we are the more to seek, in regard the *Turks* change the ancient Names according to their own custom and pleasure, and give no other Names to Rivers than that of the principal City through which they pass; or else deriving their Names from the Colour of their Sands. There is to be seen in that City an ancient Castle of Free-stone upon the Point of a high Rock, separated from the Mountains that are next it toward the South, which make a Semicircle. All the *Armenian* Christians, Subjects to the King of *Persia*, passing thorough *Aphiom Caraſſar* must there pay *Carrage*, from which they are not exempted, though they have paid it before at *Erzerom* or elsewhere. The *Caravan* does not stop at *Aphiom-Caraſſar*, as well for that there are no Inns but what are ruin'd, as for that about a League farther there is a place where you have excellent Fish, and very cheap, and they of the City bring Barley, Straw, and other things which the *Caravan* wants. The *Caravan* therefore that day lodges upon the Banks of *Meander*, which is to be cross'd over a Bridge not far distant from a small Village. In this River are great store of Crawfish and Carps; and the Fishermen will be sure to attend upon the *Caravan*. I have seen some Carps there above three Foot long.

The fifteenth our *Caravan* began to part it self, some for *Tocat*, some for the Road to *Aleppo*; the one part taking the right-hand Road toward the Winter-East, for *Syria*; the other the left-hand Road North-East, for *Armenia*.

After we were parted, we travel'd two or three hours in sight of one another. They that go to *Aleppo*, fall into *Tarſus*, where St. *Paul* was born, and from *Tarſus* to *Alexandretta*. But we continu'd our Road to *Tocat*, and after we had cross'd a great Plain, having travel'd six hours, we lodg'd in a Mershy place near a small Village. There is one thing remarkable in this Road as in many others, which manifests the Charity of the *Turks*. For in most of the high Roads, that are far from Rivers, they have set up Cisterns, whither when the Rains fail, the neighbouring Villages bring Water for the Travellers, who would else be very much distress'd.

The sixteenth we travel'd eight hours through a very even Country, but ill manur'd; where we saw a little City call'd *Bonlavandi*. There are some *Mosques*, which the *Turks* have built out of the Ruines of the ancient *Greeks* Churches, from which they have taken Pillars of Marble, and other pieces of Architecture, to adorn their Sepulchers without any order at all, which you meet with very often upon the high Roads; the number is the greater, because they never lay two Bodies in one Grave. There is also in this City an Inn, cover'd with Lead, which is all the Beauty of it; nor do Travellers make any use of it but only in foul weather. We lodg'd a League and a half from the City, and staid there all the next day.

The seventeenth we travel'd eleven hours through a mix'd and uneven Country, and came to lodge in a Village where there are not above three or four Houses, though there be excellent Pasturage about it. There is no Water, but what is drawn out of three deep Wells; for which reason the place is call'd *Euchederin-giu*.

The eighteenth we travel'd not above five hours through desert Countries, and took up our Stage in a kind of a Bog, near a pitiful Village.

The nineteenth, after we had travell'd eight hours through spacious desert Plains, we pass'd through a large Village, the Inhabitants whereof were gone with their Cattel into the Mountains, for the cool Air, during the Summer time, according to custom. There is an indifferent handsom *Mosque* of Free-stone; and indeed the Village, the Name whereof the People told me was *Tshaciclou*, has been much bigger than now it is, as may appear by the Ruines. In two hours after we came to lodge beyond it in a Meadow, near a Rivulet.

The twentieth we cross'd over desert Plains, but which seem'd to have been formerly well manur'd; and after ten hours travel, we stop'd in a Bottom near a bad Water.

The twenty-first, for ten hours the Country was all barren and desert, and we came to lodge at the end of a long Plain, near two Wells, the Water whereof was good for nothing.

The twenty-second we travel'd through the fore-mention'd Plain, and met with little Valleys where there was very good Pasturage. The *Caravan* stop'd near to a pitiful Village, and a nasty Well.

The

The twenty-third we travel'd not above five hours; because it was the time of the *Turks Beiram*, or *Easter*, which our *Caravan*, consisting of *Turks*, would needs solemnize. That day we travel'd through an indifferent good Country, and well till'd, where we discover'd several fair Villages; and we lodg'd upon a rising Ground, from whence we had a very fair and far distant Prospect.

The twenty-fourth we travel'd six hours, and came to lodge in a Meadow where the Water was bad. Near to that place, we discover'd a Plain that extends it self eight or ten Leagues in length, though it be not above one or two in bredth: it seem'd like a Lake; and indeed it is only a salt Water congeal'd, and thickn'd into Salt, which you can hardly dissolve but in fair Water. This Lake furnishes almost all *Natolia* with Salt; where you may buy a Waggon-load drawn by two *Bufalo's* for 45 Sous. It is call'd *Douslag*, or *The Place for Salt*; and the *Basha* of *Couchahar*, about two days journey from it, gets by it 24000 Crowns a Year. *Sultan Amurath* caus'd a Dike to be cut quite thorough it when his Army march'd to the Siege of *Bagdat*, which he took from the *Persian*.

The twenty-fifth we travel'd nine or ten hours, and met not with one Village, the Country being all desert. We lodg'd upon a rising Ground, near a good Fountain call'd *Cara-dache-cesmé*, or, *The Fountain of the Black Stone*.

The twenty-sixth we pass'd through a great Village call'd *Tshekenagar*, in a pleasant situation, but very ill built; and after we had travel'd eight hours, we came to lodge in a delightful Meadow, near another Village call'd *Romcouché*.

The twenty-seventh we travel'd nine hours through Countries full of Licorice, and having pass'd a great Town call'd *Beserguenlou*, we lodg'd in a Meadow.

The twenty eighth we cross'd a great River call'd *Jechil irma*, over a long well built stone Bridge. At the end of the Bridge call'd *Kessré-kupri* stands a great Village, wherein the greatest part of the Houses are built under Ground, like Foxes Holes. We put on farther, and after seven hours travel, we lodg'd below another great Village call'd *Mouchiour*, where there are abundance of *Greeks*, which they constrain ever and anon to turn *Turks*. The Country being inhabited by Christians, and fit for the Plantation of Vines, there is Wine good store, and very good, but it has the scent of the Wines of *Anjou*. The Village is well situated but ill built, most of the Houses being under Ground, in so much that one of the Company riding carelesly, had like to have fain into a House.

The twenty ninth we rode for seven hours through a pleasant Country, where we saw several Villages; near to one of which the *Caravan* lodg'd in a Meadow, close by a Fountain.

The thirtieth we rode through a flat Country, well manur'd, and stop'd near a River wherein there was but very little Water: it is call'd *Cara-sou*, or, *The Black River*. For two or three days together, at every two Leagues distance we observ'd little Hillocks of Earth artificially rear'd, which they told us were rais'd during the Wars of the *Greeks* to build Forts upon, for Watch-Towers.

The thirty-first we travel'd a very uneven Country, but abounding in Wheat, and after we had travel'd nine hours, we lodg'd in a Meadow, near a River, which we cross'd next Morning before day, over a stone Bridge.

The thirty-second, after we had travel'd eight hours, we lodg'd by a River, where we saw a great number of *Turcomans*: They are a People that live in Tents like the *Arabians*, and they were then leaving that Country to go to another, having their luggage in Waggons drawn by *Bufalo's*.

The thirty-third we met again with Mountains and Woods, which we had not seen in 18 days before, which had constrain'd us to carry Wood upon our Camels to dress our Provision: We were very sparing of it, and sometimes made use of dry'd Cows dung or Camels dung, when we came near the Waters where they were wont to drink. We travel'd eight hours that day, and lodg'd in a Meadow where the Grass was very high, yet where there had been Houses formerly standing.

The thirty-fourth we forded a deep and rapid River call'd *Jangon*, from the Name of the Town next to it. A little above the place where we forded it, we saw a ruin'd Bridge, which had been built over it.

The thirty fifth we travel'd eight hours through a fair Valley well manur'd, and upon the left hand we left a Castle rais'd upon a Rock. The *Caravan* lay that night upon a rising Ground near a Village.

The

The thirty-sixth we travel'd through the same Valley for eight or nine hours longer; in this Valley were several pleasant Villages, but we lay by a small River.

The thirty-seventh we travell'd six hours among the Mountains, where there are some very narrow Passages, but store of Water; and we lay in a Vale abounding in Pasturage.

The thirty-eighth we rode for four or five hours over a rugged Mountain in craggy way, at the foot whereof we met with a Village call'd *Taquibac*; from whence it is but five Leagues to *Tocat*. And these are all the Roads from *Paris* to *Ispahan*, through the Northern Territories of *Turkie*.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Author was robb'd near Tocat, *and of a certain sort of rare and fine Wool which he first brought into* France.

Taquibac is the place where the *Persian Caravan* uses to meet, when it departs from *Tocat* to *Smyrna*, and this is the only place in all the Road where a Traveller ought to stand upon his guard; by reason of Thieves who haunt these Quarters, and are great Masters in their Trade. Once as I came out of *Persia* they would needs give me a taste of their Art, notwithstanding all the care I took. There were three or four of us that would needs ride before with our Servants to *Taquibac*, in expectation of the *Caravan* which was to come the next day; where we set up our Tents upon the Bank of a small River. I had then a good many Bales of Wool, with which I made as it were a double Wall about my Tent: so that there was but one passage between the Bales, for one Man. In four of these Bales I had a quantity of Musk in lead'n Boxes, to the value of ten or twelve thousand Crowns: which Bales I put within-side, so that they touch'd the Tent and my Beds-head. Next Night, it being very dark, the Thieves came, and finding the outward Bales smell so strong of Musk, they thought one of those Bales would be a considerable Booty. The Bales were all ty'd together with a Cord that kept them fast; nor was it easie to undo them, without a noise. They wak'd me with their bustle at first, and I sent out my Servants to see if they could catch them; but they will lye so close upon their Bellies, that in such a dark Night as that was 'tis impossible to discover them. Thereupon my Servants went to sleep again, and the Thieves to their Work; and having with a great deal of ingenuity cut the Cord, they carried away the two Bales. In the Morning four or five of us with a Camel-driver for our Guide pursu'd them, and in half an hour we met with the marks of the Robbery; for the Rogues being mad that they found nothing but Wool, which they thought to be of no great value, scatter'd it in the High-way for two or three Leagues together: so that I caus'd it to be pickt up again, and lost not above fifteen or twenty Pound. I speak this to caution the Marchants that carry Bales of Silk or other rich Commodities, to beware of these Thieves; for they will come creeping upon their Bellies, and then cutting the Bales with great Razors, will presently empty a Bale of one half of the Goods.

'Tis true, the Wool was of no great value for their use; but it was a sort of rare and very fine Wool, which I carry'd out of *Persia* to *Paris*, where such fine Wool was never seen. As to the place where it is to be had, I met with one of the *Gaures*, or *Persians* that adore the Fire, who when I was at *Ispahan* in the year 1647 shew'd me a Sample of it, and inform'd me that the greatest part of this Wool comes from the Province of *Kerman*, which is the ancient *Caramania*; and that the best Wool is to be met with in the Mountains that are next to the City, that bears the name of the Province: That the Sheep in those Parts have this particular property, that when they have fed upon new Grass from *January* till *May*, the Fleece falls off of it self, and leaves the Sheep naked, and their Skins smooth, like a Pig's that is scalded off; so that there is no need of shearing them, as with us: after they have gather'd

gather'd it, they beat it, and the courſe Wool breaking, the fine only remains. That if you tranſport it before you make it into Bales, you muſt throw Salt-water upon it, which keeps the Worms out of it, and preſerves it from rotting. Now you muſt take notice that they never dye this Wool, it being naturally of a clear Brown, or a dark Aſh-colour; and that there is very little of it White, which is alſo much dearer than the other, as well for that it is ſcarce, as becauſe that the *Muftis*, the *Moullah's* and other perſons belonging to the Law, never wear any Girdles or Vails (wherewith they cover their Heads when they pray) but White: for at other times they wear them about their Necks, as the Women do their Scarfs.

Into this Province of *Kerman* almoſt all the *Gaures* are retir'd, and they are they that only Trade in this Wool, and have the whole Manufacture of it. They make thoſe Girdles of it which they uſe in *Perſia*; and ſome Pieces of Serge, which are almoſt as fine and tranſparent, as if they were of Silk. I brought over two Pieces into *France*, and preſented one to the late Queen Mother, the other to the Princeſs of *Orleance*.

I could not drive any Trade in this Wool till the year 1654, returning out of the *Indies* by Sea from *Surat* to *Ormus*. To which purpoſe, I departed from *Ormus*, and took Guides along with me to ſhew me the way to *Kerman*, whither I could not get on Horſeback in leſs than twenty-ſeven days. I dare ſay that *Alexander* the Great did not march this way into the *Indies*: for in the whole extent of the Country there is no Water to be met with but in ſome certain places, and in the hollow of ſome Rocks, where there is not enough neither to water eight or ten Horſes. Beſides, in ſome places a man is conſtrain'd, by reaſon of the Mountains, to fetch a great compaſs about; for a Foot-man that makes his way through thoſe Rocks, ſhall go farther in half an hour than a Horſe-man can do in four.

Kerman is a large City, which has been often ruin'd by being ſeveral times taken and re-taken; nor is there any thing handſom in it, but only one Houſe and a Garden, upon which the laſt *Kans* have beſtow'd a vaſt expence to make the place delightful. They make there a ſort of Earthen ware which comes very near to *Porcelan*, and looks as neat and as fine. As ſoon as I arriv'd, I went to viſit the *Kan*, who made me very welcom, and gave order to the *Gaures* to furniſh me with Bread and Wine, Pullets and Pigeons, which in thoſe parts are fat, and as large as little Capons. The *Gaures* are they that make the Wine; and to make it more ſweet and pleaſant, they take away the Stalks, and never preſs any thing but the meer Grape.

The *Kan* was but newly entred into the poſſeſſion of his Government, and being deſirous, according to the cuſtom of the new Governours, to have a noble Sword and Dagger, with a rich Furniture of his Horſe, which requir'd ſome Jewels, I preſented him with a Diamond worth eight hundred Crowns, which he caus'd to be ſet in the end of the handle of his Dagger. He alſo deſir'd to have of me as many more Jewels as came to ſeven or eight hundred Livres: and by the Preſent and the Bargain I facilitated my purchaſe of the Wool which I intended to buy. Two days after he invited me to his Entry-Feaſt, which he made for the cheif of the City; and knowing I wanted a Mule, he ſent me one well worth a hundred Crowns. This is the Nobleſt Carriage in all *Perſia*, which the great Perſonages chooſe before Horſes, eſpecially when they are in years. But it was not the *Kan* alone who was civil to me. A young Lord, who liv'd in *Kerman*, and was at the Feaſt, whoſe Father had been formerly *Kan* himſelf, took great delight to diſcourſe with me concerning my Travels; and offer'd me his ſervice in a very obliging manner. Now the *Perſians* are very curious, and great admirers of the Rarities of Forein Countries: which inclination led the young Lord to enquire of me whether I had any any Fire-Arms, telling me he would content me for them to my ſatisfaction. The next Morning I preſented him with a Carbine, and a pair of Piſtols that pleas'd him exceedingly; and a little Watch, for which I would take no Money, whereat he ſeem'd to be not a little troubl'd. However he ſent me a ſtately Horſe worth about two hundred Crowns, or twelve *Tomans*. This young Lord was of a clear humour, civil, accompliſh'd, generous, and did every thing with a good grace. So that when he ſent me the Horſe, he ſent to entreat me withal, if I did not like that Horſe, to come and chooſe which I lik'd beſt in his Stable.

By the favour of this Lord and the *Kan*, I made good the Purchaſe that I intended. For the People began to murmur (knowing what a Parcel I had got together) and told the *Kan* that I would carry away all the Cloth out of the Country, ſo that they ſhould have none to ſet the Poor on work. Thereupon the *Kan* ſent for me, and for thoſe reaſons told me I muſt buy no more. To ſend off the blow, I made anſwer, That it was the King of *Perſia*'s deſire to try if we could make as fine Cloth of his Wool in *France*, as they did in *England* and *Holland*; and that if it ſucceeded, I ſhould bring *French* Workmen into *Perſia*, and ſo by ſettling the Trade in his own Country, free him from the Charge of forein Manufacturers. This ſilenc'd the *Kan*, ſo that I ſtill bargain'd for more. But when I was return'd to *Iſpahan*, the People of the Country would not keep touch with me. However, I wrote ſo home to the *Kan*, threatning withal to complain to the King, that he fearing the King's diſpleaſure, forc'd the Natives to ſend me my Bargain to *Iſpahan*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Road from Kerman *to* Iſpahan; *and the Fortune of* Nazar Mahomet-Ali-Beg.

FRom *Kerman* to *Iſpahan* is no leſs than five and twenty days on Horſeback. In thoſe places where there is any Water, the Conntry is very good; but thoſe places are very rare; for the Road is generally Sandy, and offenſive to the Eyes. The Chiefeſt comfort to a Traveller is, that every Evening he meets with an Inn, where there are Ciſterns, which is a great refreſhment in thoſe deſert Countries. The moſt part of thoſe Inns were built ſome Years ſince by the ſpecial care of *Mahomet-Ali-Beg Nazar*, or Grand Maſter of the King's Houſe and Treaſury; a Perſon the moſt Virtuous of any that *Perſia* can boaſt of for many Years. He was Generous, and favour'd the *Franks* in all things, for he lov'd them exceedingly. He faithfully ſerv'd his King, and defended the People againſt the Oppreſſion and Inſolencies of the Great ones; which drew upon him the hatred of many: but ſtill he preſerv'd himſelf by his ſyncerity and prudence; as by the following Story will remarkably appear.

The Great *Sha-Abas* the Firſt, being one day a Hunting in the Mountains far out of ſight from his followers, met a young Lad playing upon a Pipe by an Herd of Goats. The King asking him ſome Queſtions, he anſwer'd him to the purpoſe to every one, not knowing who he was. The King ſurpriz'd at his Repartees, made a ſign to *Iman-couli-Kan* Governour of *Schiras*, who was juſt come up to him, not to tell the Goat-herd who he was. After that he proceeded to ask him other Queſtions; to which the young man anſwer'd ſo ſmartly, that the King could not chooſe but ſtand in an amaze. Thereupon the King ask'd the *Kan* what he thought of the Goat-herds Wit? Who anſwer'd, that he believ'd if the Boy were taught to Write and Read, he might do good ſervice to his Majeſty. Upon that the King immediately caus'd him to be ſent to School, where the young Lad being naturally of a ſolid Wit, clear Judgment, and happy Memory, grew ſo accompliſh'd, and ſo well acquitted himſelf of ſeveral Employments which his Majeſty beſtow'd upon him, that the King advanc'd him to the Office of *Nazar*, or Grand Maſter of the Houſe, and did him the honour to call him *Mahomet-Ali-Beg*. The King obſerving his fidelity, and good management of all things, ſent him twice Ambaſſador to the Great *Mogul*, and both times was extreamly pleas'd with his Negotiation. *Mahomet* lov'd Juſtice, and would not ſtoop to be corrupted by Preſents: A thing which is very rare among the *Mahumetans*. This great Integrity of his made all the Lords of the Court his Enemies, eſpecially the Eunuchs and the Women, who have always the King's Ear. But while *Sha-Abas* liv'd, there was no perſon that durſt open his lips againſt the *Nazar*, ſo much was he in favour, and that juſtly, with the King. *Sha-Sefi* ſucceeding his Grandfather *Sha-Abas*, and being very young, the *Nazar*'s Adverſaries thought they had now a fair Game to play. Thereupon the Eunuchs,

Eunuchs, who are always at the King's Ear, ſuggeſted to him many things to the diſadvantage of the Grand Maſter; but whatever they ſaid, the King gave little heed to their Tales. At length, one day when the King was looking upon certain Skains and Daggers ſet with precious Stones, one of the Eunuchs told him thoſe were trifles, and then deſir'd his Majeſty to ſend for a Scimeter that the Grand *Signor* had ſent *Sha-Abas*, all over ſet with Diamonds. True it is, that the Grand *Signor* had ſent a rich Scimiter to *Sha-Abas*; but *Sha-Abas* had defac'd it long before *Mahomet*'s time, and had made a noble Jewel of the Stones that adorn'd it. Thereupon this Scimitar was ſought for in the Treaſury, where *Mahomet* was chief Officer; but not being to be found, the King was troubl'd, finding it regiſtred in the Book of Preſents. Then certain Eunuchs and Grandees of the Court took their opportunity to rip up *Mahomet*'s Life; they repreſented to the King how many Inns, Bridges, and Dikes *Mahomet* had built at his own charge; what a Houſe he had rear'd for himſelf, fitting for his Majeſty to live in: and aggravated withal, that he could not do ſuch great things as thoſe, without purloining notably from the Publick Stock; for which he ſhould do well to call him to an account. As they were thus diſcourſing, *Mahomet* came into the Preſence, to whom the King (not receiving him as he was wont to do) ſpoke ſome hard words about the Scimiter that could not be found: telling him withal, that he would ſee if the all reſt of the things in the Treaſury were agreeable to the Regiſter, and then gave him fifteen days time to give in his Account. *Mahomet* not at all mov'd, reply'd to the King, that if his Majeſty pleas'd he might come to the Treaſury to morrow: and withal beſought him ſo to do, though the King a ſecond time gave him fifteen days. Thereupon the King did go to the Treaſury next morning, according to *Mahomet*'s deſire, and found all things in good order; having heard before what became of the Scimiter. From thence he went to *Mahomet*'s Houſe, who made the King a mean Preſent: For it is the cuſtom, that he whom the King honours with a Viſit, muſt make a Preſent to his Majeſty. After the King had receiv'd it, he walk'd up and down, and viewed the Chambers, Halls, Parlours and Rooms of State; and wonder'd to ſee them ſo ill ſet out with plain Felts, and courſe Carpets; whereas in other Lords Houſes a man could not ſet his Foot upon any thing but Cloth of Gold and Silk. For the King, as they had ſet the *Nazar* out, expected to have found other things; which made him admire at ſo great a Moderation in ſo high a degree of Honour. Now at the end of a Gallery, there was a Door lockt with three great Padlocks. Of this the King took no notice: whereupon the *Meter*, who is the White Eunuch, and chief of his Chamber, as he came back, ſhew'd the King the Door that was ſo ſtrongly Padlock'd; which made the King ſo curious to have it open'd: withal, asking *Mahomet* what he had got there lock'd up with ſo much care? Oh Sir, ſaid he, it behoves me to keep that lockt, for there is all the Eſtate I have in the World. All that your Majeſty has ſeen in this Houſe is yours, but all that is in that Chamber is mine, and I dare aſſure my ſelf, your Majeſty will be ſo gracious as never to take it from me. Thoſe words inflam'd the King's curioſity ſo, that he commanded the Door to be open'd: But he was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, when he ſaw nothing more within than *Mahomet*'s Sheep-hook, that lay upon two Nails, his Scrip wherein he us'd to put his Victuals, his Bottle for his Water, his Pipe, and his Shepherd's Weeds, all hanging againſt the Wall. The *Nazar* beholding the King's aſtoniſhment at ſuch a Sight, Sir, ſaid he, when the King *Sha-Abas* found me in the Mountain keeping Goats, then that was all I had, and he took nothing from me: I beſeech your Majeſty that you would not deprive me of theſe things neither; but rather, if you pleaſe, let me reſume them again, and fall to my old calling. The King touch'd at ſo high a piece of Virtue, caus'd himſelf to be diſapparel'd, and gave his Habit to the *Nazar*, which is the greateſt Honour that the King of *Perſia* can beſtow upon a Subject. Thus *Mahomet* continu'd and dy'd honourably in his Employment. This brave Perſon was the Protector of all the *Franks* in *Perſia*: and if any one had done them wrong, upon complaint he did them Juſtice immediately. One day as I was ſhooting Ducks, upon the River of *Iſpahan* near the *Nazar*'s Gardens, with two Servants, ſome of the *Nazar*'s people that did not know me ſet upon me, and would have taken away my Gun; which I would not let go till I had broke the Stock about the Shoulders of the one, and flung the Barrel at the other's Head. Thereupon I took ſome of the *Franks*

along with me, and complain'd to the *Nazar*: He teſtifi'd his ſorrow for what had happen'd, and gave us evident Proofs thereof, by the blows which he caus'd to be laid upon thoſe that had done me the injury.

Another time, *Sha-Sefi* being upon his return from *Guilan*, his Tents were ſet up near *Zulfa* in *Armenia*, where the King ſtaid to hunt two or three days. Now among the reſt of the Courtizans that follow'd the Court, to divertiſe the King with Dancing and Mummery, there was one who was perfectly handſom, to whom the King had already ſent Preſents; which could not be unknown to any Lord i'the Court. But the *Nazar's* Son, for all that, being in the heat of Youth, got this Courtizan to his Tent, and there lay with her: which came to his Father's Ears next day. The *Nazar*, whether out of his zeal to the King, or whether it were an effect of his prudence to prevent the King's anger, which would have certainly been the death of his Son, caus'd him to be drub'd, after the manner of the Country, and baſtinado'd all over, till the Nails of his Toes dropt off, and that his Body was almoſt a perfect Gelly. Which when the King underſtood, together with the Young Man's Crime, he ſaid no more, but that the *Nazar* had done wiſely by puniſhing his Son himſelf, to prevent his Juſtice.

But to return to the Road from *Kerman* to *Iſpahan*. The firſt day that I ſet out from *Kerman*, at my Stage in the Evening I met with a rich *Moullah*, who ſeeing I had Wine, civilly offer'd me ſome of his Ice to cool it. In retaliation, I gave him ſome of my Bottle. He invited me to his Houſe, which was well built, with a handſom Garden with Water in it. He entertain'd me with Spoon-meat, according to the mode of the Country; and when I took my leave, he fill'd my *Baracho* with very good Wine.

The following days I ſaw nothing worthy obſervation; the Country being as I have already deſcrib'd it.

Yezd lyes in the Road, almoſt in the mid-way between *Kerman* and *Iſpahan*, in 93 Deg. 15 Min. of Longitude, and 13 Deg. 45 Min. of Latitude. It is a great Town in the middle of the Sands, that extend themſelves for two Leagues round it: ſo that when you leave *Yezd* you muſt take a Guide, for upon the leaſt Wind the Sand covers the Highway, whereby a man may be apt to fall into Holes, which ſeem to have been either old Ciſterns, or the Ruines of ancient Buildings. Between the Town and the Sands there is a little good Soil, which produces excellent Fruits, but above all, Melons of ſeveral ſorts: the Pulp of ſome is green, of others yellow and vermilion; and ſome there are, the meat whereof is as hard as a Renneting. There are alſo very good Grapes, and good Wine; but the Governour will not permit the Inhabitants to make Wine. Some therefore they dry, and of the reſt they make a kind of Confection to eat with Bread. There are alſo abundance of Figs, which are large and well taſted. They diſtil vaſt quantities of Roſe-water, and another ſort of Water with which they dye their Hands and Nails red, which they ſqueeze out of a certain Root call'd *Hina*. There are three Inns i'th' City, and ſeveral *Bazar's* or Market-places cover'd and vaulted, which are full of Merchants and Workmens Ware-houſes. They alſo make at *Yezd* ſeveral Stuffs of Silk intermix'd with Gold and Silver, which they call *Zerbafte*; and another ſort of Stuff of all pure Silk, call'd *Darai*, like our ſmooth ſtrip'd Taffata's. Other Stuffs they made, half Silk half Cotton; others all of Cotton, like our Fuſtians. They make alſo Serges of a particular Wool, which is ſo fine and delicate, that it looks handſomer, and is much better than Silk.

Though I had nothing to do, I ſtaid in *Yezd* three days, becauſe I met with ſome *Armenians* of my acquaintance. In which time I found the general Opinion to be true. For certainly the Women of *Yezd* are the handſomeſt Women in all *Perſia*. There is no Feaſt made, but five or ſix of them come to divertiſe the Gueſts with Dancing, who are generally none of the meaneſt Beauties and Converſations among them. However it comes to paſs, the *Perſian* Proverb is, *That to live happy, a Man muſt have a Wife of* Yezd, *eat the Bread of* Yezdecas, *and drink the Wine of* Schiras.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Caravanſera's, *and Government of the* Caravans.

THE *Caravanſera's* are the Eaſtern Inns, far different from ours; for they are neither ſo convenient, nor ſo handſom. They are built ſquare, much like Cloyſters, being uſually but one Story high; for it is rare to ſee one of two Stories. A wide Gate brings you into the Court; and in the midſt of the Building, in the front, and upon the right and left hand, there is a Hall for Perſons of the beſt Quality to keep together. On each ſide of the Hall are Lodgings for every man by himſelf. Theſe Lodgings are rais'd all along the Court two or three Steps high, juſt behind which are the Stables, where many times it is as good lying as in the Chamber. Some will rather lye there in the Winter, becauſe they are warm, and are roof'd as well as the Chambers. Right againſt the Head of every Horſe there is a Nich with a Window into the Lodging-Chamber, out of which every man may ſee how his Horſe is look'd after. Theſe Niches are uſually ſo large, that three men may lye in them; and there it is that the Servants uſually dreſs their Victuals.

There are two ſorts of Inns. For ſome are endow'd; where you may be receiv'd for Charities ſake; others, where you muſt pay for what you call for. There are none of the firſt, but between *Buda* and *Conſtantinople*. Nor is it lawful for any others to build ſuch, but only the Mothers and Siſters of the Grand *Signor*, or ſuch *Viziers*, and *Baſha's* as have been three times in Battel againſt the Chriſtians. In theſe Inns, which are built out of Legacies, there is a very good allowance of Diet to Travellers. and at your departure you have nothing to do but to thank the Benefactor. But from *Conſtantinople* to *Perſia*, there are none of thoſe endow'd Inns; only ſuch where you have nothing but bare Walls. It is for you to provide Utenſils for your Kitchin, and a Bed to lye on: as for Proviſion, the people bring Lambs, Pullets, Butter, and Fruits in their ſeaſons: or elſe you may buy it, provided before-hand by the Maſter of the Houſe. There you alſo meet with Barley and Straw for the Horſes, unleſs it be in ſome few places that I have been at upon the Road. In the Country you pay nothing for your Chambers; but in the Cities you pay ſomething, though it be but a ſmall matter. Uſually the *Caravans* never go into the Towns, which are not able to contain ſo many People and Horſes. When you come to your Quarters every one looks after his own Chamber, for there is no regard to Poor or Rich: ſometimes out of Breeding, or out of Intereſt, an ordinary Tradeſman will give way to a great Merchant; but no man is permitted to leave the Chamber which he has once made choice of. In the night the Inn-keeper ſhuts up his Gates, being anſwerable for all things that ſhall be loſt; for which reaſon he keeps a Guard about the Inn.

As for the *Perſian Caravanſera's*, they are more commodious, and better built than thoſe of *Turkie*, and at more reaſonable diſtances, throughout almoſt all the Country. By which deſcription of Inns it is eaſie to obſerve, that though theſe *Caravanſera's* are not ſo commodious for the Rich as our *European* Inns, yet they are more convenient for the Poor, to whom they never refuſe to give admittance: no perſon being oblig'd to eat or drink more than he pleaſes; but every one being allow'd to ſpend according to his Stock, without grumbling.

You may travel in *Turkie* or *Perſia*, either with the *Caravan*, or elſe in company, ten or twelve together, or elſe alone with a Guide. The ſafeſt way is to go with the *Caravan*, though you are longer upon the Road, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of their march, eſpecially when the *Caravans* conſiſt of Camels.

The *Caravans* are as it were great Convoys, which conſiſt of a good number of Merchants, that meet at certain times and places, to put themſelves into a condition to defend themſelves from Thieves, that are very rife in Troops in ſeveral deſert places upon the Road. Theſe Merchants chooſe among themſelves a *Caravan-Baſhi*, who orders them how they ſhall march, aſſigns the places of lodging at night, and who with the chief of the *Caravan*, is a kind of Judge of the differences that

fall

fall out by the way. There is no honeſt man that covets the employment; for the *Caravan-Baſhi*, being to diſcharge ſeveral ſmall duties upon the Road, however he behave himſelf, is ſtill ſuſpected for his fidelity. When the *Turks* are moſt numerous, they make choice of a *Turk*; when the *Armenian* Merchants are moſt, they chooſe an *Armenian*.

There are two ſorts of *Caravans*. There are *Caravans* which conſiſt of Camels, which are the moſt uſual; in regard that Camels are cheap, and for that ſome Camels will carry as much as three Horſes, others as much as four or five. But among the *Caravans* of Camels, there are ſeveral Horſes and Mules, which the Merchants themſelves ride upon; it being very tedious to ride upon a Camel when he only goes a foot-pace, but very pleaſant when he goes upon his large trot. There are other *Caravans* that conſiſt only of Horſes; and among theſe, if the Merchant have none of his own, he may hire one. The Servants ride upon thoſe Horſes that are leaſt laden; but at *Smyrna* you may meet with ſeveral good Horſes very cheap, from thirty to ſixty Crowns. As for thoſe perſons that are either unwilling or unable to be at any expence, they make uſe of Aſſes, of which there are enow to be had. Above all things, you muſt take care to provide Pack-Horſes to carry your Wine; for the Camel-Maſters being *Mahometans*, will not permit you to lade their Camels with any ſuch Liquor; that Beaſt being particularly conſecrated to *Mahomet*, who ſo ſtrictly forbad the uſe of Wine. You put your Wine in Bottles made of wild Goats Skins, with the hairy ſide turn'd innermoſt, and well pitch'd within. There are ſome of theſe Bottles from which they take off the Hair; but they are not ſo good, as being ſeldom without holes.

Theſe Camel-Maſters are an inſolent ſort of people, which you ſhall never know how to deal with, unleſs you can bring them to puniſhment. There was one that play'd me ſome of his jades tricks in the Road from *Smyrna* to *Tauris*; but when I came to *Eſcrivan*, I complain'd to the *Kan*, who preſently caus'd a hundred Baſtinado's to be giv'n him upon the ſpot. Nor is there any other way to bring thoſe Scoundrels to reaſon, eſpecially at *Smyrna* and ſuch other places, where the Merchants have their *Conſuls*, who upon the leaſt complaint to the *Cady* have Juſtice done them immediately. The examples of ſome of theſe Camel drivers that have been paid off, keep the reſt in good *decorum*; and they will be very tractable for a good while after.

The Journies of the *Caravans* are not equal; ſometimes not above ſix hours travel, ſometimes ten, and ſometimes twelve; it being the convenience of Water, which is not every where to be met with, that is the Rule of Lodging the *Caravan*. At all times the *Caravan* travels more by night than by day; in Summer to avoid the heat, and at other times, that you may be ſure to have day enough to ſet up your Tents. For if the *Caravan* ſhould come to pitch in the night, it would be impoſſible for them to find where to ſet up their Tents, to dreſs and look after their Beaſts, make ready their Kitchins, and provide things neceſſary for ſo large a Company. True it is, that in the depth of Winter and in the great Snows, they ſeldom ſet out till two or three hours after midnight; and that ſometimes they ſtay till day-break. But in Summer, according to the Journey which they intend, they ſet out either at midnight, or an hour after Sun-ſet. The laſt time I went from *Smyrna* the *Caravan* conſiſted of ſix hundred Camels, and almoſt the ſame number of Horſe. Sometimes their number is greater, ſo that the Camels going but by one and one after another, a *Caravan* ſeems to be an Army; and whether it be in travelling or lodging, they take up a world of Ground. Now by reaſon they travel all night in *Aſia*, it happens that the Air is indifferent wholſom; and that the Travellers, that lye for the moſt part upon a Carpet ſpread upon the Ground, find themſelves very little inconvenienc'd by it.

The Camels that go into *Perſia* through the Northern Provinces of *Turkie*, travel like Horſes in a Cart, by ſeven and ſeven; they are ty'd together by a Cord about the bigneſs of a Man's little Finger, and a Fathom long; faſten'd to the Pack-ſaddle of the Camel that goes before, and to the Head-harneſs of the Camel that follows. Thoſe little Cords are made no ſtronger, to the end that if the Camel before ſhould chance to fall into any hole, the Camel behind ſhould either keep him up, or elſe not be pull'd in after the other. And to the end that the Camel-driver who leads the foremoſt, may know whether the other ſix follow him or no, the laſt Camel has a Bell about his Neck, which if it ceaſe to ring, 'tis a ſign that

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ſome one of the ſmall Cords is broken, and that a Camel has got a miſchance. The ſeventh Camel generally carries the Proviſions. For if a Merchant have ſix Camels laden, he is generally allow'd one to carry his Proviſion; if he have but three, he is allow'd but half a Camel's load; but if he have nine or twelve, he pays nothing for the carriage of his Proviſions of Food, or any thing elſe that he pleaſes. Every Merchant with his Servants rides by the Camels that are laden with his Goods, eſpecially in the dark nights; for there are a ſubtil ſort of Thieves, that have a trick to cut the two Cords behind and before, and without any noiſe drive the Camel out of the way; for having no Hoofs, his Feet cannot be ſhod, and conſequently he makes no noiſe. As well Merchants, as others, Camel-drivers and Servants, keep themſelves from ſleeping ſometimes by ſinging, and ſometimes by taking Tobacco, and ſometimes by diſcourſe.

The *Caravan* lyes in ſuch places as they think moſt convenient, chiefly near to the Water-ſide. When the Sun is ſet, the *Shaoux*, who are a ſort of poor people, are diligent to guard the whole Field, and take care of the Goods. They walk up and down, and either in the *Arabian* or *Armenian* Dialect they cry one to another, *God is one, and he is merciful*; adding from time to time, *Have a care of your ſelf.* When they ſee that the time grows near to ſet out, they give notice to the *Caravan-Baſhi*, who gives order to bid them cry, *Saddle your Horſes*; and after that, to cry again, *Load.* And it is a ſtrange thing to conſider, that upon the ſecond Cry of the *Shaoux* every thing is ready upon an inſtant, and the *Caravan* begins to ſet forward in great order and great ſilence. Every one takes care to be ready, for it is dangerous to be left behind, eſpecially in thoſe Countries which are haunted with Thieves. The Wages of theſe *Shaoux* is the fourth part of a Piaſter for a Bale from *Smyrna* to *Eriyan.*

When the Stages are long, and that they believe that they ſhall not get thither by ten or twelve in the morning, every one carries two ſmall Wallets on each ſide his Horſe, and when they come to the place where they intend to Break-faſt, they ſpread a Carpet upon the Ground and fall to.

When you go from *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, or *Aleppo* with the *Caravan*, it behoves all people to carry themſelves according to the mode of the Country; in *Turkie* like a *Turk*, in *Perſia* as a *Perſian*; elſe would they be accounted ridiculous, nay ſometimes they would hardly be permitted to paſs in ſome places, where the leaſt miſcarriage makes the Governours jealous, who are eaſily perſwaded to take Strangers for Spies. Always, if you have upon the Road but an *Arabian* Veſt, with a mean Girdle, whatever Clothes you wear under, there is no danger of paſſing any where. If you wear a Turbant, you muſt of neceſſity ſhave off your Hair, elſe it will never ſtay upon the Head. As for Beards, they never mind them in *Turkie*, the greateſt being accounted the handſomeſt; but in *Perſia* they ſhave their Chins, and wear their Muſtaches: and I remember I have ſeen one of the King of *Perſia*'s Porters, whoſe Muſtaches were ſo long, that he could tye them behind his neck, for which reaſon he had a double Penſion. More than that, you muſt provide your ſelf of Boots according to the cuſtom of the Country: they are made of red, yellow, or black Cordovan, lin'd with Linen cloth; and in regard they never reach higher than the Knee, they are as convenient to travel in as Shooes. As for Spurs, they never wear any; for the Iron at the upper end of the Stirrop, which is four-ſquare, ſerves to ſpur the Horſe: ſo much the better, becauſe it is the cuſtom of all *Aſia* to ride very ſhort.

Before you ſet out, you muſt provide your ſelf of ſeveral Houſhold-Goods, eſpecially of thoſe Bottles that are call'd *Matarez*, which are made of *Bulgary*-Leather; every man carries his own at the Pummel of his Saddle, or elſe faſten'd to the Crupper of the Saddle behind. Beſides theſe you muſt buy *Borracho's*, the moſt ſerviceable things in the World; for they will never break, and will hold above fifty Pints at a time. The ſmaller Bottles ſerve to put *Aqua-vita* in: and the Leather whereof they are made, has that peculiar to it ſelf, that it keeps the Water freſh. Then you muſt provide Food, and make a proviſion of Rice and Biſket as far as *Tocat*: For as for Pullets, Eggs, and ſuch like things, you meet with them almoſt every where; as alſo with Proviſion for your Horſes, and new Bread, unleſs in ſome few places. You muſt alſo carry a Tent with all its appurtenances, with a Mattreſs; and Clothes to cover the Horſes at night, eſpecially in the time of the

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deep Snows, wherein you ſhall find them almoſt buried the next morning.

When the *Caravan* comes near the place where it intends to ſtop, every Merchant rides before to take up a convenient place for himſelf and his Goods, for which he covets a riſing Ground, that if it ſhould happen to rain, the Water may run from the Bales. They alſo in that caſe lay Stones under the Bales, and a Cloth over them; and the Servants make a Ditch about the Tent for the Water to run into. But if it be fair weather, there is no care tak'n to ſet up the Tent: or if it be, 'tis folded up after Supper; to the end the Owners may have the more liberty to look about them, and may be in a better condition to look after the Thieves. But if there be any likelihood of foul weather, the Tent is let ſtand till the firſt Cry of the *Shaoux*. The Horſes are ty'd before the Tent with Cords faſten'd to a Nail, and their hinder Legs are ty'd with other Cords, to the end they may not ſtir out of their places. If it be not ſeaſonable for them to eat Graſs, you muſt buy Barley, and Straw of the Country men that come to ſerve the *Caravan*, their being no Oats neither in *Turkie* nor *Perſia*.

In dreſſing your Victuals, you muſt follow the cuſtom of the Country; which is, to make a Hole in the Ground, and then kindling a Fire in it, to ſet the Pot over it.

But the greateſt inconvenience which Trevellers ſuffer with the *Caravans* is this, that when they come Waters, which are only Wells, or Ciſterns, or Springs, where only two or three lade up Water at a time. For after the *Caravan* is lodg'd, the Merchants ſhall be forc'd to ſtay for Water two or three hours together; for they that belong to the Beaſts of Carriage, will not ſuffer any perſon to take any Water, till the Camels, Horſes, Aſſes, and Mules are all ſerv'd. Nor is there any contending with theſe Camel-drivers and Muleters; for as they are a rude ſort of people, a Man runs the hazard of his Life by conteſting alone: of which one Example may ſuffice for all.

Setting out one day from *Bander-Abaſſi*, for *Iſpahan*, with a Merchant of *Babylon*, as we came to the Inn where we lay the firſt night, which was call'd *Guetchy*, the Merchant commanded one of his Slaves who was a *Cafer* of *Mozambique*, to fetch him ſome freſh Water at the Ciſtern, to drink: The *Cafer* went thither, and return'd without any Water, telling his Maſter, that the Camel-drivers and Muleters threaten'd to beat him, and would not let him come near the Ciſtern. The Merchant either ill adviſ'd, or not knowing the cuſtom, bid him go back, and kick thoſe that refuſ'd him. Whereupon the *Cafer* returning, and finding the ſame reſiſtance as before, began to give ill language to the Camel-drivers, ſo that one of them happen'd to ſtrike him. Upon that the *Cafer* drawing his Sword, ran him into the Belly, ſo that he fell down dead: Thereupon the whole Rabble fell upon him, bound him, and carry'd him back to *Bander-Abaſſi* for the Governour to put him to death. The Maſter of the *Cafer*, accompany'd by ſeveral Merchants, went to the Governour and repreſented to him the inſolence of thoſe people, and how the buſineſs had happen'd. Upon which the Governour took the poor fellow out of their hands, and caus'd him to be kept ſafe; after that, he caus'd ten or a dozen of thoſe Muleters to be ſeiz'd, and orderd'd them to be ſoundly baſtinado'd, for hindring a Merchant's Servant from fetching Water for his Maſter. He alſo put others in Priſon; who had not been releas'd ſo ſoon, but at the requeſt of thoſe Merchants whoſe Goods they carry'd, and who ſtood in need of their ſervice. The Governour ſpun out the buſineſs, on purpoſe that the reſt might be gone: but as ſoon as they were all departed except the two Brothers of the party ſlain, he told them, he could not do them Juſtice, becauſe their Brother belong'd to *Schiras*; ſo that all that he could do, was to ſend the Criminal thither. The Maſter of the *Cafer* being rich, and loving the Slave, made haſt to *Schiras*, to tell his Story firſt to the *Kan*. And I remember, two days journey yon this ſide *Schiras* we met in the High way abundance of poor people, the kindred of the party ſlain, who were ſtaying for the *Cafer*, to carry him before the *Kan*, and to demand Juſtice. Two or three Leagues alſo from *Schiras* I met the Father and Mother, together with the Wife and Children of the deceas'd, who ſeeing me paſs along, fell at my Feet and recounted to me their Grievances. I told them by my *Kalmachi*, that their beſt and ſureſt way was to take a piece of Money of the *Cafer's* Maſter, and ſo to put up

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There are two sorts of Camels; the one which is proper for hot Countries, the other for cold Countries.

The Camels in hot Countries, such as go from *Ormus* to *Ispahan*, cannot travel if the Ground be dirty and slippery; for their Bellies burst, while their hinder Quarters rive from their Bodies. These are small Camels, that carry not above five or six hundred Pound weight; but they are kept for little, and endure Thirst a long time. They do not tye them Head to Tayl, as they do the great ones, but let them go as they please themselves, like a Herd of Cows. The Camel-driver follows them singing, and sometimes playing upon his Pipe: the louder he sings and pipes, the faster the Camels go; nay they will stand still when he gives over his Musick. When the Camel-drivers come to a Heathy Ground, they will give them leave to feed for half an hour, taking their Tabacco the while; and then singing them together again, they set forward. The Camels bred in the Deserts are handsom, but very tender, so that they must be gently us'd, and never be put upon long Journies. However, they eat and drink less than others, and endure thirst more patiently.

The Camels of cold Countries, such as those that travel from *Tauris* to *Constantinople*, are large Camels, that carry great Burthens, and will pull themselves out of the dirt. But in fat Grounds and slippery Ways the Drivers are fain to spread Carpets, sometimes an hundred one behind another; otherwise their hinder Quarters are also apt to rive from their Buttocks; but if the Road be slippery for too great a distance together, there is no way but to tarry 'till it be dry'd up and fair. These Camels usually carry a thousand Pound weight: but if the Merchant has any hank upon the Camel driver, he will lay upon every Camel fifteen hundred weight, thereby making two of three Burthens. This the Merchants do, when they come near the Custom-Houses, especially that of *Erzerom*, which is the most severe. The Merchant does this for his own Profit: So that when the Customer mistrusting, demands how so many Camels come to travel empty, he makes answer, that they were Camels that carry'd Provision: But the Customer most commonly winks at that good Husbandry of the Merchant, for fear of losing his Custom, and obliging the Merchant to take another Road.

There is as much knavery among the Camel drivers, as among our Horse-Coursers. For I remember, that being once at *Cashin*, a *Persian* Merchant, thinking he had bought eight good Camels, was deceiv'd in four which he thought the best. He verily believing they had been fat and in good case, but they were only blown up. For those Cheats have a trick to cut a Hole near the Tail, of which the Purchaser takes no notice, and which they know neatly how to sow up again: In this Hole they will blow till they have puft up a lean Camel, that he shall appear as fat and plump as the soundest that ever fed: whereby they often deceive the quickest sights, especially when the Hair is all off, and that the bare Skin is all rub'd over with Tar.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Coyns and Money of Persia.

IN the first place, you must take notice that there are no Pieces of Gold coyn'd in *Persia*, but only some few, to be thrown among the People when a new King ascends the Throne: which Pieces are neither currant among the Merchants, nor of a certain Price. When the Solemnity is over, they who get the Pieces, are not so curious to keep them, but carry them to the *Changer*, who gives them the value in currant Money. These Pieces of Gold may be worth five * Franks, about the fineness of *Almain*-Ducats. Once I receiv'd ten thousand of them of one Merchant, at a prefix'd rate; for their value is uncertain.

* A Frank is worth 2 *s.* Sterling.

In the second place observe, That the Silver in *Persia* is good; whether it be in Barrs, or in Plate, or in Money, and it is taken for its goodness. For when a Merchant

Merchant enters into *Perſia*, whether it be at *Erivan* or *Tauris*, where the Money is coyn'd, he is oblig'd to tell what Silver he carry's, to the end it may be melted down and ſtamp'd with the King's Stamp; under a great Penalty, if diſcover'd to be a concealer. But if a Merchant's affairs will not permit him to ſtay at *Erivan*, or at *Tauris*; and that he think it better to carry his Money to the Mint of *Iſpahan*; 'tis but taking a Note from the Maſter of the Mint either at *Tauris* or *Erivan*, to atteſt that he has declar'd the truth of what he carries, and it is excuſe enough.

But they that can cunningly carry their Silver to *Erivan*, when the Seaſon is to go to the *Indies*, make a great profit of the Real; for the Merchants that go to the *Indies* will give them thirteen and a half, or fourteen *Shayez* a piece, for as many as they have. But there are few Merchants that carry their Silver to *Iſpahan*; in regard the Maſters of the Mints upon the Frontiers will be ſure to preſent them with a good piece of Silver Plate, rather than let them carry away their Bullion to *Iſpahan*, to have the benefit of Coynage themſelves.

They that traffick into *Guilan* for Silks carry their Silver to *Teſis*, where the Maſter of the Mint gives them 2 *per Cent.* profit for their Silver. The reaſon is, becauſe that which he gives them for it is a little ſophiſticated; but it paſſes currant all over *Guilan*.

In the third place, you muſt obſerve, That upon the pieces of Silver, as well for the King's Duty as the Coynage of the Money, there is requir'd 7 ½ *per Cent.* But upon the Copper Money, not above one half, or 1 *per Cent.* at moſt. Whence it comes to paſs, that when a Workman has need of Copper, rather than loſe time in going to buy it, he will melt down his *Casbeké's*.

There are four ſeveral pieces of Silver Coyn; *Abaſſi's*, *Mamoudi's*. *Shaet's*, and *Biſti's*: but as for the *Biſti's*, there are very few at preſent.

The Copper pieces of Coyn are call'd *Casbeké*, of which there are ſingle and double.

The ſingle *Casbeké* is worth five Deniers and a Half-peny of our Money.

The double *Casbeké* is valu'd at eleven Deniers.

Four ſingle *Casbeké's*, or two double ones, make a *Biſti*.

Ten ſingle *Casbeké's*, or five double ones, make one *Shayet* in value.

Two *Shayet's* make a *Mamoudi*.

Two *Mamoudi's* make an *Abaſſi*.

The Real or Crown of *France* is worth three *Abaſſi's* and one *Shayet*; and counting a Real at ſixty Sous, an *Abaſſi* is worth eighteen Sous, ſix Deniers. Though to ſay truth, three *Abaſſi's* and one *Shayet* make three Half-pence more than the Crown.

Number 1, and *Number* 2. Are two pieces, which upon one ſide bear the Names of the twelve Prophets of the Law of *Mahomet*, and in the middle this Inſcription, *La Ilah allah Mahomet reſoul Allah*, *Ali Vali Allah*: on the back-ſide, *The Conquerour of the World*, Abas II. *gives us permiſſion to coyn this Money in the City of* Caſhan.

Num. 1. Makes five *Abaſſi's*; and counting our Crown at thirteen *Shayet's*, it comes to four Livres, twelve Sous, ſix Deniers.

Num. 2. Makes two *Abaſſi's* and a half of our Money, or forty-ſix Sous and one Farthing.

Num. 3. Is an *Abaſſi*, which comes to eighteen Sous, ſix Deniers.

Num. 4. Is a *Mamoudi*, worth nine Sous and a Farthing.

Num. 5. Is a *Shayet*, worth four Sous, ſeven Deniers, one Half-peny.

Num 6. A *Biſti*, worth one Sous, ten Deniers.

Num. 7. The Copper Coyn, call'd *Casbeké*, worth five Deniers, one Half-peny.

Theſe Coyns, unleſs it be the *Casbeké*, bear no other Inſcription, but only the Name of the King reigning when they were coyn'd; the Name of the City where they were coyn'd; with the Year of the *Hegyra* of *Mahomet*.

Though all Payments are made in *Abaſſi's*, as well at *Ormus* and other parts of the Gulf belonging to the King of *Perſia*, as in the Iſland of *Bahren*, where is the great Fiſhery and Market for Pearls; yet there is no mention made but only of *Larins*.

The *Larin* is describ'd in the Money of *Arabia*. Eight *Larins* make an *Or*; four and twenty make a *Toman*.

An *Or* is not the name of a Coyn, but of a Sum in reck'ning among Merchants. One *Or* is five *Abassi's*.

A *Toman* is another Sum in payment: For in all *Persian* Payments they make use of only *Tomans* and *Ors*; and though they usually say that a *Toman* makes fifteen Crowns, in truth it comes to forty-six Livres, one Peny and ½

As for pieces of Gold, the Merchant never carries any into *Persia*, but *Almain* Ducats, Ducats of the Seventeen Provinces, or of *Venice*; and he is bound to carry them into the Mint so soon as he enters into the Kingdom; but if he can cunningly hide them, and sell them to particular persons, he gets more by it. When a Merchant goes out of the Kingdom, he is oblig'd to tell what pieces of Gold he carries with him; and the King's people take a *Shayet* at the rate of a Ducat, and sometimes they value the Ducat at more. But if he carries his Gold away privately and be discover'd, all his Gold is confiscated.

The Ducat usually is worth two Crowns, which in *Persia* justly comes to twenty-six *Shayets*; but there is no price fixt in that Country for Ducats. For when the season is to go for the *Indies*, or that the *Caravan* sets out for *Mecca*, as well the Merchants as the Pilgrims buy up all the Ducats they can find out, by reason of their lightness; and then they rise to twenty-seven, and twenty-eight *Shayets*, and sometimes more, a piece.

The end of the Roads from Paris *to* Ispahan, *through the Northern Provinces of* Turky.

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE PERSIAN TRAVELS OF MONSIEUR TAVERNIER:

Containing the ſeveral

ROADS

From PARIS to ISPAHAN, the Capital City of PERSIA;

Through the Southern Provinces of TURKY, and through the DESERTS.

CHAP. I.

The ſecond Voyage of the Author from Paris *to* Iſpahan: *and firſt, of his Embarking at* Marſeilles *for* Alexandretta.

THE Road from *Conſtantinople* to *Erivan*, which with all thoſe other Roads through the Northern Provinces of *Turkie*, the firſt time I travel'd into *Perſia*, I have amply deſcrib'd. It behoves me now to treat of the Southern Provinces, and of thoſe through the Deſerts, where there are ſeveral *Emirs*, or *Arabian* Princes, of which ſeveral are very potent: For there are ſome of them that can bring 30000 Horſe into the Field, five of which I have had the honour to diſcourſe, and to oblige them with ſmall Preſents; in recompence whereof they ſent me Rice, Mutton, Dates, and Sherbet, as long as I ſtaid among them.

I embark'd at *Marſeilles* in a *Holland* Veſſel that carry'd five and forty Guns, from thence we ſet ſail for *Malta*. At *Malta* we ſtaid twelve days to carine the Veſſel, and to take in freſh Victuals. Among the reſt we bought two thouſand Quails, for there are a prodigious quantity in the Iſland: but in two or three days we found five or ſix hundred of them deſtroy'd by the Vermin that peſter'd the ſhip.

From *Malta* we ſet ſail for *Larneca*, a good Road in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, to the Weſt of *Famagoſta*, which is not above a days journey from it by Land. As we were making into the Road, about two or three hours after midnight, we perceiv'd a Veſſel cloſe upon us, and both the Ships Company began to cry out, for fear of falling foul one upon another; but the Veſſel ſheer'd clear without any harm on either ſide.

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In the morning we caſt Anchor, and went aſhoar. It is a good half League from the Road where the Conſuls and Merchants, both *Engliſh*, *Hollanders*, and *French*, live in a very pitiful Village. However there is a little Monaſtery of *Capuchins*, who officiate in the Chapel of the *French* Conſul; and another of Religious *Italians*, that depend upon the Guardian of *Jeruſalem*. We ſtaid but two days at *Larneca*; the Captain having nothing to do but to inform himſelf what buſineſs they might have for him at his return; it being uſual then to take in ſpun and unſpun Cottons, together with courſe Wool for Mattreſſes.

From *Larneca* 'till we came in view of the Coaſt of *Syria*, we had the Wind very favourable; but at length coming to prove a little contrary, inſtead of carrying us to *Alexandretta*, it caſt us to the Northward, two or three Leagues higher, upon the Coaſt of *Cilicia*, toward a Town call'd *Païaſſes*. Half a League from that City lyes a vaſt Rock, and between that Rock and the Land runs a very high Sea: And here it was that the people of the Country believe that the Whale caſt up *Jonas* again; though the common Opinion reports it to have been done near *Joppa* in *Paleſtine*. All along that Coaſt from *Alexandretta* to *Païaſſes*, and farther, the way is ſo narrow and ſtraiten'd by the Mountain, that in ſome parts the Camels and Horſes muſt dip their Feet in the Sea: and yet you muſt paſs that way of neceſſity, travelling from *Syria* to *Conſtantinople*. Between *Alexandretta* and *Païaſſes* it was, that the *Chevalier Paul*, in a Veſſel that carry'd only three hundred Men, miſs'd but little of ſurpriſing the *Caravan* that every Year carries the Tribute of *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, which ſince hath never been ſent by Sea for fear of the *Malteſi*. This Knight had landed his Men, and laid them in Ambuſcade; but unfortunately his Deſign was diſcover'd, ſo that the *Caravan*, that might have been eaſily ſurpriz'd, ſtood upon their Guard.

We were near the Coaſt, when we diſcover'd a Skiff with fifteen or ſixteen *Turks*, that were ſent by him that commanded four Galleys of *Rhodes* to demand the Cuſtomary Preſent from our Captain. Thoſe Galleys then anchor'd at *Païaſſes*, and had there diſcharg'd themſelves of their Proviſions of War for *Bagdat*, which the Grand *Signor* was going to beſiege. And it is the cuſtom, that when the Great *Turk*'s Galleys are out at Sea, that whatever ſtrange Veſſel paſſes by them muſt ſend them a Preſent, either willingly or by force. When the *Baſha* of the Sea, who is the Admiral of the *Turks*, is in Perſon at Sea, the Veſſel which he meets is not excus'd for 2000 Crowns: ſo that when he ſets out from *Conſtantinople* to cruiſe, the Veſſels of the *Franks* do all they can to avoid him. There are ſome that will ſeek to eſcape in ſight of the Galleys, but it has coſt them dear. And it happen'd, that one day the Wind ſlackning, they boarded a Veſſel of *Marſeilles*, the Captain and Notary whereof were both ſeiz'd, and drub'd 'till their Bodies were almoſt bruis'd to a Gelly, and they had like to have dy'd upon it, without being the better in their Purſes; for the rudeneſs of the Chaſtiſement did not excuſe them from paying the Money which was demanded. Whether our Captain knew any thing of this Example, or whether it were out of his natural heat of Valour, he laugh'd at the Skiff-men, bidding them be gone, and telling them he had no Preſents for them but Cannon-Bullets. Thereupon the Men return'd to their Galleys, who ſoon deliver'd us from the true fear we were in, that the gallantry of the Captain had drawn us into an inconvenience. For while we kept the Sea cloſe by the Coaſt, to obſerve the Countenances of the *Turks*, they weigh'd Anchor, and turn'd their Prows toward *Rhodes*. However, before they left us they ſent us a Broad ſide, and our Captain, whatever we could ſay, ſent them another, which render'd us more guilty. For the *Turks* pretend that when their Navy is at Sea, or only one Squadron, and that a ſtrange Veſſel is in ſight, ſhe is bound to come as near as the Wind will permit her without being hal'd, for which they will otherwiſe make the Commander pay very ſeverely. The Conſuls and Merchants of *Aleppo* underſtanding what had paſs'd very much blam'd the Captain, fearing a worſe conſequence of the buſineſs: But by good fortune the miſcarriage was ſtiff'd and never went farther.

The ſame day the Wind veering to the Weſt-North-Weſt, we ſail'd into the Road of *Alexandretta*, where we came to an Anchor, about a quarter of a League from the Land. Upon the advice which they have out of Chriſtendom, ſo ſoon as they of *Alexandretta* diſcover a Veſſel, and know what Colours ſhe carries, the Vice-Conſul of the Nation to which the Veſſel belongs, fails not to advertiſe the

Conſul

Conſul of *Aleppo*, by a Note which is carry'd in four or five hours, though it be more than two or three days journey on Horſe-back. For they tye a Note under the Wing of a Pigeon, who is taught what to do, and ſhe flies directly to the place whence ſhe was brought. For more ſurety, they uſually ſend two, that if the one ſhould miſcarry i'the dark, which has many times happen'd, the other may ſupply the defect.

Alexandretta is nothing elſe but a confus'd heap of paltry Houſes, inhabited by the *Greeks*, who keep little Fudling-ſchools, for the Mariners and others, the meaner ſort of the people: for the Merchants lye at the Vice-Conſuls of the Nation. There were but two then, the *Engliſh* Vice-Conſul and the *French*; who had each of them a very convenient dwelling. However they muſt be men who love Money at a ſtrange rate, that accept of thoſe Employments. For the Air, like that of *Ormus*, is generally ſo bad, eſpecially in the Summer, in ſo much that they who do not dye, cannot avoid very dangerous Diſtempers. If there be any ſo ſtrong that they can hold out for three or four Years, and can accuſtom themſelves to a bad Air, they do well to ſtay there; for for them to betake themſelves to a good Air, is to hazard their Lives. Mr. *Philips* the *Engliſh* Conſul has been the only Perſon that ever liv'd two and twenty Years at *Alexandretta*: but you muſt know he was a brisk merry Man, and of an excellent temper of Body; and yet for all that he had been forc'd to be cauteriz'd. That which renders the Air ſo bad, is the great quantity of ſtanding Pools and Plaſhes in he neighbouring Plains, extending to the Eaſt and South; but when the great Heats begin to approach, the moſt part of the Inhabitants retire to a Village call'd *Belan*, upon the next Mountain to the City, where there are very good Waters and excellent Fruits. They come alſo thither from *Aleppo*, when there is an appearance of a Peſtilence; and yet there are few people in this Village who are not troubled with a ſort of Fever, that makes their Eyes look yellow and hollow; which they never can remedy as long as they live.

About half a League from *Alexandretta*, on the right hand of the High-way, juſt againſt the Merſh on the other ſide, is a Tower whereon are to be ſeen the Arms of *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*. In all likelihood it was built for the defence of the High-way, which is enclos'd between theſe two Merches, whoſe Exhalations are very noxious.

It is but three little days journey from *Alexandretta* to *Aleppo*, and ſome well mounted have rid it in two. The *Franks* are not permitted to go thither on Foot. For before that Prohibition, in regard the way was ſhort, every Sea-man that had a hundred Crowns, more or leſs, went on Foot to *Aleppo*, and got eaſily thither in three days, with little expence. Now becauſe they had but little Money to ſpend, and were willing to diſpatch their buſineſs, they would not ſtand to give Four or Five in the Hundred extraordinary for what Goods they bought, which was of dangerous conſequence to the Merchants. For you muſt obſerve, that when the Ships arrive, the firſt man that either out of raſhneſs or ignorance, gives two Sous more for a Commodity that is not worth a Crown, ſets the Price, and cauſes all the whole Commodity to be ſold at that rate. So that the Merchants that lay out ten or twelve thouſand Crowns together, are very careful leſt thoſe Saylors ſhould get before them, and enhance the Price of the Market.

To remedy which inconvenience, the Merchants obtain'd an Order, That no Strangers ſhould be permitted to go a-foot from *Alexandretta* to *Aleppo*, but that they ſhould be bound to hire Horſes, and to give for every Horſe ſix Piaſters thither, and ſix back; which expence would ſoon eat out the Profit of a poor Mariner's ſmall Sum.

Uſually you ſtay at *Alexandretta* three or four days, as well to reſt your ſelf, as to make ſome little Proviſions for your Journey to *Aleppo*. For though you meet with good Stages at Evening, yet the *Janiſaries* will be very glad to eat by the way.

Setting out from *Alexandretta*, we travel'd over a Plain to the foot of a Mountain which is call'd *Belan*. There is a wide Gap in the midſt of this Mountain, which giving liberty to the North-Eaſt Wind, when it blows hard, doth ſo enrage the Road of *Alexandretta*, which is otherwiſe very calm, that no Ship can ride there at that time. In ſo much that all Ships that happ'n to be there when the Wind riſes, preſently weigh, and get out to Sea, for fear of being caſt away. Almoſt at the

the top of the Mountain you meet with an Inn; but though it be very fair one, with Fountains round about it, yet Merchants never ſtop there, but go on a little farther to a *Grecian* that ſpeaks good *Italian*, and whoſe entertainment is indifferent good, conſidering the Country. When you go away, you give him a Crown for your accommodation, which is the manner at other Stages, by a cuſtom, which the *Franks* themſelves having eſtabliſh'd, will never be left off.

Deſcending down the Mountain you diſcover the City of *Antioch*, built upon a Hill. Formerly the Road lay through that City, but the *Janizaries* of the place exacting a Piaſter from every perſon that travel'd that way, that Road is now diſus'd. *Antioch* once made more noiſe in the World, being fal'n to ruine ever ſince the Chanel, that ran from the City to the Sea, where Galleys might ride, has been ſtop'd up by the Sands that have encroach'd upon the Mouth of the Haven.

When you are at the bottom of the Hill toward the North, you diſcover a Caſtle built upon a Hill ſtanding by it ſelf, from whence you have a proſpect over a good part of the Plain of *Antioch*. It is about fifteen Leagues long, and three broad, in that part where the Road lyes. Somewhat more than half the way, you meet with a long Cauſey parted by ſeveral Bridges, by reaſon of certain Rivulets that croſs it, without which the Road were hardly paſſable. The frequent Revolts of *Bagdat* and *Balſora*, which the Grand *Signor* has been forc'd ſo often to beſiege, cau'd the Grand *Viſier* in the Reign of *Achmat* to undertake this Cauſey, which together with the Bridge was finiſh'd in ſix Months, that was look't upon as a Miracle. This was done for the more eaſie paſſage of the Artillery, and other Proviſions of War, that were brought out of *Romania* and *Greece* to the Siege of *Bagdat*, which could never have been done, but for this Cauſey. At the end of this Cauſey ſtands a Bridge, very long and ſtrongly built, under which runs a River, which, with the other Rivulets that wind about the Plain, forms a Lake toward the South, that is call'd the Lake of *Antioch*. This Lake affords a great Revenue, by reaſon of the Eels that are caught there, which are taken two Months before *Lent*, and tranſported to *Malta*, *Sicily*, and other parts of *Italy*.

This Plain is very full of Olive-Trees; which produces that great Trade of Soap, that is made at *Aleppo*, and tranſported into *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, *Perſia*, and the Deſert; that Commodity being one of the moſt acceptable Preſents that can be made to the *Arabians*. Sallet Oyl is alſo in great eſteem among them: ſo that when you make them a Preſent of it, they will take off their Bonnets, and rub their Heads, their Faces, and their Beards with it, lifting up their Eyes to Heaven, and cry in their Language, *God be thank'd*. Therein they have loſt nothing of the ancient cuſtom of the Eaſtern People, of which there is often mention made in Holy Scripture.

About a League and a half beyond the Plain, you meet with a Rock, at the foot whereof is a little deep Lake, wherein they catch a world of Fiſh that are like our Barbels. I have kill'd them with my Piſtol; and found them to be of an excellent taſt; though they are not regarded at *Aleppo*.

Two hours after you ford a River which is call'd *Aſfora*; though if it have happen'd to rain, you muſt ſtay 'till the Waters are fal'n. Having paſt the River, upon the Banks whereof you ſtay to feed your ſelf and your Horſes, you come to lye at a poor Village call'd *Shaquemin*, where there is an Inn. Here the Country-people bring Proviſions of Food to the Travellers; and whether you eat or no, you muſt pay a Piaſter, according to the cuſtom which the *Franks* have eſtabliſh'd. After you have paſs'd the Plain of *Antioch* as far as *Shaquemin*, the Horſes in Summer are ſo terribly tormented with a ſort of great Flies, that it were impoſſible to travel three or four hours together, were it not for going out of the Road, either to the right, or to the left, and riding through the Fields, which are full of thoſe Burrs that our Clothworkers make uſe of: For in regard they grow as high as the Crupper of the Horſe, they keep the Flies off from ſtinging and tyring the Horſes.

Leaving the Village of *Shaquemin*, the Road lyes among Stones; and for half this tedious way, for two or three Leagues round about, you ſee nothing but the Ruines of ancient Monaſteries. There are ſome of them which are built almoſt all of Free-ſtone; and about half a days journey toward the North, quite out of the Road, ſtands the Monaſtery of St. *Simeon* the *Stylite*, with the remainder of his ſo famous

famous Pillar, which is ſtill to be ſeen. The *Franks* that travel to *Aleppo*, uſually go out of their way to ſee that place. That which I find moſt entire, and worthy obſervation among the Ruines of thoſe Monaſteries, is the number of arch'd Ciſterns of Free-ſtone, which time has not defac'd.

From *Shaquemin* you come to dine at a Village call'd *Angare*, where every Traveller is entertain'd for his Piaſter, as at the other Stages. Between the other Villages it is ten hours journey; but between the *Angare* and *Aleppo*, but three. We alighted at the *French* Conſul's Houſe, at what time the Cuſtomers came preſently to ſearch our Cloak-bags; after which we went to the *Quaiſſery*, which is a place where all Strangers are at the expence of half a Crown a day for themſelves, and a quarter ſo much for every Servant, and are well entertain'd.

CHAP. II.

The Deſcription of Aleppo, *now the Capital City of* Syria.

Aleppo is one of the moſt famous Cities in all *Turkie*, as well for the bigneſs and beauty of it, as for the goodneſs of the Air, and plenty of all things; together with the great Trade which is driv'n there by all the Nations of the World. It lyes in 71 Deg. 41 Min. of Longitude, and 36 Deg. 15 Min. of Latitude, in an excellent Soil. With all the ſearch that I could make, I could never learn how it was anciently call'd. Some would have it to be *Hierapolis*, others *Berœa*: And the Chriſtians of the Country agree with the latter. The *Arabian* Hiſtorians that record the taking of it, call it only *Aleb*, not mentioning any other name. Whence this Obſervation is to be made, That if the *Arabians* call it *Aleb*, others *Alep*; the reaſon is, becauſe the *Arabians* never uſe the Letter *P* in their Language. This City was taken by the *Arabians* in the fifteenth Year of the *Hegyra* of *Mahomet*, which was about the Year of *CHRIST* 637, in the Reign of *Heraclius* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*.

The City is built upon four Hills, and the Caſtle upon the higheſt that ſtands in the middle of *Aleppo*, being ſupported by Arches in ſome places, for fear the Earth ſhould rumble and moulder away from it. The Caſtle is large, and may be about five or ſix hundred Paces in compaſs. The Walls and Towers, though built of Free-ſtone, are of little defence. There is but one Gate to enter into it from the South, over a Draw-bridge, laid over certain Arches croſs a Moat about ſix or ſeven Fathom deep. There is but one half of it full of Water, and that a ſtanding Puddle to boot; the reſt is a meer dry Ditch; ſo that it cannot be accounted a wholſom place. However there is Water brought into the Caſtle through a large Pipe from the Fountains in the City: and there is a ſtrong Garriſon kept in it.

The City is above three Miles in circuit, and the beſt half of it is unmoated; that Moat there is not above three Fathom deep. The Walls are very good, and all of Free-ſtone; with ſeveral ſquare Towers, diſtant one from the other about fourſcore Paces; between which there are others alſo that are leſs. But theſe Walls are not all of them of an equal height, for in ſome places they are not above four Fathoms from the Ground. There are ten Gates to enter into the City, without either Moat or Draw-Bridge; under one of which there is a place that the *Turks* have in great veneration; where they keep Lamps continually burning, and report that *Eliſha* the Prophet liv'd for ſome time.

There is no River that runs through *Aleppo*; and but only a ſmall one without the City, which the *Arabians* call *Coic*. However, though indeed it be but properly a Rivulet, yet it is very uſeful to water the Gardens, where grows an abundance of Fruit, particularly Piſtaches, much bigger, and better taſted than thoſe that comes from the parts near *Casbin*. But though there be no River, yet there are ſtore of Fountains and Receptacles of Water, which they bring from two places diſtant from the City.

The Edifices, neither publick nor private, are very handsom, but only within-side; the Walls are of Marble of several colours, and the Cieling of Foliage Fret-work, with Inscriptions in Golden Letters. Without and within the City there are six and twenty *Mosques*, six or seven whereof are very magnificent, with stately *Duomo's*, three being cover'd with Lead. The chiefest and largest of all, was a Christian Church which they call'd *Abbia*, or *Listen'd unto*: which is thought to have been built by St. *Helen*. In one part of the Suburbs also stands another *Mosque*, which was formerly a Christian Church; in that there is one thing worthy observation. In the Wall upon the right side of the Gate there is a Stone to be seen two or three Foot square, wherein there is the figure of a hand-som Chalice, and a Sacrifice over the hollow of it, with a Crescent that covers the Sacrifice, the two Horns whereof descend just upon the brims of the mouth of the Chalice. One would think at first that those Figures were in *Mosaic* Work: but it is all Natural, as I have found with several other *Franks*, having scrap'd the Stone with an Iron Instrument, when the *Turks* were out of the way. Several Consuls would have bought it, and there has been offer'd for it 2000 Crowns; but the *Basha's* of *Aleppo* would never suffer it to be sold. Half a League from the City lyes a pleasant Hill, where the *Franks* are wont to take the Air. On the side of that Hill is to be seen a Cave or *Grotto*, where the *Turks* report that *Haly* liv'd for some few days; and for that there is an ill-shap'd figure of a Hand imprinted in the Rock, they farther believe it to be the Hand of *Haly*.

There are three Colledges in *Aleppo*, but very few Scholars, though there be Men of Learning that belong to them, who have Salaries to teach Grammar, and their odd kind of Philosophy, with the Grounds of their Religion, which are the Principal Sciences to which the *Turks* apply themselves.

The Streets of the City are all pav'd, except the *Bazar's*, where the Merchants and Handicraft-Tradesmen keep their Shops. The chiefest Artists, and the most numerous are Silk and Camlet-Weavers.

In the City and Suburbs there are about forty Inns; and fifty publick Baths, as well for Women as for Men, keeping their turns. 'Tis the chiefest Pastime the Women have to go to the Baths; and they will spare all the Week long to carry a Collation, when they go at the Weeks end to make merry among themselves, in those places of privacy.

The Suburbs of the City are large and well peopl'd, for almost all the Christians have their Houses and Churches there. Of which Christians there are four sorts in *Aleppo*, I mean of Eastern Christians, that is to to say, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jacobites* or *Syrians*, and *Maronites*. The *Greeks* have an Archbishop there, and are about fifteen or sixteen thousand in number; their Church is dedicated to St. *George*. The *Armenians* have a Bishop, whom they call *Vertabet*; and are about twelve thou-sand in number; their Church is dedicated to the Virgin. The *Jacobites* being about ten thousand, have a Bishop also; and their Church is likewise dedicated to the Virgin, as is that of the *Armenians*. The *Maronites* depend upon the Pope, not being above twelve hundred; their Church being consecrated to St. *Elias*. The *Roman* Ca-tholicks have three Churches, serv'd by the *Capuchins*, *Carmelites*, and *Jesuits*. They reckon that in the Suburbs and City of *Aleppo* there are about 250000 Souls.

There is a vast Trade at *Aleppo* for Silks and Camlets, but chiefly for Gall-Nuts, and *Valanede*, which is a sort of Acorn-shell without which the Curriers cannot dress their Leather. They have also a great Trade for Soap, and for several other Commodities; the Merchants repairing thither from all parts of the World. For not to speak of the *Turks*, *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Indians*, there are several *English*, *Ita-lians*, *French*, and *Hollanders*, every Nation having their Consul to carry on their In-terests, and maintain their Priviledges.

Nor does this place happ'n to be so great a Mart, through the convenience of the two Rivers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, as some have writt'n; by which they say such vast quantities of Commodities are transported and imported out and into the City. For had that been, I should never have cross'd the Desert, coming from *Bagdat* to *Aleppo*; nor at another time, going from *Aleppo* to *Balsara*. And as for *Euphrates*, certain it is, that the great number of Mills built upon it, to bring the Water to the neighbouring Grounds, have not only render'd it unnavigable, but made it very dangerous.

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his Army, which was upon its march to the Siege of *Babylon*. Now you must take notice, that not far from *Aleppo*, toward the East, there stands a House inhabited by the *Dervies*, which are a Religious Order among the *Turks*; though it formerly belong'd to the Monks of St. *Basil*, and was a fair Covent. It is still in good repair, the Walls of the Chambers, Halls, and Galleries being all Marble. All the *Dervies* of this House went half a League from the City, as far as Mount *Ozelet*, to meet the Grand *Signor*; and the Superiour, at the Head of the rest, having made a Speech to his Highness, two *Dervis* came and made their obeisance in particular. Which being perform'd, from that place to the Castle of *Aleppo*, for half an hours march together; they went just before the Grand *Signor*'s Horse, turning round continually with all their might, 'till they foam'd again at the Mouth, and dazl'd the Eyes of those that beheld them. There are some of these *Dervies* that will turn in that manner for two hours together, and glory in that which we account folly.

While the Grand *Signor* staid at *Aleppo*, the *Basha* of *Cayro* came thither with a thousand *Janisaries*: And indeed, there never was a sight of Men more active, or better order'd. Every one of them had Scarlet Breeches that reach'd down to their Ancles, with a *Turkie* Robe of *English* Cloth, and a Wast-coat of Calicut painted with several Colours. The most part had Buttons of Gold and Silk; and as well their Girdles as their Scimitars were adorn'd with Silver. The *Basha* march'd at the Head of this Magnificent Regiment in a modest Garb; but the Harness of his Horse was as rich as his Habit seem'd to be careless, having spar'd for no Cost to appear before the Grand *Signor* in a stately Equipage.

There is a necessity for a Man to stay some time at *Aleppo*, as well to dispose of his Affairs, and in expectation 'till the *Caravan* be ready, unless he will venture himself alone without a Guide, which I have done more than once. And thus much for *Aleppo*, next to *Constantinople* and *Cayro*, the most considerable City in all the *Turkish* Empire.

CHAP. III.

Of several Roads in general from Aleppo *to* Ispahan, *and particularly of the Road through the great Desert.*

THere are five principal Roads from *Aleppo* to *Ispahan*, which being added to those other Roads which I have discrib'd through *Natolia*, make seven Roads into *Persia*, parting from *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, or *Aleppo*.

The first of the five Roads, setting out from *Aleppo*, is upon the left hand, toward the Summer-East, through *Diarbek* and *Tauris*. The second directly East, by *Mesopotamia*, through *Moussul* and *Amadan*. The third upon the right hand, toward the Winter-East, through *Bagdat* and *Kengavar*. The fourth somewhat more to the South, crossing a little Desert, through *Anna*, *Bagdat*, and *Balsara*. The fifth through the great Desert, which is an extraordinary Road, never travel'd but once a year, when the Merchants of *Turkie* and *Egypt* go to buy Camels. Of these Roads I intend to treat distinctly, and in several Chapters. And first of the Road through the great Desert.

The *Caravans* that go to *Balsara* this way never set out 'till the Rains are fal'n, that they may not want Water in the Desert: and the Rain seldom holds up 'till *December*. This *Caravan*, with which I travel'd, set out upon *Christmas* day, consisting of about six hundred Camels, and four hundred Men, Masters and Servants together: the *Caravan Bashi* being only on Horse-back, and riding before, to find Water, and convenient places to lodge in.

I must confess I had the convenience my self to ride my own Horse, which I kept all the while I was at *Aleppo*. A liberty permitted the *Franks* only at *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, and *Aleppo*: for at *Damas*, *Seyde*, or *Cayro*, none but the Consuls are suffer'd

to

to keep Horses: others can only keep or hire Asses, which stand ready in the publick Streets at all times.

The next day we dislodg'd by day-break, and by noon we came to a place where there were five Wells, about five hundred Paces distant one from the other. The Water was excellent, and caus'd us to replenish our *Boracho's*: and about four a Clock in the Afternoon we lay at a place where there was no Water.

The next day near noon we met with two Wells, but the Water was not good; and only the Camels drank of it, there we also lodg'd that night.

Having now travel'd two days in the Desert, I will describe it in a few words. You begin to enter upon it two or three Leagues from *Aleppo*, where by degrees you meet with nothing but Tents instead of Houses. It stretches out to the Winter-East, all along the *Euphrates* to *Bassara*, and the Shoar of the Gulf of *Persia*; and upon the South to the Chain of Mountains that divides it from *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia the Happy*. These Deserts are almost quite thorough nothing but Plains of Sand, which in some places lye looser than in others; and are hardly passable 'till the Rains are but newly fal'n, and have knit the Sands together. 'Tis a rare thing to meet with a Hill or a Valley in these Deserts; if you do, there is as surely Water, and as many Bushes as will serve to boyl a little Rice. For throughout the whole Desert there is no Wood to be found; and all the Bavins and Charcoal that you can load upon Camels at *Aleppo*, will not last above eight or ten days. Therefore you must take notice, that of six hundred Camels that pass through the Desert, there are scarce fifty laden with Merchandize, which is generally course Cloth, some little Iron Ware, but chiefly black and blew Calicuts, which the *Arabians* make use of without ever whitening them. All the other Camels are only laden with Provision; and all little enough; so many People being to travel for so many days through so long a Tract of Ground where there is nothing in the World to sustain Life and Soul together.

For the first fifteen days travel we met with Water but once in two days, and sometimes not above once in three days. The twentieth day after we set out from *Aleppo*, the *Caravan* lay at a place where there were two Wells, and the Water very good. Every one was glad of the convenience of washing his Linnen, and the *Caravan-Bashi* made account to have staid there two or three days. But the News that we receiv'd, caus'd us to alter our Resolutions. For we had no sooner giv'n order to dress our Suppers, when we saw a Courier with three *Arabi*, all mounted upon Dromedaries, who were sent to carry the news of the Taking of *Babylon* to to *Aleppo* and other Cities of the Empire. They stop'd at the Wells to let their Beasts drink; and immediately the *Caravan-Bashi*, and the principal persons of the *Caravan* made them a small Present of dry'd Fruits and Granates. Who thereupon were so kind as to tell us, that the Carriage which carried the Baggage belonging to the Grand *Signor* and his Train being tyr'd, his Officers would be sure to seize upon ours, if they should chance to meet with us: they advis'd us moreover not to come near *Anna*, lest the *Emir* should stop us.

Upon this news, we departed three hours after midnight; and keeping directly to the South, we put our selves into the midst of the Desert.

Eight days after we came to lye at a place where were three Wells, and three or four Houses. We staid there two days to take fresh Water, and we were just setting forward again, when thirty Horsemen well mounted came from one of the *Emirs*, to tell the *Caravan Bashi* that he must stop his *Caravan*. We staid impatiently for him three days; and at length he came, and was presented by the *Caravan-Bashi* with a piece of Satin, half a piece of Scarlet Cloth, and two large Copper Cauldrons. Now although those Cauldrons could not but be very acceptable to an *Arabian* Prince, who most certainly had none such in his Kitchin, yet he did not seem contented with his Present, and demanded above four hundred Crowns. We contested seven or eight days to have kept our Money in our Pockets, but in vain, so that we were forc'd to rate one another, and to raise him his Sum; which being paid, he treated the chief of the *Caravan* with Pilaw, Honey, and Dates, and when he went away, give them five or six Sheep ready boyl'd.

Three days after we had left this *Arabian* Prince, we met with two Wells near certain old decay'd Brick Buildings. The Water of those Wells was so bitter, that the Camels would not drink it: however we fill'd our *Boracho's*, thinking

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it would have left its bitterness by being boyl'd: but we found the contrary.

From those two Wells that were good for nothing, we travel'd six days before we met with any Water, which with their three days before, made nine; and all that time the Camels never drank, as I have hinted already. At the end of nine days we cross'd a Hilly Country for three Leagues together, at the feet of three of which Hills there were three standing Pools. The Camels, that smelt the Water half a League off, put themselves upon their great trot, which is their manner of running, and no sooner came to the Pools but they crouded in all together, which caus'd the Water to be thick and muddy. Thereupon the *Caravan-Bashi* resolv'd to stay there two or three days together, 'till the Water was setl'd. Here we had also the opportunity to boyl us some Rice, there being good store of Bushes that grew about the Lake. But above all, the People were overjoy'd that they had an opportunity to make Bread, which they do after the following manner. First they dig a round Hole in the Ground, half a Foot deep, and two or three in diameter, which they croud full of Bushes, and then set them on fire, covering them with Bricks or Stones 'till they are red hot. In the mean while they prepare their Dough upon a *Sofra*, or round piece of Copper, which serves at other times for Table and Table-Cloth to eat upon. Then they take away the Ashes and Bricks, and making the Hole very clean, put in their Dough, and covering it again with the hot Bricks or Stones, leave it so 'till the morning. The Bread thus bak'd is very well tasted, not being above two Fingers thick, and as big as an ordinary Cake.

While we stay'd at the three Ponds, I spent my time in killing Hares and Partridge, of which there was very great plenty in those parts. The night before we departed we fill'd our *Baracho's* again, the Water being very good and clear; though it be nothing but Rain water preserv'd in those Cavities, which in the Summer are dry again.

But now the *Caravan-Bashi*, seeing we had travel'd already nine days without finding any Water, resolv'd to leave the South, and to keep to the West; and if he met not with Water in two or three days, to take to the North-East, or Winter-East, in quest of the River *Euphrates*.

Two days after we had chang'd our Road, we pass'd between two little Hills, where we met with a Pond, near to which were two *Arabians*, each with his Wife and Children, tending a Herd of Goats and a Flock of Sheep. They told us they were going toward *Mousful*, and put us in the best Road to find Water; and indeed, from that place to *Balsara*, we never travel'd three days together, but we met with enough.

Five days after we had left those two *Arabians*, we discover'd a large Palace all of Brick; which shew'd some probability, that the Country had been formerly sow'd, and that the Bricks had been burnt with the Straw. To the Palace belong'd three large Courts; in every one of which were fair Buildings, with two Stories of Arches, one upon another. Though this large Pile was standing, yet no body liv'd in it, nor could the *Arabians*, (very ignorant in Antiquity,) tell us by whom it was built. Before the Gate of the Palace there is a Lake with a Channel, the bottom whereof is brick'd, as also the Arch, which is even with the Ground. This the *Arabians* believe to have been a conveyance of Water from *Euphrates*: which surely could never be, in regard that *Euphrates* is above twenty Leagues distant.

From that Palace we kept to the North-East, and after we had travel'd five days, we arriv'd at a pitiful Town, formerly call'd *Cufa*, now *Meched-Ali*, where *Ali*, *Mahomet*'s Son in-law lyes buried in a plain *Mosquee*. Generally there stand four Tapers lighted about the Tomb, and certain Lamps burning over-head, which are fasten'd to the Roof.

Though the *Persians* have *Ali* in so much veneration, yet they rarely go in Pilgrimage to his Tomb. The reason is, because that there being no way to come at it, but through *Bagdat*, which is under the Dominion of the Great *Turk*, there is a demand of eight *Piasters* from every Pilgrim; which is an Imposition that no way pleases the King of *Persia*. *Sha-Abas* scorning that his Subjects should be tributary to the *Turks*, endeavour'd to divert them from this Pilgrimage by another sort of Devotion, which he set up at *Meshéed*, upon the Road from *Tauris* to *Candahar*. Nor have the Kings his Successors been less unwilling to give their Subjects leave to visit their Prophet *Ali*, taking it for an Affront to pay Tribute to the Grand *Signor*.

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embroider'd Quiver full of Arrows, together with a Buckler, the whole coming to about eleven or twelve hundred Livers; and adding to these of his own a piece of Scarlet, four pieces of Tissue of Gold and Silk, and six pieces of Tissue of Silver and Silk, made a Present of all together to the *Emir*. But he refus'd all, demanding only two hundred thousand *Piasters* for *Larins*: which exchange being no way for the Merchants profit, rais'd a great dispute. But at length, considering that it was in his power to stop and starve us there, we only endeavour'd a Composition; which was obtain'd. Thereupon he took the Present, which perhaps he would not else have done. For two days that we staid to weigh the Money, he sent Provisions to the chief of the *Caravan*; and at our departure, he sent us twelve Frails of Dates, and four young Camels that might be worth about forty Crowns a-piece.

Two days after we met a *Schek*, who among the *Arabians* is one of the chief of the Law. He was going to *Mecca*, cross some part of *Arabia the Happy*, with a Train of ten or twelve Camels. He staid all night with us, and one of his Servants having been dangerously wounded about two days before with a Musket-bullet, my Chirurgeon dress't him, and gave him Salve and Tents, for which he was extreamly thankful. He sent me to Supper a great Dish of Pilaw, and the next day a whole Sheep. The *Caravan-Bashi* likewise presented him with two Ells of Scarlet.

The next we met with nothing worth observation, but the day following we met another *Emir*, of about Five and Twenty years of age, who came from *Euphrates*, and was travelling into the *Happy Arabia*. He had with him about five hundred Horse, and three hundred Camels that carry'd his women. He presently sent to know what *Caravan* it was, and understanding that it consisted of many *Franks*, among whom their was a *Chirurgeon*: He sent again to desire the *Caravan Bashi* to follow with the *Caravan*, to the place where he intended to pitch his Tents, which was not far out of the way. We did not think to have gone so far that day, but he led us to the best water in all the Desert. The Princes Tent being set up, he sent for my *Chirurgeon*, with whom I went along to know what his pleasure was. He had upon his left Arm a Tetter, with a most filthy Scab as broad as a Crown piece; and this went and came at certain times in the year. He presently ask'd the *Chirurgeon* whether he could cure him? to whom the *Chirurgeon* made answer, that the cure was not impossible, provided he knew where to get such remedies as were convenient: For had he said, he could have absolutely cur'd him, the *Emir* would have carry'd him away with him, without any farther Ceremony. Thereupon he would have giv'n the *Chirurgeon* five hundred Crowns to have bought Medicines. But I made answer, that the cure would not cost so much, and that if the *Chirurgeon* could meet with proper Drugs, I would lay out the Money my self. The *Emir* content with that answer, sent one of his chief People to *Balsara*, to come back with the *Chirurgeon*, when he had bought his Medicines. He himself staid there three days in expectation of him; but after we had pretended to seek for what we wanted, up and down the Town (for we enquir'd for such things as we knew were not to be had) we sent him back word that we could not find what we look'd for, and desir'd his excuse, in regard the attendance of the *Chirurgeon* would be of no use, where he had not proper remedies; which was the only way we could think of, to get cleverly rid of him.

The next days Journey after we had left the *Arabian* Prince, was through a Country altogether uninhabited; but the day following, which was the sixty-fifth and last day of our being in the Desert, we met after some time, with the ruines of some houses on both sides the way; which made us conjecture, that some great City had stood formerly in that place.

At length we came to *Balsara*, which I shall describe in another place.

While I stay'd at *Balsara*, which was about three weeks, an Ambassador from the Great *Mogul* arriv'd there, who from *Constantinople* went to *Bagdat* to congratulate the *Grand Signor* for the Conquest of that City, which he had taken in so short a time. The Emperour presented him with three stately Horses, and a little Watch, the Case whereof was set with Diamonds and Rubies. But the Ambassador not knowing what belong'd to that little Engin, winding it up the wrong way, broke the string. Coming to *Balsara* he sent to the *Carmalites* to desire them to mend his Watch; for he fear'd the loss of his head, should he return to his Master

Maſter, and not ſhew him the Watch entire. It was at their Houſe that I then lay; and therefore not knowing what to do with it, they deſir'd me to ſhew my skill: Thereupon I put on a new ſtring. But the Ambaſſador, when he underſtood to whom he was beholding, though it were but a trifle, profer'd me all the ſervice and kindneſs imaginable. Thereupon the *Carmelites* and *Auguſtin* Fryars deſir'd me to requeſt of the Ambaſſador in their behalf, that he would obtain the Great *Turks* protection for them, in caſe he took *Balſara*, that their Houſes and Churches might be preſerv'd; which I did, and obtain'd by his means full protection from the Grand *Viſier*. But they had no need of it, for the *Turks* did not make any attempt upon *Balſara*, hearing that the *Perſians* were advancing; beſides that the rainy ſeaſon was at hand, which will not permit an Army to keep the Field: So that had *Bagdat* held out eight days longer, the Grand *Signor* would have been conſtrain'd to have rais'd the Siege.

Having ſpoken of the *Arabian* Horſes, I muſt needs ſay, that there are ſome that are valu'd at a very high rate. The *Mogul*'s Ambaſſador gave for ſome three, four, and ſix thouſand Crowns, and for another he offer'd eight thouſand Crowns, but the Horſe would not be ſold under ten, and ſo he left it. When he was got home into the *Indies*, and had preſented the *Mogul* thoſe Horſes which he had carry'd along with him, being very lovely Creatures; he told his Maſter how he had offer'd eight thouſand Crowns for a Horſe more beautiful than any of them; but becauſe the Owner would not let him go under ten, he left him. The King incens'd that his Ambaſſador has ſtood for ſo ſmall a Sum, when it was for one of the greateſt Monarchs in the World, upbraided the poorneſs of his Spirit, and baniſh'd him for ever from his preſence, into a Province far diſtant from the Court. Thereupon the King wrote to the *Engliſh* to buy him the Horſe, who accordingly did ſo, and brought him to *Surat*, where the Governour repaid them their Money. But the Horſe dy'd at *Brampour*.

Nor muſt I forget, that while I was at *Balſara*, twice there flew by ſuch a prodigious number of Locuſts, that a far-off they appear'd like a Cloud, and darkn'd the Air. They paſs by *Balſara* four or five times in the year, the Wind carrying them into the Deſert, where they alight, and moſt certainly dye. Should they not be thus wind-driv'n, there could nothing live upon the Earth in ſome parts of *Chaldea*. They ſwarm all along the *Perſian* Gulf, and when the Veſſels come to *Ormus* at the time of the year, there are little Shops where people ſell Locuſts fry'd in Butter to thoſe that love that ſort of Diet. Once I had the curioſity to open the Belly of a Locuſt ſix Inches long, and found therein ſeventeen little ones that ſtirr'd; whence it is eaſie to gueſs how thoſe Inſects come to be ſo numerous, eſpecially in hot Countries.

There are ſeveral Barks that go from *Ormus* to furniſh both ſides of the *Perſian* Gulf, where the people eat neither Bread nor Rice. I agreed with the Maſter of one of theſe Barks, and made my agreement that the Bark ſhould not be above half laden; for generally they lade them too deep, and in foul weather they are forc'd to throw half the Freight over-board, to ſave the reſt.

From *Balſara* to the mouth of the River *Euphrates*, it is reck'nd to be twenty Leagues of Freſh-water. We ſtaid ſeven whole days for a Wind, which proving favourable, we came to *Brander-ric*, in forty-eight hours. This is the place where you muſt land, if you intend for *Perſia*, unleſs you are bound for *Ormus*. *Brander-ric* conſiſts only of five or ſix little Fiſhers Hutts; which Hutts are only Hurdles ſet one againſt another, and cover'd over, where they and their Families live. To the ſame place come Aſſes lad'n with Dates, which I was forc'd to hire for want of Horſes.

We were ſix days upon the Road from thence to *Cazerom*. This is a Mountainous Country, where there is Wood enough; but you muſt lodge in the Fields, for there are no Inns upon the Road. The way is pleaſant in ſome places, along the Banks of ſeveral Rivulets, and through verdant Groves ſtor'd with great quantities of Turtles. We kill'd a good many; which we eat, part with Pilaw, inſtead of Henns; ſome we roſted, making Sticks to ſerve for Spits.

Cazerom is a little City ill built, where there is but one Inn, and that none of the moſt inviting to Strangers neither.

From *Cazerom* to *Schiras* it is five days journey. The Road lyes over very craggy

Mountains, which had been impaſſable, but for the Liberality of *Ali Coulı-Kan*, Governour of *Schiras*. He made Ways where there were none before, and joyn'd Mountains together by Bridges, in Countries which otherwiſe had been inacceſſible. In the midſt of the Mountains is a wide gap or diſcontinuance, from whence a Plain extends it ſelf of about twenty Leagues in circuit. It is inhabited by *Jews* only, who are Silk-Weavers. In theſe Mountains you met with Tents, where the *Chaldeans* ſojourn, that come for cool Air and Paſturage in the Summer.

Coming to *Schiras*, I took Horſe there for *Iſpahan*, which I arriv'd in nine days. The Country over which you travel, between theſe two Cities, is part Plains, part Mountains; part wild, and part manur'd. Three days journey from *Schiras* you paſs the Mountain of *Mayen*, a little City where there is nothing worthy obſervation. Two days journey from thence you enter upon the Plains of the Province of *Cuſcuzar*, where the King of *Perſia* keeps his Race-Horſes. The next day I arriv'd at *Teſdicas*, where the beſt Bread in *Perſia* is made. This is a little City upon a Rock, wherein there is a very fair Inn: at the foot whereof runs a little River that glides into the Valley, wherein grows that excellent Corn which is utter'd in Bread from that City.

In three days I went from *Teſdicas* to *Iſpahan*. This was the firſt Road from *Aleppo* to *Iſpahan*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Road from Aleppo *to* Iſpahan, *through* Meſopotamia *and* Aſſyria, *which I travell'd in my third Voyage to the* Indies.

I Departed from *Paris* in my third Voyage to the *Indies* upon the ſixth of *December* 1643, and went to *Livorn*, where I found the *Dutch* Fleet ready to ſet Sail for the *Levant*. The Veſſel wherein I embark'd ſeeming rather a Man-of War than a Merchant-Man. We paſs'd through the Chanel of *Meſſina*, and lay there at an Anchor four days before the City. From thence paſſing by the *Morea*, we enter'd into the *Archipelago*, where the Fleet parted, according as every Ship was bound. Our Ship ſayl'd directly for the Port of *Alexandretta*, but though the Wind were favourable, we were ſtop'd for ſome time by a Pirate that met with us off the Eaſtern Point of *Candy*. We endeavour'd to have got clear of him; but the Pirate gaining upon us, we made ready. Thereupon the Pirate gave us three Broad-ſides, that went over the Ship without doing us any harm: which we anſwer'd by as many from our Ship, the firſt whereof brought his Fore-maſt by the Board; and the third Shot went through the Fore-caſtle and kill'd him ſome Men, as far as we could diſcern. At that very inſtant one of our Mariners cry'd out from the Top-maſt-head, *A Sail from the South*. Thereupon the Pirate left us, and made Sail after her: and we, glad of ſuch an eſcape, purſu'd our Voyage to *Alexandretta*, where we happily arriv'd; from whence I took Horſe for *Aleppo*, as I have already deſcrib'd.

The ſixth of *March* I departed from *Aleppo* in the company of two *Capuchin* Friars, Father *Raphael* and Father *Yves*, and the *Venetian* whoſe name was *Dominico de Sanctis*.

From *Aleppo* to *Bir*, where you croſs the *Euphrates*, it is four days journey for the Horſe-*Caravan*. The Country is well wooded, and well manur'd.

The ſeventh of *March* the great Rains that fell hinder'd us from getting to the uſual Stage, ſo that we could not gain *Telbechar*, another Town, where there is no Inn: which conſtrain'd us to ſtop a League on this ſide, and to go to a Cave that was able to contain three hundred Horſe. This is a Cave where the *Bedouins* or Feeders of Cattel thereabouts oft retire, who live after the manner of the *Arabs*, either in Rocks or in poor Hutts. The Cave has been hollow'd from time to time, there being ſeveral Niches in it like little Chambers. Our *Caravan-Baſhi* fearing

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ſome *Ambuſcade*, rode thither before to view the place, but finding it empty and free, we reſted there that night, and the next night came to lye at *Mezara*, which is only a ſmall Village without an Inn: Neither was there any thing remarkable upon that Road. Only that near the Cave, in the Mountain, there is very good Water: And formerly upon the Mountain ſtood a Caſtle, of which ſome ruines are ſtill remaining. From the top of the Mountain there is a fair Proſpect as far as you can ſee, over very fair Plains on every ſide, and in ſeveral places very good Land, water'd by divers Channels which are brought from the River *Euphrates*. All the Rivolets alſo that you croſs from *Aleppo* to *Bir* come from the ſame River.

The fourth day after we parted from *Aleppo*, being the ninth of *March*, we came to the banks of *Euphrates*. *Bir* is on the other ſide of the River; and becauſe that ſometimes the Goods cannot be unladen all in a day; their is a fair and large Inn, to defend the Merchants from the *Bedouins*, which would elſe diſturb and rob them, were not they and their Goods in that manner ſecur'd.

You croſs the *Euphrates* in large Ferry Boats, and as ſoon as you are got over the other ſide of the River, the Cuſtomer and his Officers comes and tells the Bales, and writes down the names of the Merchants to whom they belong. The *Caravan* does not lye in the Town, which is built like an *Amphitheatre* upon the brow of a very craggy Mountain, but paſſes forward over a ſcurvy Road to an Inn upon the top of the Mountain. Near the Inn there are ſeveral Chambers cut out of the Rock, where they that cannot get room in the Inn are forc'd to lye. That Evening the Cuſtom-Officer comes to receive his duties, being two *Piaſters* upon every load of Goods, whether upon Horſe or Mule, though the Mules carry more than the Horſes; and half a *Piaſter* for every Beaſt that carries Proviſions. But for Saddle Horſes or Mules there is nothing demanded.

The *Bir*, or *Berygeon*, as the Natives call it, is a large City for an Eaſtern City, ſituated upon the brow of a Hill. Below upon the River ſtands a Caſtle that declares its Antiquity; it is half as long as the City, but narrow, and without any other Fortification, ſaving only a Tower that ſcours the River, in which there are eight or nine pretiful Culverins. In the higheſt part of the Town ſtands another Caſtle where the Governour reſides, who is an *Aga*, whom ſome call a *Baſha*, having under him two hundred *Janiſaries*, and four hundred *Spahi's*. The City is ill built, as are the moſt part of the Cities of *Turkie*: But there are an extrordinary plenty of all things, excellent Bread, good Wine, and great ſtore of the beſt ſort of Fiſh.

The tenth day after we had travel'd elev'n hours in the firſt Lands of *Meſopotamia*, that lye between the two Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigre*, which at preſent they call *Diarbek*, we came in the evening to *Sharmley*. This is a very good Town, with a fair Inn, and Baths round about it. About twice Muſquet-Shot from thence, ſtands a Mountain alone by it ſelf, like *Montmartre* near *Paris*: Round about it are Plains, and at the top of it ſtands a Fortreſs, with a Garriſon of two hundred *Spahi's*, by reaſon that the *Arabs* ſometimes croſs *Euphrates*, and make incurſions upon that ſide. In the year 1631, the Grand *Viſier* returning from *Bagdat*, where he had loſt the greateſt part of the Grand *Signor*'s Army, not being able to take the City; fearing the loſs of his head if he return'd to *Conſtantinople*, and knowing himſelf to be in great eſteem among the Souldiers, reſolv'd to quarter himſelf upon this Mountain, and to erect a Fortreſs to ſecure himſelf from the tempeſt that threaten'd him. No doubt but if he could have brought about his deſign, he might have made himſelf Maſter of all *Meſopotamia*, and would have put the Grand *Signor* to a great deal of trouble. For if you intend for *Aleppo*, whether it be from *Tauris*, *Moſſul*, or *Bagdat*, unleſs you travel thorough the Deſert, you muſt paſs through *Sharmley*, under the command of this Fortreſs, for Proviſion and Waters ſake. The work was gone ſo far forward, that there was a good defence rais'd, and the *Viſier* had already enclos'd all the Mountain together with the Inn, with a Wall almoſt twenty foot thick, and three fathom high, when he was ſtrangl'd by thoſe in whom he moſt confided, the Grand *Signor* having gain'd them either by threats or by rewards.

The eleventh, after a Journey of ten hours we came to *Ourfa*, where the *Caravan* uſually ſtays eight or ten days; for here it is that they live that hire the Horſes and the Mules, who have always ſome buſineſs in this place. We lay at an Inn

three or four hundred paces distant from the City toward the North. When the Inn is full, the rest retire into the *Grotto's* which are near at hand, and are very good quarters. Here the Toll-gatherer presently comes and counts the Bales without op'ning them. They that carry any Sacks must pay for half a Load; if not, he op'ns the Sack to see if there be any Merchandise therein, for then the Merchant must pay the whole duty.

Ourfa is the Capital City of *Mesopotamia*, built as they say, in the same place where *Abraham* liv'd, and where stood the ancient *Edessa*, where the people of the Country report, that King *Abagarus* generally kept his Court. There are still to be seen the ruines of a Castle; from whence they add, that the same King sent to *CHRIST* for his Picture, and offer'd him his Kingdom and his people to defend him against the *Jews*, whom he understood to be his Enemies. The Chronicles of the *Armenians* report, that *Abagarus* was their Country-man, and that in his Reign they began to be Christians, and to be Baptiz'd by the hands of an Apostle, whom *CHRIST* sent to that Prince after his Resurrection. Neither is this Castle yet so far ruin'd, but that there is still to be seen a spacious Hall, and three or four handsom Rooms with some relicks of Mosaick work. I was curious to see what ever was remarkable in this City. And first they led me to a large Fountain which resembles a Fish-pond, the Spring whereof is under the Foundations of the principal *Mosquee*, which was built in honour of *Abraham*. The Christians of the Country say, that it was in that place where he pray'd, before he went about to Sacrifice his Son *Isaac*, and that two Springs of Water arose from the two places where he rested his knees, which now feed the large Fountain I have made mention of. It is pav'd with Free-stone, and so full of Fish, that if you throw them in a little Bread, they will follow you from place to place as you walk by the side of the Pond. There is no medling with them; for the *Turks* have a great veneration for those Fish, which they call *Abraham*'s Fish. Besides that, the place about the Fountain where the water wid'ns it self to water all the City, is cover'd with very fair Carpets, for about twenty paces in bredth. This Fountain at length falls into a little River that runs by the Walls. As for the *Grotto* where the two Springs rise, there is no going into it before you have pull'd off your Shooes, and it is a great favour for a Christian to see it; such a favour as cost me six Piasters. I also saw the Church, under the portal whereof, they say, St. *Alexis* liv'd seventeen years a private life. It stands in the middle of a Church-yard, in the highest part of the Town, in the possession of the *Armenians*. But their principal Church is about a quarter of an hours walking from the City, built by St. *Ephren*, who is there buried. The Monastery stands yet entire, enclos'd with fair Walls. In the Church I saw a large Bible in *Armenian* Characters. The Sepulchre of St. *Ephren* is in a Cave at the foot of the Mountain, to which there also belongs a Chappel, where they keep three or four Lamps continually burning. There are other *Grotto's* up and down the Mountain, where are to be seen very ancient Sepulchers of the Christians. The City of *Ourfa* is seated in a good soil, very well manur'd, which extends it self out of sight toward the East. There are several pleasant Gardens near the walls, water'd by little Channels brought thither by Art. The soil produces good Wine, so that a man may live as well at *Ourfa*, as in any part of *Turkie*. While I stay'd there, I kill'd abundance of Feldfares in those Gardens; and indeed there is great store of wild Fowl all the Country over. The Walls of the City are of Freestone, with Battlements and Towers; but within, the houses are small, ill built, and ruinous: And there are several void spaces in the City, which makes *Ourfa* to look rather like a Desert than a Metropolis. The City is Govern'd by a *Bassa*, who has under him a hundred and fifty *Janisaries*, and six hundred *Spahi's*, standing more in need of Cavalry than Infantry, by reason of the Incursions of the *Arabians*, especially in harvest time. In short, *Ourfa* is the place where they dress such great quantities of Cordovan Skins, by reason of the waters particular to the Country, which give them that peculiar beauty. The Yellow Skins are dress at *Ourfa*, the Blew at *Tocat*, and the Red at *Diarbequir*.

The twentieth of *March*, we set out of *Ourfa*, and after a Journey of six hours, we lay at a pittiful Village where the Inn was fal'n all to decay. There is a Fountain of excellent water by it, which is all the convenience of the place, for there is no Provision to be had.

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The twenty-firſt we travel'd nine hours, and came to lye near ſeveral Caverns which are very deep; at the entry whereof there are little Rooms, which are ſuppos'd to be the places where the People of the Country liv'd that fed their Cattel thereabouts. There is alſo Rain-Water to be had in ſome of the Concavities of the Rock. Half this days journey you muſt paſs over Rocks, where it is almoſt impoſſible, and very dangerous to keep your Horſes back.

The twenty-ſecond, having travel'd elev'n hours, we lodg'd near a Cavern, having forded a River that runs at the foot of it. There are two great *Grotto's* on each ſide, where Travellers take up their Quarters, and whither the Natives of the Country bring Proviſions both for Horſe and Man. The Toll-gatherers, coming from a Fort about three Leagues diſtant from theſe Caverns, here exact two *Piaſters* and a half for every Horſe and Mules Load; and ſearch your Sacks, to ſee if there be no Merchantable Goods therein. About half the way of this days journey you meet with a City quite deſerted by the Inhabitants; and about an hours march after that, with Tombs of Stone, in the middle whereof ſtands a Croſs, with *Armenian* Characters.

The twenty-third we travel'd elev'n hours, and lay at *Dadacardin*. This appears to have been a great Town, but is all ruin'd: nor is there any thing remaining but a long Stone-Bridge very well built, under which runs a River that is very broad when it overflows. The People of the Country have no other Habitations than the Hollows of Rocks; yet they bring to the Travellers Hens, Butter, Cheeſe, and other Proviſions; which they ſell very cheap.

The twenty-fourth we travel'd nine hours, and lay at a place call'd *Cara*, built upon a Hill. The *Caravan* lay at the Inn; but the two *Capuchins* and I lay at a private Chriſtian's Houſe, who carry'd us to the Church, where was then the *Vertabet* or Biſhop of *Merdin*. It was a pitiful poor Church, where they had nothing but two Planks ſupported with four Sticks inſtead of an Altar. They dare not leave any Furniture in it, but as ſoon as the Prieſt has ſaid Service, he muſt have a care to take away every thing, as well the Planks as the Covering of the Altar, which was only a Painted Cloth: For the *Turks* that travel that way, if it be foul weather, will break open the Door, put their Horſes there, burn the Altar, and take away whatever they find.

In the Village where we lay, there was a Pond, the ſides whereof were ſurrounded with fair Free-ſtones, which were fetch'd from the Chriſtian Churches, and the Tombs of the Chriſtians thereabouts. Among the reſt, there was one very large Stone, with an Epitaph upon it in large *Latin* Letters; whereby we knew it to be the Tomb-ſtone of a *Norman* Gentleman, who had been a Captain of Foot. The Biſhop inform'd us, that it is recorded in the *Armenian* Stories, that the *French* were a long time in this Country, at what time the Chriſtians were Maſters of *Syria*. This Country is all a large Plain, about twenty Leagues in length; which might be well manur'd, and make the Inhabitants rich, did not the Tyranny of the *Turks*, and the Incurſions of the *Arabs*, reduce them to the utmoſt degree of Poverty.

The twenty-fifth, after we had travel'd eight hours, we lay at a Village call'd *Couſaſar*, where there was no Inn. There were formerly three great Monaſteries, a quarter of a League one from the other. The *Turks* have ruin'd two, all but the Steeples of the Churches that belong'd to them. The third, which ſtands all entire, and is the faireſt Pile of Building, ſerves for a *Moſque*. They have made Shops round about the Cloyſters, in the middle of which is a fair Spring of Water.

The twenty ſeventh we lay ſtill at *Couſaſar*, being the place where you muſt pay the Cuſtoms of *Diarbequir*, which is not above two days journey off, amounting to two *Piaſters* and a fourth part, for every Load of Merchants Goods.

Merdin is not above two Leagues from *Couſaſar*. This is a little City ſeated upon a Mountain, with good Walls, and a fair Fountain repleniſh'd from the Caſtle; which ſtands upon the North-ſide, in a place yet higher, that commands the City; where there lives a *Baſha*, who has under him two hundred *Spahi's*, and four hundred *Janizaries*. *Merdin* is the place where was born the Lady *Maani Giocrida*, the firſt Wife of *Pietro de la Valle*, ſo well known for his famous Travels.

As for *Couſaſar*, which is a large Village, it is inhabited for the moſt part by *Armenian* Chriſtians and *Neſtorians*. The *Armenians* perform Divine Service in their own Language; the *Neſtorians* in the *Chaldaic*. The latter ſhew'd me two Bibles

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in a large Volume, in the ſame Language, writt'n in Vellum, all the Capital Letters being in Gold and Azure. They ſeem'd to be very old; and one of their Prieſts told me, that it is 937 years ago ſince one of them was writt'n; the other not above 374 ſince. When Service is done, they put them in a Cheſt, and hide them under Ground. I would have giv'n 200 *Piaſters* for the oldeſt, but they durſt not ſell it, in regard it belong'd to the Church, and was not at their diſpoſal.

The twenty-ſeventh, after we had travel'd nine hours, we arriv'd at *Karaſara*, which had been formerly a great Town, and no doubt inhabited by Chriſtians; as appears by ſeven or eight Churches half ruin'd, though the Steeples are little the worſe. They ſtand at a good diſtance one from the other; and upon the North ſide of one of thoſe Churches there is a Gallery, at the end whereof, through a little Door you deſcend about a hundred Steps, every Step being ten Inches thick. When you come under the Church, you meet with a larger and bigger Vault, ſupported with Pillars. The Building is ſo contriv'd, that there is more light below than in that above; but of late years the Earth has ſtop'd up ſeveral Windows. The great Altar is in the Rock; on the right ſide whereof is a Room, which receives the light from ſeveral Windows contriv'd in the Rock. Over the Gate of the Church was a great Free-ſtone, wherein were certain Letters that I could not read. On the North-ſide of the ſame Church under Ground are to be ſeen two great Ciſterns, each four hundred and fifty Paces long; with two great Arches, ſuſtain'd with ſeveral Pillars. Every year they fill them with the Water that falls from the next Mountain, and makes a kind of a River. A quarter of a Leagne from the Church, you deſcend the Mountain for above a hundred Paces together among the Rocks, on each ſide whereof are Rooms cut out of the Rock. Upon every Door there is a Croſs; and in every Room as it were a Bench, and a Table, with a little place about the length of a Man, like a Bedſted, all cut out of the Rock. At the bottom of the Rock is a Hall, round about the Wall whereof is a Bench to ſit on. The Roof is all plain, without any Arch; in the middle whereof there is a Hole to the top of the Mountain: but in regard it gives no light, 'tis very probable 'twas only made to let out the Smoak when they dreſt their Meat; or elſe to let in the freſh Air, as I have ſeen in many Villages upon the *Perſian* Gulf. Upon the higheſt of thoſe Mountains ſtands a paltry Village, where they buy their Victuals. But before the *Caravan* arrives, certain Merchants ride before to inform themſelves from the Herdſmen, whether they know of any Thieves in the *Grotto's*, that often hide themſelves there in expectation of Prey.

In the year 1638. *Sultan Amurat* going to beſiege *Babylon*, march'd this very way, as well to ſee theſe Ruines, as to give order for the demoliſhing a Fort that ſtood not above two Leagues off of *Karaſara*, which the Thieves of the Country made their place of retreat. He alſo at the ſame time caus'd the Road to be clear'd for four days journey, by ord'ring the Stones to be pickt up and laid in heaps, all along the Road. He alſo built a Bridge over the River. And indeed, that March of the Grand *Signor* was very advantageous to all Travellers that paſs this way.

The twenty-eight we travel'd eight hours, and came to *Nesbin*, anciently *Niſibis*. Two or three hours travel on this ſide, near the Road, is a kind of Hermitage, being a ſmall Room enclos'd with Walls, the Door whereof is ſo low, that a Man muſt creep upon his Belly to get in. Three or four *Jews* went and perform'd their Devotions at this Hermitage, believing it to be the place where the Prophet *Eliſha* was buried.

The Country from *Couſaſar* to *Nesbin* is a large Plain, where for the firſt days journey you ſhall ſee no other green Herb upon the Ground but only Pimpernel; the Roots whereof are ſo large, that there are ſome a Foot and a half in diameter. The next day, the Fields are cover'd with a large thick Leaf, the Root whereof is bulbous, and as big as an Egg. There are alſo great ſtore of yellow, red, and violet Flowers, Tulips of ſeveral colours, Emonies, and ſingle Daffadillies. But in general *Meſopotamia* is a very barren Country, and there are very few places that can be better'd by Art or Induſtry.

Nesbin is only the Shadow of the ancient *Niſibis*, being now only a large Village; the Inhabitants whereof are Chriſtians, both *Armenians* and *Neſtorians*. Our *Caravan* lodg'd a little beyond, in a Church-yard adjoyning to one of the *Armenian* Churches. The next day, hearing people ſing, I went to the Church with the two

Capuchins,

Capuchins, where I ſaw an *Armenian* Biſhop, with his Miter, and a wooden Croſier, accompany'd with ſeveral Prieſts and a good Congregation. When Service was done, after ſome few Compliments between us, he led us down under the Church into a Chapel, where he ſhew'd us the Sepulcher of St. *James* Biſhop of *Niſibis*. In the Church yard is a Stone about a Foot thick, and ſix high; upon which were laid ſeveral Candles of Wax and Tallow, which the Poor offer in their Neceſſities, but eſpecially in their Sickneſſes. They believe that Stone to have been the Pedeſtal for the Statue of ſome Saint, which the *Turks* have defac'd: ſo that they give the ſame Honour to the Pedeſtal, as they would have giv'n to the Statue. There are alſo ſome *Roman* Characters to be ſeen, but half worn out, and ſpaces brok'n off in ſome parts: ſo that I could not learn, in Honour of whom that Statue was erected. Half a League from *Nisbin* runs a River, which you croſs over a Stone-Bridge. In the way to the River are ſeveral pieces of Wall, with an Arch, which made me conjecture, that formerly the City extended as far as the River.

Twice Musket-ſhot from the River you meet with a Stone half buried, upon which are written certain *Latin* Words; whereby it appears that it was the Tomb-ſtone of the General of an Army that was a *French-man*: but I could not read his Name, which time had defac'd. The ſame Biſhop inform'd us, that formerly the *Moors* having beſieg'd City, there came ſuch a prodigious company of ſtrange Flyes, and did ſo torment both Men and Horſes, that they were forc'd to ſtrange the Siege. You muſt pay the ſame Toll at *Nisbin* as in other places, that is, two *Piaſters* and a half for every Mule or Horſes Load. We lay there three days together, to furniſh our ſelves with Proviſions 'till we came to *Mouſſul*, which is five days journey from *Nisbin*; the Country between being altogether deſert and uninhabited. There is no Water to be found but in two places, and that not very good neither; near to which you ſhall ſee ſome few Herdſmen grazing their Cattel.

The firſt of *April* we departed from *Nisbin*; and after we had travel'd eleven hours, we lay near to a River, whither certain Shepherds brought us Hens to ſell.

The ſecond we travel'd ten hours, and lay at a paltry Town, where we met with nothing to eat.

The third we travel'd thirteen hours, and lodg'd by a pitiful Fountain, the Water whereof was hardly good enough for our Horſes.

The fourth we travel'd ten hours, and came to lodge by the Bank of a little River, near to which appear'd the Ruines of a Bridge and a Caſtle.

The fifth we travel'd eleven hours, to reach *Mouſſul*, which is not far from the ancient *Niniveh*.

Mouſſul is a City that makes a great ſhew without, the Walls being of Free-ſtone; but within it is almoſt all, ruin'd having only two blind Market-places, with a little Caſtle upon the *Tigris*, where the *Baſha* lives. In a word, there is nothing worth a Man's ſight in *Mouſſul*, the place being only conſiderable for the great concourſe of Merchants; eſpecially the *Arabians* and *Curds*, which are the Inhabitants of the ancient *Aſſyria*, now call'd *Curdiſtan*, where there grows great plenty of Galls, and for which there is a great Trade. There are in it four ſorts of Chriſtians, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Neſtorians*, and *Maronites*. The *Capuchins* had a pretty Dwelling upon the *Tigris*; but the *Baſha* laying a Fine upon them, becauſe they went about a little to enlarge it, they were forc'd to quit it. The City is govern'd by a *Baſha*, that has under him, part *Janizaries*, part *Spahi's*, about three thouſand Men.

There are only two ſcurvy Inns in *Mouſſul*, which being full when we came, I caus'd my Tent to be ſet up at the *Meydan*, or great Market-place.

Now to ſay ſomething in general of the difference of the two Rivers, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, in reference to their Courſe and Waters: I obſerv'd that the Water of *Euphrates* appear'd ſomewhat red; and that the Stream was not ſo ſwift as that of *Tigris*, which ſeem'd to be whitiſh, like the *Loire*. As for its Courſe, *Euphrates* runs a far longer way than *Tigris*. But now let us croſs the *Tigris*, over a Bridge of Boats, to view the ſad Ruines of a City that has made ſuch a noiſe in the World; though there be now ſcarce any appearance of its ancient ſplendour.

Niniveh was built upon the left Shoar of the *Tigris*, upon *Aſſyria*-ſide, being now only a heap of Rubbiſh extending almoſt a League along the River. There are abundance

abundance of Vaults and Caverns uninhabited; nor could a man well conjecture whether they were the ancient Habitations of the people, or whether any houſes had been built upon them in former times; for moſt of the houſes in *Turkie* are like Cellars, or elſe but one Story high. Half a League from *Tigris* ſtands a little Hill encompas'd with Houſes, on the top whereof is built a *Moſquée*. The people of the Country ſay 'twas the place where *Jonas* was bury'd; and for that place they have ſo great a veneration, that no Chriſtians are ſuffer'd to enter into it, but privately, and for Money. By that means I got in with two *Capuchin* Fryars; but we were forc'd to put off our Shooes firſt. In the middle of the *Moſquée* ſtood a Sepulchre, cover'd with a *Perſian* Carpet of Silk and Silver, and at the four corners, great Copper Candleſticks with Wax Tapers, beſides ſeveral Lamps and Oſtridge-Shells that hung down from the Roof. We ſaw a great number of *Moores* without, and within ſat two *Dervi's* reading the *Alcoran*.

About a Musket-Shot from *Mouſſul* toward the North-Eaſt, ſtands a great Ruin'd Monaſtery, enclos'd with high Walls, the greateſt part whereof is ſtill to be ſeen.

We ſtay'd ten days at *Mouſſul*, and having provided all things ready for the reſt of our Journey, we ſet forward for *Iſpahan*.

CHAP. V.

A Continuation of the Road from Nineveh *to* Iſpahan: *Together with the Story of an Ambaſſador, call'd* Dominico de Santis.

HAving paſs'd the *Tigris*, we ſtay'd three quarters of an hours Journey from *Nineveh* for ſome Merchants that were to go along with the *Caravan*. The way which we took was not the uſual Road to *Perſia*; but it was a way wherein there were leſs Duties to be paid; and beſides, it was a ſhort cut, the *Caravan* making but fifty eight days Journey between *Aleppo* and *Iſpahan*. From the very banks of the River to the place where we Lodg'd that Evening, we ſaw nothing but continu'd Ruines, which makes me believe, it was the place where the ancient *Nineveh* ſtood.

We ſtaid two days near the *Moſquée*, where according to the tradition of the *Turks*, *Jonas* was bury'd, and made choice of a *Curd*, or *Aſſyrian*, for our *Caravan-Baſhi*, though the people are generally Thieves, and muſt be carefully look'd after. But it was a piece of Policy, becauſe we were to croſs the ancient *Aſſyria*, now call'd *Curdiſtan*; the Language of which Country is a particular Speech.

In the two firſt days Journey we croſs'd two ſmall Rivers that fall from the Mountains, and empty themſelves into *Tigris*. Our firſt Journey was through a plain Country all along by the ſide of a little River; and the ſecond Evening we lodg'd by the ſide of a great River that falls from the Mountains toward the North, and running to the South, diſcharges it ſelf into *Tigris*. It is call'd *Bohtan*, being a very rapid Stream, full of Fiſh, but more eſpecially excellent Trouts. The *Caravan* was two days paſſing that River, by reaſon there were no Boats. For the people are forc'd to tye long Perches four five together one upon another, which the Natives call a *Kilet*. They make it four-ſquare, and put underneath it about a hundred Goat-Skins full of wind, to the end the *Kilet* may not touch the water. Beſides the Merchant muſt be careful to ſpread good ſtore of thick Felts over the *Kilet*, of which he muſt be provided to keep off the Water, leſt the Bales that ſink the *Kilet* ſhould take wet. At the four corners are four Perches that ſerve for Oars, though they avail but little againſt the force of the Tide; ſo that you muſt be forc'd to haſe the *Kilet* four or five hundred Paces a'this ſide up the River, and then row down the Stream to the place where you intend to Land the Goods. When the Goods are Landed, the men are forc'd again to draw the *Kilet* by main ſtrength out of the water, to take away the Goat-Skins which are then to be lad'n upon the Mules appointed to carry them. As for the Horſes, Mules, and Aſſes, as well thoſe that carri'd

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the Goods, as those upon which the men ride; so soon as the Herdsmen thereabout see a *Caravan* coming, they flock to the River-side. Those people that wear nothing but a course piece of Linen or a Goat-skin to cover their nakedness, take off their Cloaths and wind them about their Heads, like a Turbant. Then every one tyes a Goat-skin blow'd up under his Stomach; and then two or three of the most expert mounting the same number of the best Horses, which are bridl'd, put themselves first into the Water, while others follow them swimming, and drive the Horses before them; holding the Beast by the Tayl with one hand, and switching him with the other. If they find any Horse or Ass that is too weak, they tye a Goat-skin under his Belly to help him. Considering which difficulties, it cannot take up less time than I have mention'd to get over a *Caravan* of five or six hundred Horses.

The *Caravan* being thus got over, for two or three days has but a very bad Road. The first days journey the Horses were continually in the Water up to the mid-leg; and the second, and part of the third we travel'd through a very desert Country, where we met with very little food for our Horses, and only a few Brakes to boyl our Rice. Having got over this bad way, we came to a River call'd the great *Zarbe*, over which we pass'd upon a Stone-Bridge of nine Arches. They report that this Bridge was built by *Alexander* the Great, in his March against *Darius*. A quarter of a League to the South-East, two Rivers meet, which empty themselves into *Tigris*. Leaving the Bridge, we came to a Town call'd *Sherazoul*, built upon a rising Ground, upon three Redoubts. There resides a *Bassa*, who must be brib'd with a small Present to let the *Caravan* pass; we lay by the Banks of a River, and staid there two days. From thence we travel'd one days journey over dry Mountains, not finding any Water. But the next day we came into a pleasant Plain, stor'd with Fruit-trees. This was the Plain of *Arbels*, where *Alexander* defeated *Darius*; containing about fifteen Leagues in all. It is water'd with several Rivulets, and in the middle of the Mountain rises a little Hill about half a League in circuit. It is all over cover'd with the fairest Oaks that ever were seen; and on the top are the Ruines of a Castle, that seems to have been a sumptuous Structure. The Country-people say that *Darius* staid there while his Captains gave Battel to *Alexander*. Three Leagues from thence, near a great Mountain toward the North, are to be seen the Ruines of another Castle and several Houses, where they add, that *Darius* secur'd some of his Wives when he lost the Battel. This Castle is seated in a most lovely Prospect. At the foot of the Mountain rises a Spring, which a quarter of a League off swells into a River that bears good big Boats. It runs winding about the Mountains to the Southward; so that two days journey from the Hill, you cross it near a Town call'd *Sherazoul*, over a fair Stone-Bridge of nine Arches, whereof the Great *Sha-Abas* caus'd three to be brok'n down after he had tak'n *Bagdat*.

This City of *Sherazoul* is built after another manner than any other of the Cities in those parts, being all cut out of a steep Rock for a quarter of a League together; so that you must go up to the Houses by Stairs of fifteen, or twenty steps, sometimes more, sometimes less according to the scituation of the place. The people have no other Doors to their Houses than only a thin round Stone, like a Mill stone, which they will roll away when they go in or out, the sides of the Wall being so cut as to receive the Stone like a Case, being level with the Rock.

The tops of their Houses are like Niches in the Mountain, where the Inhabitants have contriv'd Caves to keep their Cattel in: So that we judg'd it to be built for a place of safety to secure the Inhabitants from the Incursions of the *Arabians* and *Bedouins* of *Mesopotamia*.

We came to *Sherazoul* upon *Easter*-Eve, and staid there three days to refresh our selves, after a *Lent* which we had kept very sparingly. Here I found certain Springs that rose up in large Bubbles, which after I had mix'd with two Glasses of Wine and drank up, I found to have a Purgative quality, having a kind of Mineral tast. These Springs boyl up near the side of a River call'd *Altun sou*, or, *The River of Gold*, that falls into the River *Tigris*, three days journey on this side *Bagdat*.

The next day we lay at a pitiful Town, upon the Frontiers of *Turkie* and *Persia*.

The next day, being the fifth after we set out from *Nineveh*, we pass'd over

several Fens and hot Waters, that part the two Empires. Entring thus into *Persia*, we met with a high Mountain cover'd with fair Oaks, which bear the Gall-Nuts, so high, that the *Caravan* was some hours ere it could get to the top. As we ascended, but especially when we were up, we heard several Muskets go off. At first we thought the people had been hunting the wild Boars or Stags, of which the Mountains are full: but the report of the Guns being too loud and too thick for Hunters, we stood upon our guard; and I believe we should have mended our paces, had we known what was intended us. Besides, I remember'd that the Country people would not sell any thing but for Powder and Bullet, which the *Caravan-Bashi* advis'd me not to let them have, for fear they should make use of it against our selves. From the Mountain we descended into a fertil Plain, water'd with several Rivers; and night approaching, we set up our Tents, not fearing any thing, because we were in the Dominions of the King of *Persia*, where there is so much security in travelling. After that we sent our Servants to the Tents of the Country-men, but they brought us nothing but Bread made of Acorns, than which the poor people thereabouts eat no other. This Acorn is about the bigness of our Nuts; and once I met with a Branch that had thirty Acorns, and twenty-three Gall-Nuts, all at one time growing upon it.

The Province which we travel'd through then, compos'd the greatest part of the ancient *Assyria*. But now to come to the Story of *Dominico de Santis* the *Venetian*. He had Letters of Credence from the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Republick of *Venice*, to the King of *Persia*; and he went in the *Caravan* through the Grand *Signor*'s Territories, never discovering himself who he was; but coming into *Persia*, he took upon him without fear the Title of Ambassador from the Commonwealth of *Venice*.

From the Plain where we lodg'd, it is two days journey to a good big Town, to which belongs a Fortress, where the Governour of the Province has a Lieutenant, with about two thousand Horse under his Command. The Fortress is upon the right hand toward the South, after three hours riding upon the High-way. To this Lieutenant, the *Caravan-Bashi* was according to duty bound to give notice of the Arrival of the *Caravan*, and an account of the Persons and their Merchandize. This *Venetian* was a person ill fitted for the quality of an Ambassador, being a person of no Parts; which made me wonder that such great Princes, and so wise a Commonwealth, should send such a person upon a Concern of that importance. For the Grand *Signor* then assailing *Candy*, he was sent to excite the King of *Persia* to engage him in a War against the *Turk*, thereby to keep off the Storm that threaten'd Christendom. Thereupon I told the Ambassador, that it was necessary for him to give the Commander of the Fort first notice of his coming, to the end he might give advice thereof to *Solyman Kan* Governour of the Province, whose duty it was to advertise the King. Thereupon he requested me to send my Interpreter, which I did. Upon whose intelligence the Lieutenant of the Fort came to Compliment the Ambassador on the behalf of the chief Commander, and to conduct him to the Castle.

Thereupon the Ambassador, my self, and my Interpreter, together with some *Armenian* Merchants went with him, travelling for three hours over the Mountains. By that time we came half the way, as we pass'd through a Wood, we heard as it were some person give a Whistle; at which when the Lieutenant perceiv'd us to be somewhat startl'd, he carry'd us to the place from whence the Whistle came, where we saw a Serpent about as big as a Man's Thigh, and about twelve Foot long, whose head was squeez'd between two Trees, that put him to pain. From that Mountain we descended into a pleasant Plain, where the Commander of the Fortress staid for us under his Tent. He had set it up by the side of a River, under the shade of several great Walnut-trees. So soon as he saw us, he rose from his great Silk Tapestry Coverlet, and saluted us in a most civil manner, telling us, that assuredly *Sha-Abas*, his Master, would be very glad to hear that the Monarchs of Christendom had sent him an Ambassador, and that he would write to *Solyman Kan*, whose duty it was to advertise the Emperour. Thereupon he wrote and dispatch'd away a Messenger, giving him order to tell the *Deroga*, or Judge of the Town, through which we were to pass, that he should make Provision for us and our Horses 'till we came to the Governour. After he had ask'd us several Questions

concerning

concerning the War between the Grand *Signor* and the *Venetians*, how many thouſand men he had as well by Sea as Land, and what number of Galleys and Ships? wherein we ſatisfy'd him according to the beſt of our knowledge. After he had civilly treated us, he ſent his Lieutenant back with us again to the *Caravan*. About ten a Clock the next night we diſlodg'd, and the Lieutenant and ſix Souldiers attended upon us; who told us he had order not to leave us, 'till he had brought us to *Solyman Kan*.

The next night we lodg'd between two Hills, among ſeveral Tents of Herdſmen. Here it was that the Commander had order'd that we ſhould be treatrd by the *Deroga*. A *Deroga*, as I have ſaid, is the Judge of a Village: But this *Deroga* was chief of many Families, ſome of which were of *Meſopotamia*, others of *Arabia*. Theſe are all Herdſmen that never live in Houſes, but retire with their Cattle to the holes in the Rocks, where partly Nature, partly Art, have contributed to make them convenient Habitations.

So ſoon as we were alighted, four ancient men came and led the Ambaſſador and my ſelf to the *Deroga*'s Tent. It ſeem'd to conſiſt of many Rooms, with a Hall in the middle, ſpread with *Perſian* Carpets. He caus'd us to ſit down upon Cuſhions, and then preſented us with a Pipe of Tobacco, and Water to waſh our Feet. After he had nobly treated us, and that we were upon taking our leave, the *Deroga* was very much troubl'd that we had made a ſmall Preſent to his Son; telling us, that it was a crime for him to take any thing of the King's Gueſts, eſpecially from Strangers that had come ſo long a Journey.

The next day we lodg'd in a place where there was ſuch a prodigious quantity of Lillies that the Ground was almoſt cover'd with them. There were none that were white, being for the moſt part of a fair Violet colour, with a ſtreak of Red in the middle of every leaf; they are like our Lillies, but much bigger. And to drink the infuſion of the Roots of theſe Lillies, eſpecially thoſe whoſe Leaves are blackeſt, for fifteen days together, is a moſt Sovereign remedy againſt the Pox. Not long after came a Perſon of a goodly Aſpect, who ſeem'd to be an *Arabian*, but he ſpoke the *Perſian* Language, whom *Solyman Kan* had ſent to Compliment the Ambaſſador. He carry'd us to the Tent which the Governour had caus'd to be ſet up in a Garden near the Town, where he alſo Lodg'd the *Capuchins*. The Ambaſſador alſo ſent to Compliment the *Kan* by my interpreter; and when the hour was come that we were to ſet forward, he gave order to ſix of the Captains of his Cavalry to accompany the Ambaſſador. The Houſe where the Governour liv'd in, was one of the moſt beautiful in *Perſia*. And as for the Governour himſelf, we found him in a Gallery that look'd upon the Garden, the Floor being all ſpread over with Tapeſtry of Gold and Silk, with large Cuſhions of Cloth of Gold all along the Wall. After ſome Queſtions and diſcourſe concerning the Affairs of *Europe*, they ſerv'd in Supper, which conſiſted of ſeveral Diſhes; but no Wine was to be had; our drink being only Sherbet and the juice of Granates, with Sugar for thoſe that deſir'd it. We were a long time at Supper, for 'tis the cuſtom of *Perſia* that when one man riſes, another takes his place and falls too, in ſo much that the Maſter of the Feaſt muſt have the Patience to ſtay 'till ſeveral have tak'n their turns; and when every one has done, the Cloth is tak'n away without any more to do. Here the Ambaſſador committed an abſurdity; for there are no Silver or Gold Spoons in *Perſia*, but only long Wooden Ladles that reach a great way. Now the Ambaſſador reaching his Ladle to a Purſlane-Diſh full of Pottage that was ſcalding hot, clap'd it preſently into his mouth; but finding it ſo hot that he could not endure it, after ſeveral ſcurvy faces, he threw it out of his mouth again into his hand, in the preſence of all the Company.

After we had ſtay'd five days at *Sneirne*, the *Caravan-Baſhi* ſignifi'd his deſire to purſue his Journey. Thereupon the Ambaſſador took his leave of the Governour, preſenting him with a Watch and a pair of Piſtols; who in retaliation preſented the Ambaſſador with a ſtately Horſe, and a Colt of two years old. The next day we diſlodg'd, and purſu'd our Road to *Amadan*, which is not above three days Journey from *Sneirne*.

Amadan is one of the largeſt and moſt conſiderable Cities of *Perſia*, ſeated at the foot of a Mountain, where do ariſe an infinite company of Springs that do water all the Country. The Land about it abounds in Corn and Rice, wherewith it furniſhes

the greatest part of the neighbouring Provinces. Which is the reason that some of the *Persian* Statesmen hold it very inconvenient for the King of *Persia* to keep *Bagdat*, as well by reason of the vastness of the Charge, as also for that it draws from *Amadan* that which should supply other Provinces. On the other side, it is easie for the Grand *Signor* to hold it, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and the *Arabs*, Enemies to the *Persians*: by which means Provisions are very cheap, which the people would not know where to put off, if the King of *Persia* were Lord of *Bagdat*.

We staid at *Amadan* about ten days, by reason of the Rains; during which time the *Caravans* cannot travel. While we tarry'd there, we were visited by several *Babylonian* Christians, who were glad to see that we had escap'd the Clutches of the *Basha* of *Bagdat*, who had giv'n order to the *Bassa* of *Kurkon*, and the *Bey* of *Sharaffon* that commands the Frontiers of *Turkie*, to seize us, and carry us back to *Bagdat*. For which we might have thank'd the Ambassador, and a malicious *Rabbi*, that came along with us in the *Caravan* from *Aleppo*; who finding the Feast of the Tabernacles to be at hand, and that we had a great way to *Ispahan*, left us at *Nineveh*, to keep the Festival with the *Jews* of *Babylon*. Where that he might insinuate himself into the *Bassa*'s favour, he inform'd him that there was a *Fringuiz* in the *Caravan*, whom he look'd upon as a Spy, and that he was an Envoy into *Persia* from the Commonwealth of *Venice*; for he carry'd no Merchandize, but had three Chests full of rich Habits, and several other things, which he took for Presents to the *Persian* King. For out of vanity or folly, the *Venetian* had several times open'd his Chest and expos'd his Gallantry to view. And yet he was so clutch-fisted and niggardly in every thing, that when there was any occasion to reward the *Kan*'s Servant, or any of the Country-men that brought us the Dainties of the place, it came all out of my Pocket. So that I left him to my Interpreter and the two *Capuchins*; and with three Servants and a Guide, after I had staid at *Amadan* three days, I took Horse for *Ispahan*.

When I came there, the *Nazar* or Master of the King's Houshold hearing I had left an Ambassador behind me with the *Caravan*, enquir'd of me what manner of Person he was, but I pretended I had but little converse with him, unwilling to discover his mean Spirit. The Evening before his Arrival the *Nazar* sent to give the *Fringuiz* notice in the King's Name, that they should be ready to go meet the Ambassador the next day; which we did, and brought him into the City and through *Ali*'s Gate, that joyns to the King's Palace. Now 'tis the custom for all Ambassadours to salute that Gate, by reason of a white Marble Stone made like an Asses back, and which serves for a Step: being, as they report, brought anciently out of *Arabia*, where *Ali* liv'd. So soon as you have strid over that Stone without touching it, which were a great crime, you enter into a kind of a Gallery, where there are Rooms on each side, which serve for a Sanctuary for Criminals, which the King himself cannot fetch out of that place. That day that the new King receives his Ensigns of Royalty, he goes to stride over that Stone; and if by negligence he should chance to touch it, there are four Guards at the Gate, that would make a shew of thrusting him back again.

But now the Master of the Ceremonies being ready to conduct the Ambassador to the Apartment alotted him, as an Ambassador that came from three great Monarchs, and a potent Commonwealth, he desir'd to lodge at the House of one *Pietro Pentalet*, descended from *Venetian* Parents; whereupon the Master of the Ceremonies conducted him thither, and caus'd his Dinner to be brought him. While we were eating, I counted thirteen Languages spoken at the Table; *Latin*, *French*, *High-Dutch*, *English*, *Low-Dutch*, *Italian*, *Portuguez*, *Persian*, *Turkish*, *Arabic*, *Indian*, *Syriac*, and *Malaye*, which is the Language of the Learned, that is spoken from the River *Indus* to *China* and *Japan*, and in all the Islands of the East, like *Latin* in *Europe*; not reck'ning the little *Moresco* or Gibbrish of the Country. So that it is a difficult thing to observe what is talk'd in one Company, where the Discourse begins in one Language, is pursu'd in another, and finish'd in a third: and for the *Turks* and *Armenians*, they never speak above three or four Languages at most.

Now to shew you the Civility of the *Persians*; the Master of the Ceremonies came to the Ambassador and told him, that if he did not like the Cookery of the *Persians*, he had Order from the *Atemadoulet*, who is as the Grand *Vizier* in *Turkie*, to offer him Money

Money instead of Diet, to the end he might dress his own Meat as he pleas'd himself. Upon which the covetous Ambassadour accepted his offer, and two hours after there was a Bag brought him of 50 *Tomans*, which amount to about 800 Crowns. The *Franks* being offended at his baseness, slighted the Ambassador, and left him to keep House by himself, which was poor enough God knows; an Onion or a Turnep serving his turn for a Meal. Some days after, he had audience of the King, to whom he presented his Letters Credential from the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Commonwealth of *Venice*. Those from the three last were well receiv'd, because the Seals were of Gold, and for that the Paper was embellish'd with curious Flourishes: but the Pope's Letters were rejected with scorn, because the Seals were only of Lead, as the Bulls are usually seal'd; and for that the Writing was very plain. For the Kings of *Persia*, who are very nice, love things that are gay to the Eye; otherwise they look upon themselves to be affronted. *Dominico de Santis* had better have taken upon him the meaner quality of an Envoy, than the title of an Ambassador, unless he had known better how to behave himself; especially being so eclips'd as he was by a real Ambassador that arriv'd at *Ispahan* some time after. All the *Franks* went forth to meet him, and the Master of the Ceremonies made him the same proffers as he had done to the *Venetian*: but he nobly answer'd, That whatever it were that the King of *Persia* sent him, he should take it for a very great Honour: otherwise, if he would have eaten Gold, the King his Master would have allow'd him 30 Mules Load. Such persons as behave themselves with decency and a good grace, are the persons that the Christian Princes should send into *Persia*, who are the most refin'd Wits, and the best Politicians of all *Asia*.

To conclude the Story of the *Venetian*, I will give you his Character. An *Indian* naturally of a good Wit having embrac'd Christianity and an Ecclesiastical Life, went to *Rome* to compleat his Studies which he had begun at *Goa*; whether, the Pope, taking an affection to him, sent him afterward as his Vicar. *Dominico de Santis* being then at *Rome*, put himself into his service, and follow'd him into the *Indies*, where I saw him the first time I went, in a mean condition. Upon his return to *Venice*, where he was in no credit before, he made people believe that he understood the Trade of *Asia*; whereupon some particular Merchants trusted him with some Goods, which were cast away at *Seide*. Thus poor and bare he return'd to *Goa*, where he got 800 Crowns by a charitable Contribution. From thence he travel'd to *Ispahan*, where he fell into the acquaintance of Father *Rigordi* a Jesuite, with whom he went into *Poland*: where making his brags of the great knowledge he had of the Affairs of *Persia*, the King gave him that Commission which I have already mention'd. The Emperour follow'd his Example, and the Commonwealth of *Venice* did the same: and to give the more lustre and authority to his Embassy, they got the Pope to joyn with them. But alas! both *Dominico de Santis*, and all such persons as he, that go into *Asia* without Brains and good Behaviour, do but prostitute the Reputation of the Princes that send them. Such another was Father *Rigordi*, who after he had been thrust out of *Goa* by the *Portugals*, went to *Ispahan*, where he insinuated himself by a Proposition which he made of Marrying the King of *Persia*, who was then a very young Prince, to the Dutchess of *Orleance*. Under which pretence he was well receiv'd and treated by the King; from whom he also receiv'd some Presents by virtue of that Proposal, which was good sport to the Dutchess when she heard of it.

As for the *Venetian*, the *Atemadoulet*, who was very glad to be rid of him, desir'd the *Muscovite* Ambassador, who was then upon his return home, to take him along with him, which he did as far as the *Caspian* Sea, where they take Shipping for *Astracan*; but there the *Muscovite* told him he could carry him no further: thereupon he was forc'd to come back to *Ispahan*, and so to travel to *Goa*, whence the *Portugals* shipt him home for Charities sake. But when he came to *Venice*, he was so far from being well receiv'd, that the Senate had like to have punish'd him severely for giving so bad an account of his Negotiation.

CHAP.

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The twentieth we ſet Sail, having the Wind at Weſt-South-Weſt, and a freſh gale; ſo that upon the twenty-third we diſcover'd the Coaſt of the *Morea*, to which we approach'd ſo near, as to deſcry *Navarin*. In the Evening we ſaw the City of *Coron*, where there is a great Trade for Sallet-Oyl. From thence it was that the Great *Turk* Embarqu'd for *Candy* in the year 1645.

The twenty-fourth the Wind was at East North-East. In the Morning we diſcover'd the Cape of *Matapan*, which is the moſt Southern Point of Land in *Europe*, lying in the *Morea*, and at Noon the Iſland of *Chergigo*.

The twenty-fifth we drew near *Cyprus*, and deſcry'd a Mountain in that Iſland call'd *Cameliere*, with ſome other Promontories toward the South.

From the twenty-ſeventh day 'till we came to *Alexandretta*, we perceiv'd the Sea to be all over cover'd with Pumice-ſtones, which happen'd from an Earthquake that had for ſome time before ſwallow'd up the Iſland of *Santorini*. Some think that it proceeded from the abundance of Sulphur, of which that Country is full, which took Fire, and was the death of above 750 of the Iſlanders, that were partly buried in the Ruines, and partly dy'd out of fear. They that remain'd alive became black like Charcoal; and the Vapours that aſcended out of the Abyſs ſully'd all the Silver as far as *Conſtantinople*; the noiſe of the Earthquake being heard as far as *Smyrna*.

The twenty-ninth by break of day we diſcover'd the Iſland of *Cyprus*.

The firſt of *October* by eight in the Morning we came to an Anchor before *Salines*, which is one of the Ports of *Cyprus*, where our Conſuls live. Here I ask'd ſeveral of the Chriſtians of the Country, how they did to live and pay their *Carage*? Who told me that it was with a great deal of difficulty, in regard the Iſland was very bare of Money; which was the reaſon that many Chriſtians turn'd *Mahometans*, to avoid paying their *Carage*, which is a Tribute that the Grand *Signor* lays upon all Chriſtians throughout his Dominions. He exacts from the pooreſt ſix *Piaſters* a Head; but there are ſome that pay a hundred, or a hundred and fifty: and this Tribute is due ſo ſoon as ever they come to be eighteen years of age.

The Iſland of *Cyprus* is one of the moſt conſiderable in the Mediterranean Sea, more to the East than any of the reſt; bearing the title of a Kingdom, as being 500 Miles in circuit. It is not all of the ſame bredth, being of a triangular form, the ſides whereof are very unequal. To it there belong ſeveral Capes or Promontories, the principal whereof are St. *Epiphanie*, toward the Weſt; Cape *de Gate*, toward the South; Cape *Diegrega*, toward the North East; Cape *Cormachiti*, toward the North; and Cape St. *Andrew*, upon the moſt Eaſtern Point of the Iſland. The principal Roads are that of *Salines* or *Larneca*, that of *Paphos*, and that of *Cerines* or *Cerigni*. The Haven of *Famagoſta* ſignifies nothing as to great Ships, there being none but ſmall Veſſels that can ride there. The *Venetians* had formerly made a ſmall Mole there to harbour their Gallies; but it is now quite ruin'd. The Road of *Cerines* is that where the Barks and Galliots lye that come from *Caramania*, and *Payaſſes*; and where the *Baſha's* land that are ſent as Governours of the Iſland from *Conſtantinople*, who reſide generally at *Nicoſia*. That City is almoſt in the middle of the Iſland, and was formerly a very large one, as appears by the compaſs of the ancient Walls. The new Walls are well terraſs'd within-ſide, and in a good poſture of defence. There are three Gates belong to the City; that of *Famagoſta*, that of *Paphos*, and that of *Cerines*. The City it ſelf is no uncomely place; the *Venetians* having adorn'd it with many fair Palaces, which the *Turks* demoliſh every day, out of hopes to find hidd'n Treaſure therein, and ſell the Stones to build new Houſes. The Cathedral that goes by the name of *Santa Sophia* is an ample and fair Structure, of which the *Turks* have now made a *Moſquee*, together with one more, which was formerly a Monaſtery belonging to the *Auſtin* Fryars. The *Greeks* have there four Churches, and the *Franks* two; that is to ſay, the *French* Miſſionary *Capuchins*, and the *Italian* Miſſionary *Soccolans*. The firſt have a Church didicated to St. *James*, the others another, which is call'd *Holy Rood Church*. The *Armenians* alſo have another belonging to them, which is a very neat Building, which was formerly a Monaſtery of the *Carthuſians*. There it is that there is a Tomb, adorn'd with ſeveral Sculptures of Religious Nuns, eſpecially an Abbeſs with a Croſs in her Hand, the Writing about the Stone being in *French* Characters. The City is ſeated in a temperate Air and a fertil Soil, abounding with Water. It extends more in length than bredth, having

having been anciently nine Miles in compass; but the *Venetians* to make it stronger, reduc'd it to the circuit of three. The Work of the Fortification was so neat, and such a proportion observ'd in all things, that the most famous Engineers esteem'd it one of the most stately Fortresses in the World, when *Selim* the Second sent an Army against it, under the Command of *Mustapha* his Grand *Vizier*.

Famagosta is a Sea-Town upon the East side of the Island, and the chief Bulwark of it. It is kept in good repair, the Castle within being in form of a Cittadel. The *Turks* have converted into *Mosquees* the Churches of the Christians, who are not suffer'd to dwell in the City. They have only the liberty to come thither in the day, and to open Shops, which they shut up again at night, and then go home to their Houses in the neighbouring Villages. The City is gover n'd by a *Bey*, who has no dependence upon the Governour of the Island, who is oblig'd to maintain a Galley for the guard of the Coast.

Cerines is another little City, but without any defence, the Walls thereof being all tumbl'd to ruine. Only there is a Fortress toward the Sea, well built, with a Garrison in it. There is also a handsom Monastery of Religious *Greeks*, built somewhat after the *French* manner; wherein there are some of the Cells which stand so upon the Sea, that they can fish out of the Windows. The Fields about it bear Cotton, which is the chief Revenue of the Monastery. There is only the Fort of *Cerines* upon the North, where the Island does not lye so open as toward the South and East; which besides by that of *Famagosta*, are guarded by the Forts of *Salines*, *Limisso*, and *Paphos*. The Inhabitants of the Island are for the most part *Greeks*, especially in the Villages. They are clad after the *Italian* manner, both Men and Women; the Men wearing Hats like the *Franks*, and retaining their ancient Customs as much as is possible for them to do. The Trade of the Island lyes in Cotton wool, which is the best in all the East; and some Silk, which is neither good, nor very plentiful. However the Island is fertil enough, did it not want Inhabitants enough to till it. As for Bread, Wine, Cheese, and Milk, they are all very cheap, and there is Oyl enough to serve the Island. But for the Wine, it is transported out of the Island to all the places of Trade not far distant. The best grows at the foot of *Olympus*, and is a delicious sort of Drink. The Country between *Nicosia* and *Famagosta* produces Cotton, of which there grows also some between *Paphos* and *Limisso*. The chief place where the Silk is made is call'd *Cythera*, a large Town water'd with a fair River that runs from the Mountain of *Venus*. The River turns several Mills, which are the chief Revenue of the Island. There is Silk also made between *Paphos* and *Limisso*; upon the Road between which two places you meet with a Town call'd *Piscopi*, where are to be seen several Aquæducts, that carry'd the Water into the Rooms and Magazines were the people formerly made Sugar. But since the Island was tak'n from the *Venetians*, one of the *Bassa's* that was sent as Governour, burnt up all the Sugar-Canes in the Country. Toward the Sea shoar near *Limisso*, is to be seen one of the fairest Gardens of *Cyprus*, which they call *Sbiti*; to which there belongs a magnificent House, and a Grove of Orange-Trees. It was built by a rich *Venetian*, who had a good Estate in Lands thereabouts.

In *Cyprus* the people take a vast number of Birds as big as a Lark, especially near the *Mountain of the Holy Cross*. In the Months of *September* and *October* the Country-people of the adjacent Villages make themselves little Hutts in the Fields, where usually those Birds are wont to light, and feed upon the Seed of an Herb that grows there; which when it is dry, the people daub over with Lime twigs. But this they never do but when the North-West Wind blows, and that the weather be very cold; for with a Southerly Wind they never take any. These Birds are accounted great Dainties by the *Venetians*, who make no great Feasts in *Carnival*-time wherein they do not set these Birds upon the Table, pil'd up in Dishes like a Pyramid. They buy them up every year; being first prepar'd fit for exportation by the people, who having pull'd off their Feathers, parboyl them, and pickle them up in Barrels with Vinegar and Salt. When they are to be eat'n, they are set upon a Chafing dish, between two Dishes. Sometimes there are above a thousand Barrels exported out of the Island; and indeed, were it not for this Trade, the poor people would see but very little Money.

Upon the Mountain of the *Holy Cross* stands a Church of the same name; upon which

which the report of the Country goes, that St. *Helena* returning from *Jerusalem* left a piece of our Saviour's Cross with the Christians of *Cyprus*, who built a Church there, by means of the Liberality of the same Princess. Afterwards those of the Town of *Leucara* took it from hence, and carry'd it to their Church, where I saw it. The piece is as big as the Palm of a Man's Hand, set in a great Cross of Latten, emboss'd with several Figures.

In the Kingdom of *Cyprus* that there is an Archbishop, and three Suffragans. The Archbishop takes upon him the Title of *Nicosia*; to which *Famagosta* belongs with all the Country between *Nicosia* and *Famagosta*, with the Territories of *Nicosia* and all the Villages round. He has a House about a League from *Nicosia*, where the chiefest of his Revenue lies. Some years since he caus'd the high Altar of the Church to be painted and guilded, being a neat piece of Workmanship. Thus the Archbishop has under his Jurisdiction all the middle part of the Island, and some part toward the East. The Bishops are the Bishops of *Paphos*, *Larneca*, and *Cerines*.

The *Greeks* are very much addicted to the observation of their ancient Customs and Ceremonies; and generally their Masses are very long. Upon Sundays and Holy-days they rise between one and two of the Clock in the Morning to sing Mattens. To which purpose there is a Clerk that goes from door to door and knocks with a Hammer, to wake the people, and then cries out with a loud voice, *Christians go to Church*. The men and old women fail not to go as being more zealous; but the maids and young women never go out of doors in the night for fear of the *Turks*. There are seven or eight Villages, the Inhabitants whereof are *Maronites*, who came from Mount *Libanus*, and speak *Arabic* at home, but *Greek* among the Islanders. They follow the *Romish* Religion, and have their Churches peculiar to themselves.

The Island of *Cyprus* is no wholesom Air, being subject to the spoil of a sort of Locusts, that some Summers destroy all their Fruit and Corn During the heats they hover in the Air, which they will darken with their number like a thick Cloud; but when the North Wind blows, it carry's them into the Sea, where they perish.

There are in *Cyprus* three sorts of colour'd Earth, a Grey-black, a Red, and a Yellow; of which the *Venetians* fetch away great quantities for their courser sort of Painting. There's also a Mine of White Alome, which is the stone call'd *Dauxantlius*. 'Tis thought that the Ancients had a way to spin this Alome into a kind of Cotton, and so to make out of it a certain sort of Cloath that would not consume in the Fire, but only be the more perfectly whiten'd thereby. The *Indians* formerly bury'd the dead bodies of their Kings deceas'd in Shrouds of this kind of Linen, and then putting them into the Fire, found the bodies all reduc'd to ashes, but the Cloth whole; out of which they took the ashes, and carefully put them into an Urne, which was prepared for their preservation.

When the *Basha* of *Cyprus* has a mind to view the Fortress of *Famagosta*, he sends to give the *Bey*, who is Governour thereof, notice of it. For it is at the Governours choice whether he will give him admission or no. The *Basha Hali-Giorgi*, being a comely old man of above a hundred and two years of age, setting out of *Nicosia* in his Litter with about two hundred Horse, when he was come within half a League of *Famagosta*, the Governour of the place sent his Lieutenant with a hundred Horse to Compliment him, and to conduct him to the Town. Immediately they took upon them the Guard of the *Basha*'s Litter, who was not permitted to take along with him above eight or ten of his principal Officers. The Canons roar'd at his entry, and he was treated magnificently, but he lay not in the Town, being conducted back by the same party to the place where they met him in the Morning.

Upon the third day of *October* we set Sail about three a Clock in the Morning with a West-North-West Wind, and about Noon we were within sight of *Famagosta*, into which place we could by no means be admitted, by reason of the Wars between the *Turks* and *Venetians*. But as far as I could discern a far off, there is no easie access to the Port, and for the City I could descry no part of it.

The fourth by break of day we got sight of the Coast of *Syria*, Cape *Canger*, and the Golf of *Antioch*, and about Evening we arriv'd in the Rood of *Alexandretta*.

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day we ſaw none but *Arabs* and *Curds* marching along the Banks of the River, the *Curds* upon *Meſopotamia* ſide, and the *Arabs* upon *Aſſyria* ſide. They were at War, and both ſides march'd in very good order. The Young men went formoſt with Bows and Arrows, and ſome Muskets, but ſeveral Half-Pikes. Next to them their Wives, Virgins, and Children, with their Cattel, Herds, and Camels; after which march'd the Old men in the rear. As well the *Curds* as the *Arabians* ſent out Horſe-men to ſcout upon the high Grounds; for as ſoon as they find any advantage, they preſently [illegible] their Horſes over the River and fall on. Now becauſe we would not truſt thoſe ſort of People, we row'd nineteen hours to avoid 'em.

The twentieth we were eleven hours upon the *Tigris*, and came to lye at a Town call'd *Tegrit*, upon *Meſopotamia* ſide. There belongs to the Town a Caſtle half ruin'd, and yet there are ſtill ſome handſom Chambers to be ſeen. Upon the North and Eaſt, the River ſerves for a Moat; but upon the Weſt and South it has a deep Artificial one pav'd with Free-ſtone. The *Arabians* ſay that formerly it was the ſtrongeſt place in all *Meſopotamia*, though it be commanded by two Hills not far from it. The Chriſtians dwelt half a League from the City, where the Ruines of a Church and part of a Steeple are ſtill to be ſeen, whereby it appears to have been a a conſiderable Pile of Building.

The twenty-firſt, after we had row'd three hours, we met with a Town upon *Aſſyria* ſide, which was call'd *Amet-el-tour*, from the name of a perſon that lyes inter'd in a Monaſtery, whom the people account to be a Saint. Therefore is it a place of great Devotion among them, ſo that great numbers of Votaries go thither in private. That day we were twelve hours upon the Water, and lay upon the Banks of the River.

The twenty ſecond, having been upon the Waters two hours, we met with a great Chanel cut out of *Tigris* to water the Lands, which runs up as far as juſt over-againſt *Bagdat*, and there falls into the *Tigris* again. Coming thither, we landed upon *Chaldea* ſide, by reaſon that there were certain *Turks* with us, who would of neceſſity perform their Devotions at a place call'd *Samatra*. In the ſame there is a *Moſquee* not above half a League from the River; to which many *Mahometans* pay their Devoirs, eſpecially *Indians* and *Tartars*, who believe forty of their Prophets to be buried there. When they knew us to be Chriſtians, they would not permit us, no not for Money, to ſet our Feet in it. About five hundred Paces from the *Moſquee* ſtands a Tower very ingeniouſly built. There are two Stair-caſes without, that belong to it, made twirling like a Periwinkle-ſhell: one of which Stair-caſes was built deeper into the Tower than the other. I would have taken better notice of it, could I have been permitted to have come nearer it. Only I obſerv'd that it was made of Brick, and that it ſeems to be very ancient. Half a League from thence appear three great Portals, that look as if they had been the Gates of ſome great Palace. And indeed it is not improbable but that there was ſome great City thereabouts; for, three Leagues all along the River there is nothing to be ſeen but Ruines. We were twelve hours that day upon the Water, and lay upon the Banks of *Tigris*, according to cuſtom.

The twenty-third, we were twenty hours upon the Water, and all the day long we ſaw nothing upon either ſide of the River but pitiful Hutts made of the Branches of Palm-trees, where live certain poor people that turn the Wheels, by means whereof they water the neighbouring Grounds. We alſo met that day with a River call'd *Odoine*, that falls into *Tigris* upon the ſide of the ancient *Chaldea*.

The twenty-fourth, we were twenty two hours upon the Water together, never ſtirring off from the *Kilet*. The reaſon is, becauſe the Merchants having tak'n out of the *Kilet*, all their Money and the beſt part of their Merchandizes, give them to the Country people, who carry them very faithfully to *Bagdat*, whither they to ſell their own Commodities: which the Merchants do, to avoid the payment of Five in the Hundred, in the City. I truſted them alſo with ſeveral things of which they gave me a very good account, as they did to others, being contended with a ſmall matter for their pains.

The twenty-fifth, about four of the Clock in the Morning we arriv'd at *Bagdat*, which is as uſually call'd *Babylon*. They open the Gates by ſix, and then the Cuſtomers come to take an account of the Merchandize, and to ſearch the Merchants themſelves. If they find nothing about 'em, they let the Merchants go: but if

they have any thing about 'em which ought to pay, they carry the persons to the Custom-House, where they write down the quantity of the Goods, and let them go. All the Merchandize upon the *Kilet* is carry'd thither also, which the Merchant fetches away again in two or three days, paying the Custom: All which is done in very great order, without any noise or disturbance in the least.

Though *Bagdat* usually bear the name of *Babylon*, yet it is at a great distance from the ancient *Babylon*, whereof in due place. But now for *Bagdat*, as it stands at this day.

Bagdat is a City seated upon the River of *Tigris*, on the Coast of *Persia*, and separated from *Mesopotamia* by the same River. It lyes in 33 Deg. 15 Min. of Elevation. The Chronicles of the *Arabians* report that it was built by one of their *Califfs* nam'd *Almansour*, in the year of the *Hegyra* of *Mahomet* 145, and of Christianity 762, or thereabouts. They call it *Dar-al-sani*, that is, the *House of Peace*. Some say it deriv'd its name from a Hermitage that stood in a Meadow where the City now stands, whence it was call'd *Bagdat*, or, a *Garden bequeath'd*. About forty years ago digging up the Foundations of an Inn, the Work-men found a Body entire, habited like a Bishop, with a Censor and Incense by him. And in the same place several Cells of Religious Houses shew'd themselves: which makes it very probable, that where *Bagdat* is built there was anciently a great Monastery, with several Houses where the Christians inhabited. The City is about fifteen hundred Paces long, and sev'n or eight hundred broad, and cannot possibly be above three Miles in circuit. The Walls are of Brick, and terrass'd in some places, with large Towers like Bastions. Upon all these Towers there are mounted about sixty pieces of Cannon, the biggest whereof carries not above a five or six Pound Ball. The Moats are wide, and about five or six Fathom deep. There are not above four Gates; three upon the Land-side, and one upon the River, which you must cross, over a Bridge of thirty-three Boats, distant one from the other about the bredth of one Boat. The Castle is in the City, near to one of the Gates call'd *El-Maazan*, upon the North side. It is partly built upon the River, encompass'd only with a single Wall, terrass'd in some places; and adorn'd with little Towers, upon which are planted about a hundred and fifty Cannon, but without Carriages. The Moat is narrow, and not above two or three Fathom deep, neither is there any Draw Bridge before the Gate. The Garrison consists of three hundred *Janisaries*, commanded by an *Aga*. The City is govern'd by a *Basha*, who is generally a *Vizier*. His House is upon the side of the River, making a fair shew; and he has always ready at command six or seven hundred Horse. There is also an *Aga* that commands three or four hundred *Spahi's*. They have besides another sort of Cavalry which is call'd *Ginguliler*, that is to say, *Men of Courage*, commanded by two *Aga's*; and usually there are about three thousand in the City and the Towns adjoyning. The Keys of the Gates of the City and the Bridge-Gate are in the custody of another *Aga*, who has under him two hundred *Janisaries*. There are also six hundred Foot men, who have their particular *Aga*, and about sixty Cannoneers, who were at that time commanded by an expert Artist that went by the name of *Signor Michaël*, who pass'd for a *Turk*, though he were born in *Candy*. He put himself into the Grand *Signor's* service, when he went to besiege *Bagdat*, in the year 1638. Though the *Turk* had the good fortune to carry the City in a small time; not so much by virtue of the Breach which *Signor Michaël* had made in the Wall, as the Sedition and Revolt that happen'd at the same instant, the Story whereof was thus in short.

The *Kan* that sustain'd the brunt of the Siege at first, was originally an *Armenian*, and his name was *Sefi-couli Kan*. He had commanded the City a long time, and had defended it twice from the Army of the *Turks*, who were not able to take it before. But the King of *Persia* having sent one of his Favourites to command in his room, who had enter'd upon his Command before the Cannon had made the Breach, the old *Kan* finding himself displac'd by the Commission of the new Governour, rather chose to dye, than survive the Affront which was put upon him. To which purpose he sent for his Servants, the Officers of the Army, his Wife and Son, and taking three Cups of Poyson in his Hand, he commanded his Wife, if ever she lov'd him, now to shew the marks of her affection by generously dying with him. He gave the same exhortation to his Son; and so all three together drank up the Poyson, which procur'd their speedy death. The Souldiers, who had a great love for their Governour, having

having beheld ſo diſmal a Spectacle, and knowing the Grand *Signor* was preparing for a general Aſſault, would not obey their new *Kan*, but began to act like Revolters; and to that purpoſe they agreed to deliver up the City, upon condition they might march away with their Arms and Baggage: but the *Turks* did not keep their words. For ſo ſoon as the *Turks* were got into the City, the *Baſha's* told the Grand *Signor*, that to weak'n the force of the *Perſian*, it was neceſſary for him to put to the Sword all the Souldiers that were in the City: and thereupon there were above twenty thouſand maſſacr'd in cold Blood. The *Turks* had ſeiz'd upon the *Capuchins* Manſion, but *Signor Michaël* chief of the Canonneers, got it to be reſtor'd them again.

As to the Civil Government of *Bagdat*, there is none but a *Cady*, who does all, acting even the *Muſti*, with a *Skiekelaſlon* or *Teſterdar*, who receives the Revenues of the Grand *Signor*. There are in it five *Moſquees*, of which two are indifferently well built, and adorn'd with *Duomo's* cover'd with varniſh'd Tiles of different colours. There are alſo ten Inns, all ill built, except two, which are reaſonably convenient. In general, the City is ill built; there being nothing of beauty in it but the *Bazars*, which are all arch'd; elſe the Merchants would not be able to endure the heats. They muſt alſo be water'd three or four times a day; for which office ſeveral poor people are hir'd upon the publick charge. The City is full of Trade, but not ſo full as it was, when in the hands of the King of *Perſia*: for when the *Turk* took it, he kill'd moſt of the richeſt Merchants. However there is a great confluence thither from all Parts; whither for Trade, or for Devotions ſake, I cannot tell: becauſe they that follow the Sect of *Haly*, do believe that *Haly* liv'd at *Bagdat*. Beſides, all they that are deſirous to go to *Mecca* by Land, muſt paſs through *Bagdat*, where every Pilgrim is forc'd to pay four *Piaſters* to the *Baſha*. You muſt take notice that there are in *Bagdat* two ſorts of *Mahometans*, the firſt are call'd *Rafedi's*, or Hereticks; the ſecond, Obſervers of the Law, in all things like thoſe at *Conſtantinople*. The *Rafedi's* will by no means eat or drink with a Chriſtian, and very hardly with the reſt of the *Mahometans*: or if they do happen to drink out of the ſame Cup, or to touch them, they preſently waſh themſelves, as believing themſelves unclean. The others are not ſo ſcrupulous, but eat and drink and converſe with all the World. In the year 1639, after the Grand *Signor* had tak'n *Bagdat*, a *Rafedi* who was a Carrier of Water not only refus'd to give a *Jew* to drink, who deſir'd it of him in the Market-place, but abus'd him alſo in words. Thereupon the *Jew* complain'd to the *Cady*, who immediately ſent for him, and caus'd his *Boracho* and his Cup to be brought along with him; when he came before him, he ask'd for his Cup, and gave the *Jew* to drink, and then made the Porter drink alſo out of the ſame Cup: After that, he order'd the *Rafedi* to be Baſtinado'd, and this Leſſon to be taught him while he was chaſtiſing, That we are God's Creatures, as well *Mahometans*, as Chriſtians and *Jews*. This has made them leſs zealous in their Superſtition, though they are the chiefeſt part of the Inhabitants of the City.

As to their Funerals, I have particularly obſerv'd, that when the Husband dyes, the Wife pulls of all her Head gear, and lets her Hair fall about her Ears; then ſhe all beſmears her Face with the Soot of a Kettle, and having ſo done, friſks and leaps about after ſuch a ridiculous manner, as from others would rather produce laughter than tears. All the kindred, friends and neighbours meet at the Houſe of the deceas'd, and ſtay for the Celebration of the Funeral. At what time the Women ſtrive to out-vie one another in a thouſand Apiſh tricks, clapping their Cheeks, yelling like mad people; and then of a ſudden ſetting themſelves to dance to the ſound of two Drums, like thoſe which the Tabor-and-Pipe-men carry, upon which the Women beat for a quarter of an hour. Among them there is one more accuſtom'd to this fool'ry than the reſt, that fills your Ears with mournful Dinns; to which other Women make anſwer, by redoubling their Cries, which may be heard at a great diſtance. It would then be a vain thing to ſeek to comfort the Children of the deceas'd; for they ſeem to be ſo much beſide themſelves, that they are not in a condition to hear any thing. And they are oblig'd to carry themſelves in that manner, unleſs they intend to run the reproach of not having any kindneſs for their Parents. When the Corps is carry'd to the Grave, abundance of poor people go before with Banners, and Creſcents at the ends of Sticks, ſinging moſt diſmal Dirges all the way. The Women are not to be at the Interment, who are not

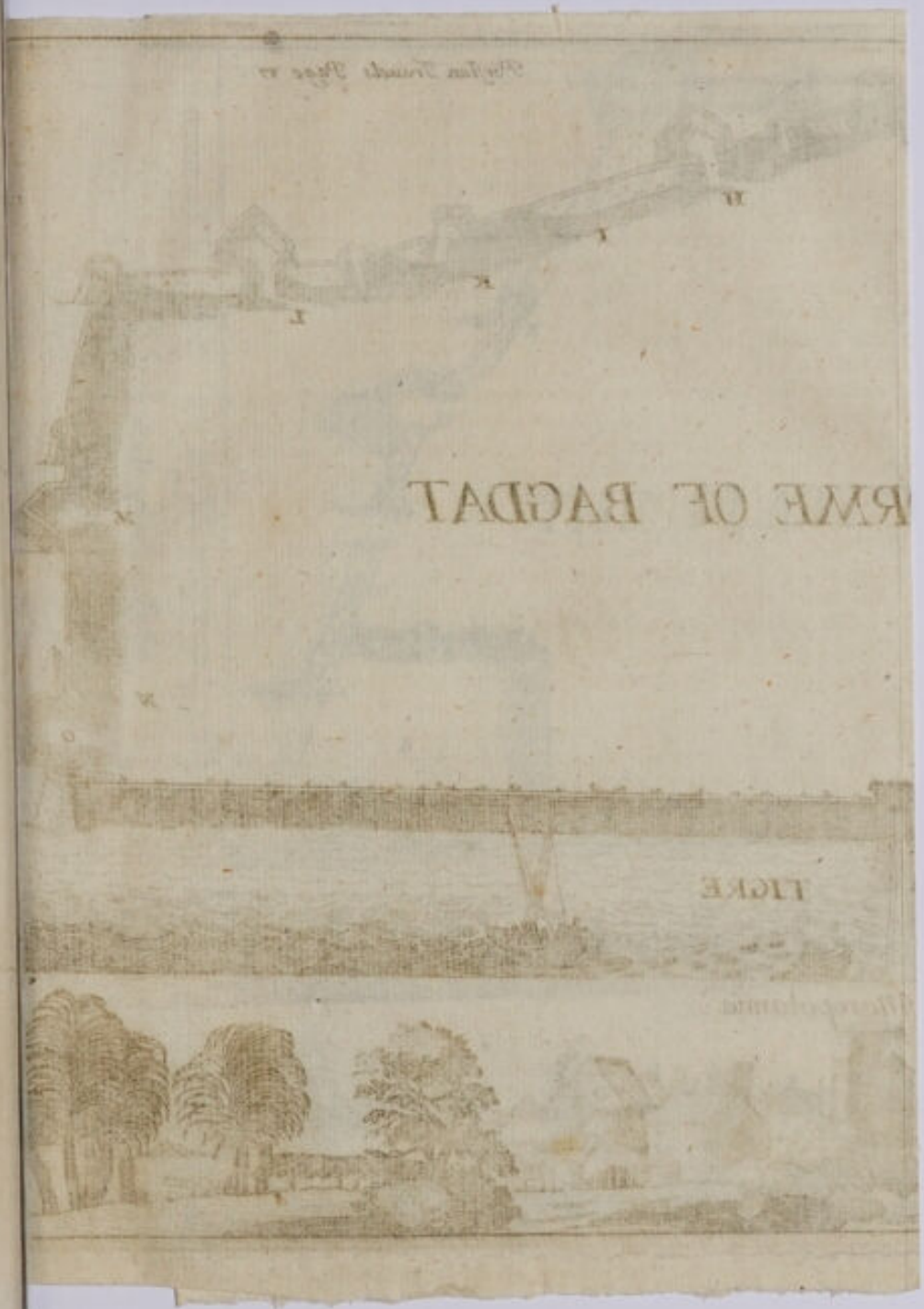
to

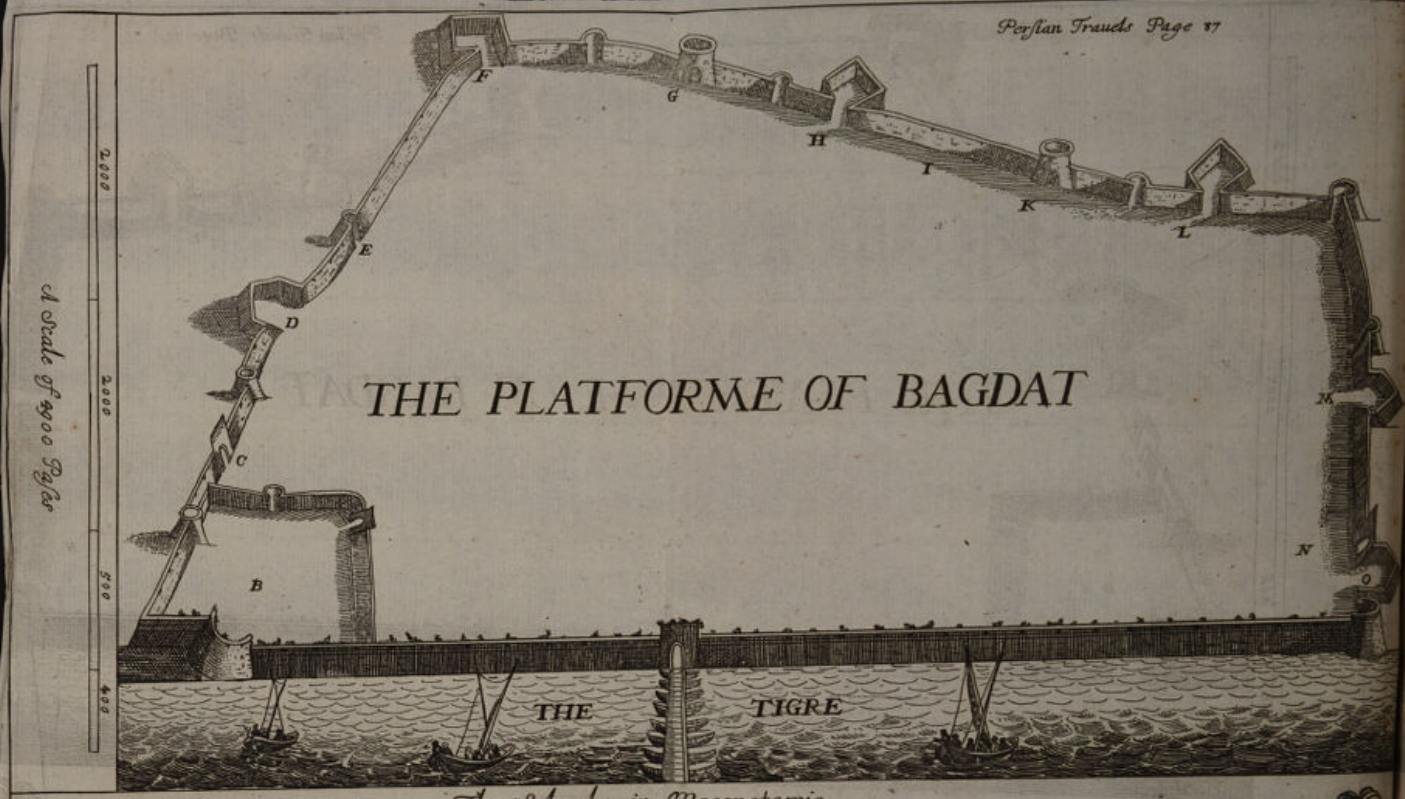
to go abroad but only upon Thurſdays, when they go to the Sepulchers to Pray for the Dead. And becauſe that by their Law the Husband is oblig'd to lye with his lawful Wife upon Thurſday-night or Fryday-night, upon Wedneſday-morning the Women go to the Baths, where they perfume their Heads and Bodies with a ſweet Water. They may go abroad ſometimes at the other ſeaſons, when their Husbands give them leave to viſit their Kindred; but then they are to be wrapt up from Head to Foot, that it is impoſſible for their Husbands themſelves to know them if they meet 'em i'the Streets. By the way take notice, that the *Perſian* Women, unleſs they be ſuch as are very poor, would rather ſtay within all the days of their Lives, than go abroad without a Horſe. And it is a certain ſign to know a Curtiſan from an honeſt Woman; for that the Curtiſans put their Feet in the Stirup, and the honeſt Women only in the Stirup-leathers. The Women of *Bagdat* are very richly habited, after their faſhions; but they are not contented to wear their Jewels about their Necks and Wriſts, for they hang them like Bracelets about their Faces, and will bore holes in their Ears to put in a Ring. The *Arabian* Women only bore the ſeparation between the two Noſtrils, where they wear hollow Rings, as well to ſpare coſt as for lightneſs; for ſome are ſo big, that you may almoſt thruſt your Fiſt through them. Beyond all this, the more to beautifie themſelves, they make a round Ring about their Eyes with a certain ſort of Blacking: And as well Men as Women, in the Deſert, put the ſame near their Eyes, to preſerve them, as they ſay, from the heat of the Sun.

Of Chriſtians there are three ſorts: *Neſtorians*, who have a Church; *Armenians* and *Jacobites*, who have none, but go the *Capuchins*, who adminiſter the Sacraments to them. The Chriſtians go in Devotion to a Chappel, about a ſhort quarter of a League from the City, dedicated to a Saint whom they call *Keder-Elias*, paying a ſmall Fee, for admiſſion, to the *Turks*, who keep the Keys. Two days journey from the City ſtands another ruin'd Church in a pitiful Village, where they ſay, that St. *Simon* and St. *Jude* were both Martyr'd and Buried. If a Chriſtian dyes, all the reſt come to his Burial, and returning home, find a Supper prepar'd to welcome them; the next day they return to the Grave, and pray for the deceas'd; and the third day there is a Dinner for all comers and goers. Sometimes there will be a hundred and fifty perſons at a Burial. They repeat the ſame Ceremonies for the ſeventh, fifteenth, thirtieth and fortieth days afterwards; having a great veneration for the Dead, for whom they pray too often. This cuſtom of Feaſting is very inconvenient for the Poor; for they being deſirous to imitate the Rich, run themſelves ſometimes ſo far in Debt, that they are forc'd to ſell their Children to the *Turks* to diſcharge themſelves.

There are ſeveral *Jews* alſo in *Bagdat*, but more that come every year in Devotion to viſit the Sepulcher of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, which is a day and a halfs journey from the City. In ſhort, ſince the taking of *Bagdat* by *Sultan Amurat*, the number of Inhabitants cannot be leſs than fifteen thouſand Souls; which ſhews that the City is not peopl'd according to its bigneſs.

About a day and a halfs journey from the Point of *Meſopotamia*, at diſtance almoſt equal between *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, there appears a vaſt Heap of Earth, which the people call to this day *Nemrod*. It ſtands in the midſt of a wide Plain, and may be diſcover'd a great way off. The vulgar ſort believe it to be the Remains of the Tower of *Babel*; but there is more probability of the *Arabians* Opinion, who call it *Agartouf*, and believe it to have been built by an *Arabian* Prince, who always kept a Beacon at the top to aſſemble his Subjects together in time of War. This Heap of Earth was about three hundred Paces in circuit; but it is not eaſie to gueſs at the ancient height, the reſt being fall'n to ruine, but only eighteen or twenty Fathom. It is built of Brick dry'd in the Sun, every Brick being ten Inches ſquare, and three thick. The Building is thus rais'd. Upon every row of Canes or Reeds bruis'd to pieces and mix'd with Wheat-ſtraw, and ſpread an Inch and a half thick, lye ſeven orders of theſe Bricks with a little Straw between each; then another Bed of Reeds, and ſix rows of Bricks; then a third with five rows, decreaſing in that manner 'till you come to the top. The form of it ſeems to have been rather ſquare than round; and in the higheſt part of that which remains there appears a Hole like a Window; if it were not rather an Out-let for Water, or a Hole for the Scaffolding. In ſhort, according to the Deſcription of *Moſes* there





The Suburbs in Mesopotamia

is no likelihood that this should be the Remains of the ancient Tower of *Babel*.

The Plane of the City of *Bagdat*, which is to be compass'd, as well by Land as by Water, in two Hours.

A. *The Ground-Plot.*
B. *The Fortress.*
C. *The Gate call'd* Maazan-capi.
D. *The New Bulwark.*
E. *The Port where the Grand* Signor *erected his first Batt'ry,* Anno 1638.
F. *The Old Bulwark.*
G. *The Gate in the Wall.*
H. *The Old Bulwark.*
I. *The Place where* Amurat *rais'd his second Batt'ry, when he made the Breach, and took the City.*
K. *The Gate in the Wall.*
L. *The Old Bulwark.*
M. *The The Old Bulwark.*
N. Cara-capi, *or the* Black Gate.
O. *The Old Bulwark.*
P. Sou-capi, *or the* Water-Gate.

CHAP. VIII.

A Continuation of the Road from Bagdat *to* Balsara; *and of the Religion of the Christians of St.* John.

THE fifteenth of *March* we hir'd a Bark from *Bagdat* to *Balsara*. And we observ'd, that a little beyond *Bagdat* the River *Tigris* divides it self into two Arms; the one which runs through the ancient *Chaldea*, the other keeps its course toward the Point of *Mesopotamia*; these two Arms making a large Island, cross'd by several small Chanels.

When we came to the place where *Tigris* divides it self, we beheld as it were the compass of a City that might have formerly been a large League in circuit. There are some of the Walls yet standing, upon which six Coaches may go a-breast. They are made of burnt Brick, every Brick being ten Foot square, and three thick. The Chronicles of the Country say, that these were the Ruines of the ancient *Babylon*.

We follow'd that Arm of *Tigris* that runs along the Coast of *Chaldea*; for fear of falling into the hands of the *Arabs*, who were then at War with the *Bassa* of *Babylon*, denying to pay the ordinary Tribute to the Grand *Signor*. We were ten days upon the Water in our passage from *Bagdat* to *Balsara*, and lay every night upon the Water, dressing our Victuals in the Bark. For when we came to any Villages, we sent our Servants a-shoar to buy Provisions, which we had very cheap. Now the Towns we met with upon the Shoar were these; *Amurat*, where there stood a Fort of Brick bak'd in the Sun; *Mansoury*, a great Town; *Magar*, *Gazer*, and *Gorno*. At this last place *Euphrates* and *Tigris* meet together: where are also three Castles to be seen; one upon the Point where the two Rivers meet, which is the strongest, and where the Son of the Prince of *Balsara* then commanded; the second upon *Chaldea* side; and the third upon *Arabia* side. Though the Customs be there exactly demanded, and paid, yet they never search any person. The Tides come up to that place: so that having but fifteen Leagues to *Balsara*, we got thither in sev'n hours, having both Wind and Tide.

All the Country between *Bagdat* and *Balsara* is inter-cut and parted by Dikes, like the *Low Countries*; the two Cities lying a hundred and sixty Leagues one from the

the other. It is one of the beſt countries in the poſſeſſion of the Grand *Signor*, being ſtor'd with large Meadows and excellent Paſturage, where are bred infinite numbers of Beaſts, eſpecially Mares and Bufalo's. The Female Bufalo's go twelve Months, and yield ſo much milk, that there are ſome that will give two and twenty Pints. And there is ſo large a quantity of Butter made, that in ſome Villages upon the *Tigris*, we ſaw ſometimes five and twenty, ſometimes twenty Barks lad'n with Butter, which the people ſell all along the Gulf of *Perſia*, as well upon *Arabia*, as *Perſia* ſide.

Half the way betwixt *Bagdat* and *Balſara*, we perceiv'd ſeveral Pavilions ſet up in the Meadows along by the ſide of the River. Upon enquiry we heard that the *Teſterdar* was come from *Conſtantinople* to gather the Grand *Signor*'s duty's. For from *Bagdat* to *Gorno*, for all the Bufalo's as well Male as Female, there is to be paid a *Piaſter* and a quarter for every head once a year; which is worth yearly to the Grand *Signor* a hundred and fourſcore thouſand *Piaſters*. Every Mare alſo pays two *Piaſters*, every Sheep ten *Sous*; which if the Country people were not very cunning would be worth fifty thouſand *Piaſters* more than it is.

After this we came to *Gorno*, a Fortreſs upon the point where the two Rivers meet, beſides two other ſmall Caſtles upon each ſide, ſo that there is no paſſing without leave. Upon the Fort of *Gorno*, which was well furniſh'd with Cannon, we ſaw the Prince of *Balſara*'s Son, who was Governour of the Fort. And here it is that the Account of the Cuſtoms is taken. But though they are very exact in ſearching the Barks, they are very civil, for they ſearch no body. However leſt any Goods ſhould be hid between the Planks of the Ships, over which they generally throw Fagots and Canes, the Cuſtomers bring a great Piercer, with which they bore the ſides of the Bark quite through for the diſcovery of conceal'd Goods. The Goods are Regiſter'd at *Gorno*, but the Cuſtoms are always paid at *Balſara*, according to the accompt giv'n from the Fort.

The ſame day entring into the Chanel that is cut out of *Euphrates* to *Balſara*, we met the chief of the *Holland* Factory taking his pleaſure in a Boat cover'd with Scarlet, who took me with him to *Balſara*.

Balſara ſtands upon the ſide of *Arabia deſerta*, two Leagues from the Ruines of a City, which was formerly call'd *Beredon*, and anciently ſtood in the Deſert, to which the Water was formerly conveigh'd out of *Euphrates* in a Brick Chanel ſtill to be ſeen.

By the Ruines it appears to have been a great City, from whence the *Arabians* fetch away the Bricks and ſell them at *Balſara*. The City of *Balſara* is half a League from *Euphrates*, which the *Arabians* in their Language call *Shetel-arch*, or the River of *Arabia*. The Inhabitants of the City have made a Chanel to it about half a League long, which bears Veſſels of 150 Tuns; at the end whereof ſtands a Fort, ſo that no Veſſel can get into the Fort without leave. The Sea is above fifteen Leagues off, but the Tide comes up to the Chanel, and fills the River other fifteen Leagues upward beyond *Gorno*. The Country is ſo low, that were it not for a Dam that runs along the Sea-ſhoar, it would often be in danger of being drown'd. The Dam is above a League in length, and built all of Free-ſtone ſo ſtrong, that the fury of the waves can do no injury, though it lie open to a Boyſtrous Sea.

It is not above a hundred years ſince *Balſara* belong'd to the *Arabians* of the Deſert, and had no commerce with the Nations of *Europe*. For thoſe people were contented to eat their own Dates, having ſo great a quantity, that they only live upon them. 'Tis the ſame thing all along the Gulf on each ſide; for from *Balſara* to the River *Indus* for above ſix hundred Leagues together, and all along the Coaſt of *Arabia* to *Maſcate*, the poor ſort of people know not what it is to eat Rice, but live upon Dates and Salt-fiſh dry'd in the wind. The Cows eat no Graſs, and though they go abroad in the fields, they find little or nothing among the buſhes which is proper for them to eat. But every Morning before they drive them to the Field, and when they return home, they give them heads of fiſh and Date-nuts boil'd together.

The *Turks* having had War with the *Arabians* took *Balſara*; and yet becauſe the *Arabians* always hover'd about the Town, and made booty of all they could lay their hands on, they were forc'd to come to an agreement with them, that the *Arabs* ſhould quietly enjoy all the Deſert, 'till within a League of the City; and that the

Turks

Turks should remain peaceable Masters of the City, where they have a *Bassa* for Governour. But this Treaty endur'd not long; for in the middle of the City there is a Cittadel, call'd *Ansbel Bassa*, or the *Bassa's Court*, which the *Turks* built; so that the Garrison being *Turks* and the Inhabitants *Arabians* who could not endure to be curb'd, they oft-times quarrell'd with the *Turks* and came to blows. Thereupon the *Arabians* of the Desert came to the relief of the Citizens and besieg'd the *Bassa* in the Fortress. At length because there could be no such agreement made, but that one party or other took an occasion presently to break it, there was one *Bassa* whose Name was *Aiud*, who after many contests and revolts which had almost tyr'd him, resolv'd to rid himself of the trouble, and sold his Government for forty thousand *Piasters* to a rich Lord in the Country, who presently rais'd a sufficient number of Souldiers to keep the people in awe. This great man took upon him the name of *Efrasias Bassa*, being the Grandfather of *Hussen Bassa*, who was Governour at the time when I pass'd through before. This *Efrasias* threw off the *Turkish* yoak, and took upon him the title of Prince of *Balsara*. As for the *Bassa* that sold his Government, he no sooner arriv'd at *Constantinople*, but he was strangl'd. But after *Amurath* had taken *Bagdat*, the Prince of *Balsara* was glad to feed him continually with Presents that chiefly consisted in Horses, which are very beautiful in that Country. The Great *Sha-Abas* having taken *Ormus*, sent a powerful Army under the Command of *Iman-Kouli-Kan* Governour of *Shiras*, to take in *Balsara*. Whereupon the Prince finding himself too weak to resist so great a Pow'r, made anagreement with the Desert *Arabians* to break down the Dam that stops the Sea. Which being p[er]form'd, in came the Sea tumbling fifteen Leagues to *Balsara*, and four Leagues [be]yond it, which constrain'd the *Persians*, surrounded with water, and hea[r] the same time of the death of *Sha-Abas*, to raise their Siege. Since that inunda[tion] veral Lands and Gardens have been utterly barren, or have born very [little] reason of the Salt which the Sea has left behind.

The Prince of *Balsara* has enter'd into Leagues with several stran[gers] that whencesoever you come, you may be welcome. There is so m[uch] good order in the City, that you may walk all night long in the Stree[ts] lestation. The *Hollanders* bring Spices thither every year. The *Engli[sh]* and some few Gloves; but the *Portugals* have no Trade at all thith[er]. bring Calicuts, Indigo, and all sorts of Merchandizes. In [the] chants of all Country's, from *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Ale[ppo]* and other parts of *Turkie*, to buy such Merchandizes as con[sist] which they lade the young Camels which they buy in that *Arabians* bring them to put them to sale. They that come f[rom] *Ispal*, *Bagdat*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Assyria*, send their Merc[handize] by Water, but with great trouble and expence. In regard th[at] by men, that cannot go above two Leagues and a half in [an] Wind they cannot stir, which makes them oft-times betwee[n] to be above sixty days, nay there have been some that have [been] the Water.

The Customs of *Balsara* amount to five in the hundred, b[ut] some favour shew'd you, either by the Customer or the Prin[ce]. Merchant does not really pay above four in the hundred. The [Prince] so good a Husband, that he lays up three millions of *Livers* in a [year]. Revenue is in four things, Money, Horses, Camels, and Date-t[rees]. last consists his chiefest wealth. For all the Country from the in[land] Rivers to the Sea, for the space of thirty Leagues together, is all cover'd [with] nor does any one dare to touch a Date, 'till he has paid for every [Tree] of a *Larin*, or nine *Sous French*. The profit which the Prince [also] proceeds from this, that the Marchants that come from abroad [bring] their *Reals* to his Mint, where they are Coyn'd and converted [into] is worth to him eight in the hundred. As for his Horses, there [is] world, where there are more fit for travel, or handsomer shap['d] some that will travel thirty hours together and never draw bit, [but] Mares. But to return to the Palm-Trees it is worth observation, that [the] Art to bring up those Trees than any other. The Natives dig a hol[e] wherein they heap a great quantity of Date-nuts in a Pyramidic[al]

whereof ends in one ſingle Nut, which being cover'd with Earth produces the Palm-tree. Moſt of the people of the Country do ſay, that in regard there is among the Palm-trees the diſtinction of Male and Female, that therefore they muſt be planted one by another, for that otherwiſe the Female Tree will bear no Fruit. But others affirm that nicety to be unneceſſary; and that it ſuffices, when the Male is in Bloſſom to take a Flower from the Male, and put it into the Heart of the Female a little above the Stem; for unleſs they ſhould do ſo, all the Fruit would fall off before it came to maturity.

There is at *Balſara* a *Cady* that adminiſters Juſtice, and who is eſtabliſh'd by the authority of the Prince that commands there. In the City are alſo three ſorts of Chriſtians, *Jacobites*, *Neſtorians*, and Chriſtians of St. *John*. There is alſo a Houſe of *Italian Carmelites*; and there was a Houſe of *Portugal Auſtin*-Friars, but they have forſak'n the Town ever ſince their Country-men quitted the Trade.

The Chriſtians of St. *John* are very numerous at *Balſara*, and the Villages thereabouts; who anciently liv'd by the River of *Jordan*, where St. *John* Baptiz'd; and from whom they took their Name. But ſince the time that *Mahomet* conquer'd *Paleſtine*, though *Mahomet* formerly gave them his Hand and his Letters of Priviledge that they ſhould not be moleſted, nevertheleſs they that ſucceeded the falſe Prophet reſolv'd to extirpate them all; to which purpoſe they ruin'd their Churches, burnt their Books, and exercis'd all manner of cruelties upon their perſons: which oblig'd them to retire into *Meſopotamia* and *Chaldea*, and for ſome time they were under the Patriarch of *Babylon*, from whom they ſeparated about a ndred and ſixty years ago. Then they remov'd into *Perſia* and *Arabia*, and the round about *Balſara*; as *Souter*, *Deſpoul*, *Rumez*, *Bitoum*, *Mono*, *Endecan*, *Aveza*, *Dega*, *Dorech*, *Maſquel*, *Gumar*, *Carianous*, *Balſara*, *Onezer*, *Zeeb*, Nor do they inhabit City or Village by which there does not run a River. of their Biſhops have aſſur'd me, that the Chriſtians in all the foregoing bove five and twenty thouſand Families. There are ſome among them nts; but the moſt part of them are Trades-men, eſpecially Gold- and Lock-ſmiths.

is full of fables and foul errours. The *Perſians* and *Arabians* call them that have forſak'n their own Religion, to take up a new one. In they call themſelves *Mendai Jabia*, or *Diſciples of St.* John, certain us, they have receiv'd their Faith, their Books, and y year they celebrate a Feaſt for about five days, during roops to their Biſhops, who Baptize them according to the

but in Rivers, and only upon Sundays. But before they carry the Infant to Church, where there is a Biſhop who er the Head of the Child; from thence they carry the Child rain of Men and Women, who together with the Biſhop ter. Then the Biſhop reads again certain Prayers out of a Book Hand, which done he ſprinkles the Infant three times, ſaying, *Kaddemin, Akyeri, Menbal el gennet Alli Koulli Kralek*; or, *In the ſt and laſt of the World and of Paradiſe, the high Creator of all* the Biſhop reads ſomething again in his Book, while the God- Child all over in the Water; after which they go all to the Parents any tax their Baptiſm for inſufficient, in regard the Three Perſons not nam'd therein, they can make no rational defence for them- e they any knowledge of the Myſtery of the Holy Trinity, only riſt is the Spirit and Word of the Eternal Father. They are ſo he Angel *Gabriel* to be the Son of God, begotten upon Light; the Eternal Generation of Chriſt, as God. Yet they confeſs ree us from the Puniſhment of Sin: and that he was conceiv'd irgin without the knowledge of Man, by means of the Water tain which ſhe drank of. They believe he was crucifi'd by the he roſe the third day; and that his Soul aſcending up to Heaven, his 'd on Earth. But like the *Mahometans* they corrupt their Faith, by hriſt vaniſh'd when the *Jews* came to take him, and that he deluded h his Shadow.

In

In the Eucharist they make use of Meal or Flow'r, kneaded up with Wine and Oyl: For, say they, the Body of Christ being compos'd of the two principal parts, Flesh and Blood, the Flow'r and the Wine do most perfectly represent them; besides, that Christ at his Supper made use of Wine only, and not of Water. They add Oyl, to signifie the benefit we receive by his favour of the Sacrament, and to put us in mind of our Love and Charity towards God and our Neighbour. To make this Wine, they take Grapes dry'd in the Sun, which they call in their Language *Zebibes*, and casting Water upon them, let them steep for so long a time. The same Wine they use for the Consecration of the Cup. They make use of Raisins, in regard they are more easie to be had than Wine; the *Persians*, especially the *Arabians*, under whose Government they live, not permitting, nor indeed allowing them the use of it. Of all people that follow the Law of *Mahomet*, there are none so opposite to other Religions, as these *Persians* and *Arabians* about *Balsora*. The words of their Consecration, are no other than certain long Prayers, which they make to praise and thank God, at the same time blessing the Bread and Wine, never making mention of his Body and Blood; which they say is not at all necessary, because God knows their intentions. After all the Ceremonies are ended, the Priest takes the Bread, and having eaten some of it; distributes the rest to the People.

As to their Bishops and Priests, when any one dyes, who has a Son, they choose him in his place; and if he have no Son, they take the next a-kin that is most capable and best instructed in their Religion. They that make the Election, say several Prayers over him that is elected. If he be a Bishop, after he is receiv'd, and that he go about to Ordain others, he ought to fast six days, during which time he continually repeats certain Prayers over him that is to be ordain'd Priest, who also for his part fasts and prays all the said time. And whereas I say the Father succedes the Son, it is to be observ'd, that among the Christians in those Parts, both Bishops and Priests marry, as do the rest of the people; only if their first Wife dye, they cannot marry another unless she be a Virgin. Moreover, they that are admitted to Ecclesiastical Function, must be of the race of Bishops or Priests; and their Mothers must have been always Virgins when they were marry'd. All their Bishops and Priests wear their Hair long, and a little Cross wrought with a Needle.

When there is any Wedding to be, the kindred and persons invited go together with the Bridegroom, to the House where the Bride lives. Thither comes the Bishop also, and approaching the Bride, who is sitting under a Canopy, he asks her if she be a Virgin. If she answer that she is so, he makes her confirm it by an Oath. After which he returns to the Guests, and sends his Wife with some other skilful Women to make an inspection. If they find her to be a Virgin, the Bishop's Wife returns and makes Oath of it; and then they all go to the River, where the Bishop re-baptizes the Couple to be marry'd. Then they return toward the House, and making a stop before they come quite near it, the Bridgroom takes the Bride by the Hand, and leads her seven times from the Company to the Ho the Bishop following them every time, and reading certain Prayers. After they go into the House, and the Bride and Bridegroom place themselves une Canopy, where they set their Shoulders one against another, and the Bishe again, causing them to lay their Heads together three times. Then op'ning a B Divination, and looking for the most fortunate day to consummate the Ma he tells them of it. But if the Bishop's Wife do not find the Bride to be a the Bishop can proceed no farther, so that if the young Man have still a n must go to some meaner Priest to perform the Ceremony. Which is the that the people take it for a great dishonour to be marry'd by any other t Bishops; for when a Priest marries, 'tis an infallible sign that the Bride was n The Priests also, in regard they take it to be a great Sin for a Woman not being a Virgin, they never marry any such but by constraint, and ensuing inconveniencies; for sometimes in despite they will turn *Mahometa* reason of the Inspection is, that the Husbands may not be deceiv'd, and to keep young Girls in awe.

As to what they believe touching the *Creation of the World*, they say, that Angel *Gabriel* undertaking to create the World according to the command w

God gave him, took along with him three hundred thirty-six thousand Demons, and made the earth so fertile, that it was but to Sow in the Morning and Reap at Night. That the same Angel taught *Adam* to Plant and Sow, and all other necessary Sciences. Moreover that the same Angel made the seven lower Spheres, the least whereof reaches to the Center of the World, in the same manner as the Heavens do, all contriv'd one within another. That all these Spheres are of different Metals, the first next the Center is of Iron, the second of Lead, the third of Brass, the fourth of Laten, the fifth of Silver, the sixth of Gold, and the seventh of Earth. The seventh is that which contains all the rest, and is the chiefest of all, as being the most fruitful and profitable to Man, and the most proper to preserve Mankind, whereas the rest seem rather to be fram'd for its destruction. They believe that over every Heaven there is Water, whence they conclude that the Sun swims in a Ship upon that Water, and that the Mast of his Ship is a Cross, and that there are a great number of Boys and Servants to guide the Ships of the Sun and Moon. Besides, they have the Picture of a Barque, which they say belong'd to the Angel *Bacan*, whom God sends to visit the Sun and Moon, to see whether they move right or no, and keep close to their duty.

In reference to the other World and Life to come, they believe there is no other World, but where Angels and Devils, the Souls of good and bad reside. That in that World there are Cities, Houses, and Churches, and that the Evil Spirits have also Churches, where they pray, singing and rejoycing upon Instruments, and Feasting as in this World. That when any one lies at the point of death, three hundred and sixty Demons come and carry his Soul to a place full of Serpents, Dogs, Lyons, Tygres, and Devils; who, if it be the Soul of a wicked man, tear it in pieces; but being the Soul of a Just man, it creeps under the bellies of those Creatures into the presence of God, who sits in his seat of Majesty to judge the World. That there are Angels also that weigh the Souls of Men in a Ballance, who being thought worthy, are admitted immediately into Glory. That the Angels and Devils are Male and Female, and beget Children. That the Angel *Gabriel* is the Son of God engender'd upon Light, and that he has a Daughter call'd *Souret* who has two Sons. That the Angel *Gabriel* has several Legions of Demons under him who are instead of Souldiers, and others that are his Officers of Justice, whom he sends from Town to Town, and from City to City, to punish the wicked.

In reference to Saints, they hold that Christ left twelve Apostles to Preach to the Nations. That the Virgin *Mary* is not dead, but that she lives somewhere in the World, though there be no person that can tell where she is. That next to her St. *John* is the chiefest Saint in Heaven, and next to them *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*, of whom they recompt several Miracles and Apocryphal Tales. For they believe that they two begat St. *John* only by embracing; that when he came to be of age they Marry'd him, and that he had four Sons which he begat upon the waters of *Jordan*. That when St. *John* desir'd a Son, he pray'd to God, who drew him one out of the water; so that St. *John* had no more to do with his Wife but only to give her Child to bring up. That he dy'd a natural death, but that he commanded his ciples to Crucifie him after his death, that he might be like Christ. Lastly, that 'd in the City of *Fuster*, and that he was buri'd in a Chrystal Tomb, brought ncle to the City, and that this Sepulchre was in a certain House near the River

y highly honour the Cross, and sign themselves with it; but they are very of letting the *Turks* observe them; and during their Ceremonies, they set a t their Church doors for fear the *Turks* should enter, and lay some unjust on them. When they have ador'd the Cross, they take it in two pieces, they never put together again, 'till their Service re-begins. The reason why adore the Cross is drawn out of a Book which they have, Entitul'd *The Di-* here it is written that every day early in the Morning, the Angels take the d put it in the middle of the Sun, which receives his light from it, as the also doth hers. They add, that in the same Book are Pictur'd two Ships, one which is nam'd the Sun, the other the Moon; and that in every one of these there is a Cross full of Bells: And moreover, that if there were not a Cross in two Ships, the Sun and Moon would be depriv'd of Light, and the Ships would Shipwrack.

Their

Their chief Feſtivals are three. The one in Winter, that laſts three days, in memory of our firſt Parent and the Creation of the World. The other in the Month of *Auguſt*, that alſo laſts three days, which is call'd the Feaſt of St. *John*. The third which laſts five days, in *June*, during which time they are all re-baptiz'd. They obſerve *Sunday*, doing no work upon that day. They neither Faſt nor do any penance. They have no Canonical Books, but a great number of others that treat of nothing but Witchcraft, in which they believe their Prieſts to be very crafty, and that the Devils are at their beck. They hold all Women to be unclean, and that it is not at all available for them to come to the Church.

They have one Ceremony, which they call the Ceremony *of the Hen*, of which they make great Accompt, which is not lawful for any to perform but a Prieſt Born of a Virgin at the time of her Marriage. When a hen is to be kill'd the Prieſt puts off his ordinary habit, and puts on a Linnen Cloth, girding his waſte with a ſecond, and throwing a third about his ſhoulders like a Stole. Then he takes the Fowl, and plunges it in the water to make it clean; after which he turns toward the Eaſt and curs off the head, holding the Body in his hand 'till it has bled out all the blood. While the Hen bleeds, with his Eyes lifted up to Heaven, as if he were in an extaſie, he repeats in his own Language theſe words following: *In the name of God, may this fleſh be profitable to all that eat of it?* They obſerve the ſame ceremony when they kill Sheep. For firſt, they cleanſe the place very carefully where the Sheep is to be kill'd, waſhing it with water, and ſtrewing it with boughs, nor is the number of people ſmall that aſſiſts at this Ceremony, as if it were at ſome ſolemn Sacrifice. If you ask them why it is not lawful for the Laity to kill Fowls? They anſwer that it is no more lawful for them to kill than to conſecrate them; and that is all the reaſon which they bring. They eat of nothing dreſt by the *Turks*; and if a *Turk* ask them for drink, ſo ſoon as he has drank, they break the Cup. And to make the *Turks* more hateful, they Picture *Mahomet* like a great Gyant, ſhut up in Priſon in Hell with four more of his Parents; and they ſay, that all the *Turks* are carry'd into the ſame place full of wild Beaſts to be there devour'd.

They pretend all to Salvation. For, ſay they, after the Angel *Gabriel* had fram'd the World by the command of God, he thus diſcours'd him. *Lord God*, ſaid he, *behold I have built the World as thou didſt command me. It has put me to a great deal of trouble, and my Brethren alſo, to raiſe ſuch high Mountains that ſeem to ſuſtain Heaven. And who indeed was able to make way for Rivers through Mountains without vaſt labour, and to give every thing its proper place? Moreover, great God, by the aid of thy powerful Arm, we have brought the World to ſo much perfection, that men cannot think upon any thing needful for them, which is not to be found therein. But inſtead of that ſatisfaction which I ought to have for having accompliſh'd ſo great a work, I find no reaſon but to be altogether griev'd.* When God demanding the cauſe, the Angel *Gabriel* anſwer'd: *My God and Father, I will tell you what afflicts me; becauſe that after the making of the World as I have done, I foreſee that there will come into it a prodigious number of* Jews, Turks, *Idolaters, and other Infidels, Enemies of your Name, who will be unworthy to eat and enjoy the Fruits of our Labours.* To whom God thus reply'd: *Never grieve, my Son, there ſhall live in this World which thou haſt built, certain Chriſtians of St.* John *who ſhall be my friends, and ſhall be all ſav'd.* Upon which the Angel admiring how that ſhould be! *What*, ſaid he, *will there not be ſeveral Sinners among thoſe Chriſtians, and by conſequence will not they be your Enemies?* To whom God thus concluded: *That at the day of Judgment the Good ſhould Pray for the Wicked, and by that means they ſhould be all forgiv'n, and obtain Salvation.*

Theſe Chriſtians have a ſtrange Antipathy againſt the Blew Colour call'd Indigo, which they will not ſo much as touch. For certain *Jews* dreaming that their Law ſhould be aboliſh'd by St. *John*, told it their Country-men. Which they underſtanding, and ſeeing that St. *John* prepar'd to Baptize Chriſt, in a great rage, fetch'd a vaſt quantity of Indigo, which they call *Nill* in their Language, and flung it into *Jordan*. They add alſo that thoſe Waters continu'd unclean for ſome time, and had hinder'd the Baptiſm of Chriſt, had not God ſent his Angels with a large Veſſel of water, which he caus'd them to fill out of *Jordan* before the *Jews* had defil'd it with Indigo; for which reaſon God particularly Curs'd that Colour.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A Continuation of the Road from Balſara *to* Ormus.

THe tenth of *April* we ſet out from *Balſara* for *Bandar-Congo*, for which paſſage we hir'd a *Terrade* or a Barque for the purpoſe; for they which are laden with Dates are generally ſo overcharg'd, that if a Storm riſes, they are in danger of being overſet. The River of *Balſara* is very dangerous, by reaſon of the Sands which alſo lie up and down the *Perſian* Gulf, and are very prejudicial to Navigation in that place. On both ſides the Gulf that ſeparates *Perſia* from *Arabia the Happy*, live a ſort of poor people that follow no other Trade than fiſhing; ſo poor, that when they bring fiſh to your Veſſel, they require nothing for it but Rice; and not the beſt neither, but ſuch coarſe ſtuff as we feed our Hens and Pigs withal. I gave them a Sack of thirty or fourty pounds, and bid them make merry with it, but they told me, they muſt be careful how they ſpent ſuch Rice as that, unleſs it were for their Sick, or at their Weddings; ſo that if the reſt of *Arabia the Happy* be like that, aſſuredly 'tis rather a moſt unfortunate Country.

There are ſeveral Iſles in the *Perſian* Gulf, but the chiefeſt of all is the Iſle of *Baharen*, where they fiſh for Pearls, of which I have ſpoken in its proper place.

Near to the place where *Euphrates* falls from *Balſara* into the Sea, there is a little Iſland, where the Barques generally come to an Anchor, in expectation of the wind. There we ſtay'd four days, whence to *Bandar-Congo*, it is fourteen days Sail, and we got thither the twenty-third of *April*. This place would be a far better habitation for the Merchants than *Ormus*, where it is very unwholeſom and dangerous to live. But that which hinders the Trade from *Bandar-Congo* is, becauſe the Road to *Lar* is ſo bad, by reaſon of the want of Water, and craggy narrow ways, which only Camels can endure; but from *Ormus* to *Lar* the way is tolerable. We ſtay'd at *Bandar-Congo* two days, where there is a *Portugais* Factor, who receives one half of the Cuſtoms by agreement with the King of *Perſia*. By the way take notice, that they who will go by Water from *Ormus* to *Balſara*, muſt take the Natives for their Pilots, and be continually ſounding beſides.

The thirtieth, we hir'd a Veſſel for *Bander-Abaſſi*, and after three or four hours Sailing, we put into a Village upon the Sea-ſide, in the Iſland of *Keckmiſhe*.

Keckmiſhe is an Iſland three Leagues about, and about five or ſix from *Ormus*. It excedes in Fertility all the Iſlands of the Eaſt, that produce neither Wheat nor Barley; but at *Keckmiſhe* is a Magazine of both, without which *Ormus* would hardly ſubſiſt, in regard it furniſhes that City with moſt of their Proviſion for their Horſes. There is in the Iſland a Spring of good Water, for the preſervation of which, the *Perſians* have built a Fort, leſt the *Portugals* when they held *Ormus*, ſhould get it into their Poſſeſſion.

In 1641. and 1642. the *Hollanders* falling out with the King of *Perſia* about their Silk Trade, beſieg'd this Iſland. For the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Holſtein* coming into *Perſia*, the *Dutch* were jealous that they came to fetch away all the Silk; and thereupon enhanc'd the Market from forty-two to fifty *Tomans*. When the Ambaſſadors were gone, the *Dutch* would pay no more than forty-four, which was two *Tomans* more than they were us'd to do. The King netl'd that they would not ſtand to their words, forbid that they ſhould make ſale of their Goods 'till they had paid their Cuſtoms, from which 'till that time they were exempted. Thereupon the *Hollanders* beſieg'd the Fortreſs of *Keckmiſhe*, but the Heats were ſo intolerable, that they were forc'd to quit their deſign with great loſs of their Men; and at length by great Preſents to the chief Courtiers, they obtain'd to pay no more than forty-ſix *Tomans*.

Larec is an Iſland nearer to *Ormus* than *Keckmiſhe*, well inhabited, and ſo ſtor'd with Stags and Hinds, that in one day we kill'd five and forty.

From *Keckmiſhe* we Sail'd for *Ormus*, where we arriv'd the firſt of *May*. I had put

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carry'd along with me, one that was well vers'd in that sort of Commodity. There was a *Norman* Gentleman nam'd *de Reville* then at *Smyrna*, who would needs accompany my Factor, so that they went both together in a Vessel that carry'd the *French* Ambassador and his Lady to *Constantinople*. This Gentleman had two or three thousand *Ducats* in his Purse, wanting neither wit nor courage, besides a good presence; but perhaps he was more hasty in his proceedings than the reserv'dness of that Country requir'd. He had left the Service of the *Muscovites*, thinking to find an employment in the Service of the *Venetians* at *Candy*; but failing in his expectations, he resolv'd to travel into *Persia*. While he was at *Constantinople*, the *Jews*, who lay hold upon all opportunities of gain, soon found out my Factor; and besides the Pearls which he desired to see, they shew'd him several other rich Stones to try whether they could draw him in; for he had refus'd the Pearls because they held them at too high a Rate. The *Norman* Gentleman fell into their acquaintance; and picking out the richest, told him, that being resolv'd for the *Indies*, he had a mind to lay out four thousand *Ducats* in Pearls. He added also, that he would pay him half in Money, half in Goods, and at the same time shew'd the *Jew* two thousand *Ducats*, which the *Jew* had already devour'd with his eyes. Some four days after, the *Jew* brought the Gentleman four fair Pearles with some Emraulds; and you may be sure they easily agreed upon the price, in regard the Gentleman had a design to put a trick upon the *Jew*. Thereupon he shews his *Ducats* a second time, which the *Jew*, who thought he had a Cully, presently told out as his own. After that the *Jew* desiring to see the Goods, which made up the other part of the payment, the Gentleman without any more ado told him, that all the Merchandize which he had to pay him, was a good strong Quartan Ague which had held him a long time, and indeed such a one, that he could not possibly meet with a better, but that he would not over-rate it, in regard he ask'd but two thousand *Ducats* for it. The *Jew* who was rich and in great credit at Court, was so incens'd at his raillery, that he had like to have made a wicked stir about it. For as he had heard him say, that the Gentleman was going into the *Indies* and *Persia*, he might have easily caus'd him to have been apprehended for a Spy. But in regard the *Jews* can do nothing in point of Trade without the assistance of the *French* Merchants, he adviz'd with some of them, who perswaded him that it was an Act of folly, which it better became him to excuse, and desir'd him to take his Goods again, and put up the business; which with much ado they perswaded him to condescend to. The Gentleman fearing lest the *Jews* underhand should do him a private mischief, stole away with what speed he could, and return'd to *Smyrna*.

De Reville being thus return'd to *Smyrna*, put himself into an *Almadier*, which is a small Vessel of War, that generally touches at *Chio* and *Rhodes*, being bound for *Cyprus*, from whence there is always some convenience or other to get to *Alexandretta*. From thence he went to *Aleppo*, and while he stay'd there he met with two *French*-men, the one whose name was *Neret*, the other *Hautin*, who was an Accomptant. They had four Wooden Chests full of false Stones ready set, by which they flatter'd themselves to be great gainers in *Persia*. They went from *Marseilles* to *Seyde*, from *Seyde* to *Damas*, hearing that there was an opportunity to Travel to *Bagdat* with the *Topigi-Bashi*. This *Topigi-Bashi* or chief of the Engineers, was he that assisted *Amurath* in the taking of *Bagdat*; in recompence whereof the Grand *Signor* gave him a *Timar*, or Lordship in *Damas* worth four thousand Crowns a year. Now it was his custom every year to visit *Bagdat*, and to stay there during the Season, that there was any probability of the King of *Persia*'s besieging it; which Season not lasting above three or four Months, when that was over, he return'd to *Damas*. He usually had about thirty Horse with him, with which he never made it above eighteen or twenty days, taking the shortest cut directly through the Desert, where the *Arabs* are commanded to bring him Victuals upon the Road. And he is willing at any time when he has this opportunity, to conduct the *Franks* that desire it that way, in regard they are never ungrateful to him for it. These two *Franks* therefore having desir'd that they might be taken into his Company, the *Topigi-Bashi* readily consented; provided they could stay 'till he went, which would not be 'till two or three Months; with which answer they were well satisfi'd. But the two *Franks* had not stay'd at *Damas* above seven or eight days but they fell acquainted with a *Spahi*, a *Renegado* of *Marseilles*, who proffer'd to carry them through

through the Road of *Mesopotamia*, so that they should be at *Ispahan* before the *Topigi-Bashi*, set out from *Damas*. Thereupon they privately departed out of *Damas* without acquainting the *Topigi-Bashi*, who understanding they were gone after the courtesie he had offer'd them, was so enrag'd at their uncivility, that he sent two of his *Arabian* Servants directly through the Wilderness to the *Basha* of *Bagdat*, to give him advice of two *Franks* that were to pass that way, who were most certainly Spies, describing them withal from head to foot.

In the mean while the two *Franks* being arriv'd at *Ourfa*, the *Spahi*, as he had contriv'd his own design at *Damas*, goes to the *Basha* of *Ourfa*, and informs him that he had conducted thither two *Franks*, who could be no other than Spies. Thereupon the *Basha* seiz'd upon them and all their Goods, among the rest he laid his paws upon seven hundred Piasters, of which the *Spahi* no doubt had his share. And this may serve for instruction to Travellers to have a care how and with whom they Travel in *Turkie*.

While the two *French*-men were in hold at *Ourfa* by one sort of Treachery, the *Norman* Gentleman and his Companion arriv'd at *Bagdat*. But they had no sooner set their feet upon the shore, when the *Basha* verily believing them, to be the persons, of whom the *Topigi-Bashi* had giv'n him notice, caus'd them to be brought before him, and seiz'd upon their Goods and Letters, of which they had several for the *Consul* of *Aleppo*, and other rich Merchants for *Persia*. The *Basha* sent for the *Capuchins* to read those Letters, but not believing them, he sent for a *Sicilian* Phylician which he had in his Service, and his Treasurer who had been a Slave tak'n in *Candy*. But neither Physician, Treasurer, nor *Capuchins* would interpret any thing in prejudice of the *French*-men; yet all that could not preserve them from being shut up in a Stable full of dung, and from being threaten'd to be Shot out of a Cannon's mouth if they would not confess the truth. Thereupon the *Capuchins* and the *Cadi* beg'd him to suspend his Sentence 'till the Arrival of the chief of the Cannoniers, to which he readily consented.

When the *Topigi-Bashi* came, the *Basha* commanded the Prisoners to be brought before him. But when the *Topigi-Bashi* deny'd them to be the persons, the *Basha* grew into such a rage, that he no less reproach'd the *Topigi-Bashi* for Treachery, than he had accus'd the others. Which so incens'd the *Topigi-Bashi* on the other side, that he never left till he had obtain'd the release of the two *French*-men; yet not so, but that the *Basha* would have his due; so that *Reville* was forc'd to leave some of his *Ducats* behind which the *Jew* should have had.

But now to return to *Smyrna* where I expected the *Caravan* for some time in order to my Journey into *Persia*. Every thing being provided, we set forward in the Road for *Tauris*, which I have at large describ'd, nor was there any thing worthy observation all the way. I Will only take notice, that when we departed from *Tocat*, in regard the heat was so extream, we left the common Road toward the North, and took the way through the Mountains, where there is always a fresh Breeze and store of shady Lanes. In many of which high Mountains we met with Snow, and abundance of excellent Sorrel; and upon the tops of some of those Mountains, we met with several sorts of shells, as it had been upon the Sea shore, which is very extraordinary. From *Erzerom* we went to *Cars*; from *Cars* we came to *Erivan*. The *Kan* was not there then, being retir'd during the heat into the Mountains, a days Journey from the City. His Lieutenant telling me that I could not well pass farther without paying my duty to the *Kan*; I follow'd his advice, and found him in his Tent in a fair Dale, where there was a great quantity of Snow: and where when it began to melt, appear'd several beautiful Flowers, so that Summer and Winter seem'd to lodge both in the same place. The *Kan* entertain'd both me and all my Company most nobly for ten days. I drove also a small Trade with him. For I durst not shew him the rarities I had, being design'd for the King. For as in *India*, so in *Persia*, neither will the King look upon any thing which his Subjects have seen before, nor will the Subjects buy any thing which the King has seen, it being an affront to present any thing to the King which he had formerly view'd, and the Subject buys nothing rare but what he intends to present.

Being past *Erivan* you may leave your *Caravan* when you please, by reason of the security of the Roads in *Persia*. And indeed I intended to have visited the *Kan* of *Gengée*, but finding the Road so full of Rocks and Precipices, where a man was

continually in danger of breaking his Neck, I turn'd my Horses head and met the *Caravan* at *Nacksivan* in the Road to *Tauris*.

From *Tauris* to *Ispahan* I met with nothing worthy observation. When I came to the Court I was well receiv'd by the King, and I sold him as many Jewels and other Goods of great value, as came to sixty-two thousand Crowns. But of this more in another place.

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to force all Ships that were bound into *Italy* to pay certain Customs, which those of *Marseilles* would not pay when they came into the Port of *Toulon*. Thereupon foreseeing that there would be mischief done, I called for my little Chests that contain'd my Goods of greatest value, carrying some part my self, and giving the rest to one of my most trusty Servants, thinking to have skipt into a *Genoa* Bark that lay hard by us; but instead of leaping a-board, I fell into the Sea: where by reason of the Tumult I had perish'd without relief, had I not by good fortune laid hold of a Cable and redeem'd my self. At what time one of my Servants, luckily coming to my aid, with much ado drew me up safe again.

Having escap'd this danger, I got a-shoar with such of my Servants as I had about me, and meeting with a Bark of *Frontignan* that carry'd *Languedock* Wine to the Coast of *Italy*, I hir'd him for *Ligorn*; and setting Sail, we first touch'd *Villafranca*, and afterwards at *Monaco*.

At *Monaco* I went a-shoar, and went to wait upon Madam the Princess, who shew'd me the Rarities in the Castle; among the rest, several pieces of extraordinary Painting, several pieces of Clock-work and Goldsmiths work. But among all her Curiosities she shew'd me two pieces of Crystal, about the bigness of two Fists each, in one of which there was above a Glass full of Water, in the other a good quantity of Moss; which were clos'd in by Nature when the Crystal first congeal'd.

Monaco is a Castle situated upon a steep Rock, advancing out into the Sea; which advantage, together with others which it receives from Art and Nature, renders it one of the most considerable Forts in *Italy*.

The next day finding the *Frontignan*-Vessel to be deep-laden, and that it made little way, I took a Faluke, and kept along by the Shoar, which was most pleasantly adorn'd with beautiful Villages and Houses, as far as *Sarona*; where I chang'd my Faluke, to compleat the rest of the way which I had to *Genoa*. Half the way we did very well, but the Wind rising, we were forc'd to put into a great Town, where we landed; and from thence, having but nine Miles, I got in good time by Horse to *Genoa*. There can be no Prospect certainly more pleasing than that nine Miles riding. For on the one side you see nothing but a continu'd Row of magnificent Buldings and lovely Gardens; on the other a calm Shoar, upon which the Waves seem not to beat, but lovingly to kiss.

Arriving at *Genoa*, I met with the rest of my Servants; and at the end of two days I embarqu'd for *Ligorn*, where we arriv'd in four and twenty hours.

From *Ligorn* I went to the Court of *Florence*, to wait upon the Grand Duke. By whom I had the honour to be admitted into his Chamber, where I found no body attending but one Mute, who had a long time serv'd his Highness: and I observ'd that they understood one another by Signs, as perfectly as if the Mute had had his Speech and Hearing. So that when-ever the Duke sent him into his Closet for any Papers or other thing whatsoever, he never fail'd to bring the right.

After I had tak'n my leave of the Duke, he sent me a noble Present of Wine and Fruits; but that which I valu'd more than all the rest, was a Case of Medicaments and Counter-poysons, in the composition whereof the *Italians* are very exquisite. And yet they did me no service; for when I came into the hot Countries their fermentation was so strong, that all the Oyls and Treacles broke their several Boxes, that I could save nothing of that precious Present.

The next day, being the twenty-sixth of *March* 1664, I embarqu'd with all my Servants in a *Dutch* Vessel call'd *The Justice*.

The twenty-seventh we staid in the Road, expecting the rest of the Fleet, consisting of eleven Ships, two Men of War, and nine Merchant-men; four of which were bound for *Smyrna*, three for *Ancona*, and two for *Venice*. About seven that evening we set Sail, and all that night the Wind was favourable, but blew hard and veer'd often; which was the reason that two of our Fleet separated from us, steering between the Isle of *Elbe* and *Corsica*, while we kept on between the Isle of *Elba* and *Italy*.

The twenty-eighth by eight in the Morning we found our selves between *Porto Ferraro* and *Piombino*, and it being fair Weather, we had a pleasant prospect of those two places. From thence we steer'd between two Ilands, the one call'd *Palmajola*, the other being nameless. About six hours after we saw *Pertolongone*, afterwards at a distance we descry'd *Monte-Christo*. An hour after Noon we discover'd

cover'd *Caſtiglon-ſere*, all the reſt of the day we coaſted by the Ilands of *Gigio* and *Sanuti*.

The twenty-ninth, with the ſame Wind at North-Weſt, by Morning we diſcover'd the Ilands of *Pontia* and *Parmerola*, and about Evening thoſe of *Ventitione* and *Iſchia*. Night approaching, and there being no news of the Ships we had loſt, inſtead of making the *Pharo* of *Meſſina*, it was reſolv'd that we ſhould ſteer a Courſe round about *Meſſina*, where we expected to overtake them. At eleven a Clock in the Evening we had but little Wind at North-North-Weſt, ſo that we made not above fourteen Leagues of way.

The thirty-firſt the ſame Wind continu'd, with a high Sea; but about nine at Night the Wind chopping about to the Weſt, we kept our former Courſe.

The firſt of *April*, by eight of the Clock in the Morning we diſcover'd the three Ilands that lye before *Trepano*, *Levanzo*, *Marettima*, and *Favagna*.

The ſecond and third the Weather was ill, and the Wind unconſtant, ſo that we made but little way.

The fourth, by break of day we diſcover'd the Iland of *Pantalarea*.

The fifth by Morning we found our ſelves within a League and a half of the Coaſt of *Sicily*, juſt againſt *Cape Paſſaro*, at what time, the Weather being fair, we had a view of Mount *Gibello*, all cover'd with Snow. Doubling the Cape in the Afternoon, we diſcover'd the Coaſt of *Saragoſſa*. The ſixth we had little or no Wind. But the ſeventh in the Morning, the Weather being fair, we diſcover'd Cape *Spartivento*; and the ſame Wind continuing all that day, toward Evening we ſail'd in view of other Ilands of *Calabria*.

The eighth we found our ſelves near to Cape *Borſano*, and all the reſt of the day we ſail'd in view of Cape *Stillo* and Cape *delle Colonne*.

The ninth we made little way. But on the Tenth in the Morning the Wind coming about to the South, we found our ſelves at the entry of the Gulf of *Venice*, between Cape St. *Mary* and the Coaſt of *Greece*, where the Mountains were cover'd with Snow. About ten of the Clock we tack'd to our own Courſe, while the Ships that were bound for *Venice* and *Ancona* entered the Gulf.

The tenth by Morning we ſaw two little Iſlands, the one call'd *Fauno*, the other *Merlera*, and were in ſight of *Corfu*. About Noon, the Wind being at Eaſt, we kept out at Sea: and about Evening abundance of little Birds lighted upon our Cordage, of which we caught enow to make a luſty Fricaſie. We alſo caught four Falcons, Owls, and good ſtore of Turtles.

The eleventh and twelfth the Wind being at Eaſt, we lay hovering about the Shoar, without making any way.

The fourteenth and fifteenth having the Wind at North-Weſt, we were two days without ſeeing Land, yet we caught good ſtore of Birds.

The ſixteenth the ſame Wind continuing, we found our ſelves near the Iſland of *Zant*. From eight in the Morning 'till three in the Afternoon we were becalm'd; but then a good briſk Weſt Wind carry'd away all our little Birds.

The ſeventeenth and eighteenth we were becalm'd.

The nineteenth in the Morning, the Wind being at North-Weſt, we diſcover'd Cape *Gullo*, between *Modon* and *Coron*, in the *Morea*.

The twentieth, with the ſame Wind that blew freſh, we found our ſelves by Morning within two Cannon-ſhot of Cape *Matapan*, which is the moſt Southern Cape of all *Europe*. About Noon the Wind coming full Weſt, in three hours we paſs'd by the Point of the Iſland *Cerigo*.

The twenty-firſt in the Morning, we diſcover'd the Iſlands of *Caravi* and *Falconera* on the one ſide, and Cape *Schilli* on the other hand. Two hours after, having a freſh Gale at South-Weſt, about Evening we were in view of the Iſland of St. *George*.

The twenty-ſecond though the Wind ſlackn'd, yet we made ſome way; for in the Morning we found our ſelves between the Iſland of *Zea* and the *Morea*, near to another Cape *delle Colonne*: afterwards we diſcover'd the Iſland of *Negropont*, and doubl'd the Cape three hours after Noon, having left ſight of the Iſland of *Andros* by ten in the Forenoon.

The twenty-third the Wind blowing freſh all the night, by morning we found our ſelves near the Iſland of *Ipſera*. At noon we made the Point of the Iſland of *Chio*,

Chio, near to the Land; and that night we came to an Anchor near the Caſtle, being becalm'd.

The twenty-fourth the Wind roſe at North-Weſt, which blew us into the Port of *Smyrna*.

The twenty-fifth we went a-ſhoar, having had a quiet as paſſage as ever I had in my Life for twenty days together.

CHAP. II.

A *Continuation of the* Author's *ſixth Voyage, as he travel'd from* Smyrna *to* Iſpahan.

WE ſtaid at *Smyrna* from the twenty-fifth of *April* to the ninth of *June*; during which time there happ'nd ſo terrible an Earthquake; that I had like to have tumbl'd out of my Bed.

The *Caravan* being ready to ſet out for *Tauris*, I took with me three *Armenian* Servants, beſides thoſe that I carry'd out of *France* to ſerve me upon the Road.

We ſet out of *Smyrna* upon Monday the ninth of *June* at three a Clock in the afternoon. The *Caravan* rendevouz'd at *Pont-garbaſhi*, three Leagues from the City, conſiſting of ſix hundred Camels, and almoſt the ſame number of Horſe. We ſet out the next night, two hours after midnight. As for the Road I ſhall ſay nothing, only relate ſome Paſſages that fell out by the way.

Being come to *Erivan*, the fourteenth of *September* we encamp'd in a pleaſant green place between the Caſtle and the old Town; for we would not lye in the Inn, becauſe we heard that ſeveral ſick people lodg'd there. We ſtaid there two days; during which time I reſolv'd to wait upon the *Kan*, I found him in a Room made in one of the Arches of the Bridge which is built over the River, which I have deſcrib'd already, with ſeveral Captains and Officers about him: when he had ask'd me whence I came, and whither I was travelling, he caus'd a Glaſs of Liquor to be fill'd me. After that I preſented him with a Proſpective-Glaſs, ſix pair of ordinary Spectacles, twelve other pair of Spectacles that caſt ſeveral Reflexions, two little Piſtols, and a Steel to ſtrike Fire, made like a Piſtol. All which pleas'd him extremely well, eſpecially the Spectacles, for he was ſixty years of age. Thereupon he commanded a Lamb, Wine, Fruit, and Melons to be carry'd to my Tent, and that I ſhould want nothing. After that we ſate down to Dinner, but I obſerv'd the *Kan* himſelf drank no Wine, though he preſs'd me to it. The reaſon was, becauſe he was an *Agi*, that is, one that had made his Pilgrimage to *Mecca*; for then it is not lawful to drink Wine, or any other inebriating Drink. After Dinner, finding him in a pleaſant humour, I reſolv'd to complain to him of one of the Cuſtom-Officers about an injury he had done me. For it is uſual with the Cuſtomer in this place to op'n the Cheſts of all the Merchants, both *Turks* and *Armenians*, to the end that if they have any thing of Rarity the *Kan* of *Erivan* may ſee it: for many times, he buyes what pleaſes him beſt to ſend to the King. This Officer would not excuſe me for his Cuſtom, and therefore at my very firſt arrival he would have me to op'n my Cheſts; and becauſe I did not do it according to his Orders, he ask'd me very rudely why I had not obey'd his Commands: I anſwer'd him as ſurlily, that I would op'n my Cheſt no where unleſs it were in the preſence of the King, and that as for him, I knew him not: Upon that he threaten'd me, that if he did not find my Cheſts op'n the next day, he would op'n them by force; thereupon I ſaid no more, but bid him have a care I did not make him repent of what he had done already. This was the ground of the Quarrel, and I was about to have complain'd to the *Kan*; but his Nephew intreated me for the love I bare him, not to ſay any thing of it, and promis'd to ſend the Cuſtomer to me to beg my Pardon, which he did, and the Cuſtomer was forc'd to crave it heartily. To avoid the ſame inconvenience for the future, I deſir'd the *Kan* to give me his Paſport, to the end I might paſs Cuſtom-free

free through the Territories of his Government, which he freely and courteously granted me: *Come*, said he, *and dine with me to morrow, and you shall have it.*

The twenty-sixth of *September* we departed from *Erivan*, and the ninth of *November* we came to *Tauris*, taking the ordinary Road.

At *Erivan* two of my Servants, the one a Watch-maker, the other a Gold-smith, dy'd; I left them sick there, but caus'd them to be buried in the Church-yard belonging to the *Armenians*. One of them dy'd in fifteen days, of a Gangrene, which eat out his Mouth and Throat; being the Disease of the Country. Though had the *Armenians* known that one of them had been a Protestant, they would never have allow'd him to have been bury'd in their Church-yard.

Here observe the exact Justice, wherewith the *Persians* preserve the Goods of Strangers. For the Civil Judge hearing of the death of the Watch-maker, caus'd his Chamber to be seal'd up to the end the Goods might be preserv'd for the kindred of the deceas'd, if they came to demand them. I return'd to *Tauris* a twelve-month after, and found the Chamber close seal'd up.

We staid twelve days at *Tauris*; during which time I resolv'd to attend the *Kan* of *Shamaqui*, a frontier Town of *Persia* toward the *Caspian* Sea; but I found him not there, in regard it was Harvest season, at what time he goes to gather the King's and his own Duties.

Two days journey on this side *Shamaqui* you pass the *Aras*, and for two days journey you travel through a Country all planted with white Mulberry-Trees; the Inhabitants being all Silk-Weavers. Before you come to the City, you must cross over several Hills: But I think I should rather have call'd it a great Town, where there was nothing remarkable but a fair Castle which the *Kan* built himself, I speak of the time past: For as I return'd from this present Voyage of which I now write, when I came to *Tauris* I understood, that there had happen'd such a terrible Earthquake in the Town as had laid all the Houses in a heap; none escaping that dismal subversion, but only one Watch-maker of *Geneva*, and one more who was a Camel-driver. I had several times design'd to return into *France* through *Muscovy*; but I durst never adventure, being certainly inform'd that the *Muscovite* never permitted any person to go out of *Muscovy* into *Persia*, nor to come out of *Persia* into *Muscovy*. So that it was by particular connivence that that favour was granted to the Duke of *Holstein*'s Ambassadors. This last time I was resolv'd to have try'd whether I could have open'd a Passage from *Persia* through *Muscovy* into *France*, but the Ruine of *Shamaqui* deterr'd me.

We departed from *Tauris* the twenty-second of *November*, from whence to *Casban* we met with nothing considerable, but only one of the *Muscovite* Ambassadors upon his return into his own Country, with a small Retinue of sixty, his Companion dying at *Ispahan*.

Upon Sunday the fourteenth of *December* taking Horse by three of the Clock in the morning, the Ice bearing very well, we came to *Ispahan* about noon: but in regard it was slippery before day, and very plashy after the Sun was up, the Journey was both tedious and troublesom.

CHAP. III.

The Road from Aleppo *to* Tauris *through* Diarbequir *and* Van.

THere are two Roads more remaining to be describ'd; one through the North part of *Turkie*, the other through the South. The first through *Diarbequir* and *Van*, and so to *Tauris*; the second through *Anna*, and the small Desert leading to *Bagdat*.

I will describe the first of these Roads, and make a skip at the first leap to *Bir*, whither I have already led you in the Road from *Aleppo*.

From *Bir* or *Beri*, you travel all along the River *Euphrates* to *Cachemé*.

From *Cachemé* you come to *Milesara*, where you pay the Customs of *Ourfa*, when

when you do not pass through the City, which amounts to four *Piasters* for every Horse-load.

From *Milesara* you come to the River *Arzlan-chaye*, or, the *Lion River*, by reason of the rapidity of the Stream which falls into *Euphrates*.

From *Arzlan-chaye* you go to *Seuerak*. This is a City, water'd by a River, that also falls into *Euphrates*. It is environ'd with a great Plain to the North, the West, and South. The way which the Horses, Mules, and Camels keep is cut through the Rock like a Channel, two Foot deep, where you must also pay half a *Piaster* for every Horse-load.

From *Seuerak* you come to *Bogazi*, where there are two Wells, but not a House near; and where the *Caravan* usually lodges.

From *Bogazi* you come to *Deguirman-Bogazi*, and from *Deguirman-Bogazi* to *Mirzatapa*, where there is only an Inn.

From *Mirzatapa* you come to *Diarbequir*, which the *Turks* call *Car-emu*.

Diarbequir is a City situated upon a rising ground, on the right side of *Tigris*; which in that place forms a Half-moon; the descent from the Walls to the River being very steep. It is encompass'd with a double Wall; the outward Wall being strengthned with sixty-two Towers, which they report were built in Honour of the sixty two Disciples of JESUS CHRIST. The City has but three Gates, over one of which there is an Inscription in *Greek* and *Latin*, that makes mention of one *Constantine*. There are in it two or three fair *Piazza*'s, and a magnificent *Mosquee*, which was formerly a Christian Church. It is surrounded with very decent Charnel-houses, near to which the *Moullah*'s, *Dervi*'s, Book-sellers and Stationers do live, together with all those other people that concern the Law. About a League from the City there is a Channel cut out of *Tigris*, that brings the Water to the City: And in this Water are all the red Marroquins wash'd that are made at *Diarbequir*, surpassing in colour all others in the East: which Manufacture employs a fourth part of the Inhabitants of the City. The Soil is very good, and yields according to expectation; there is excellent Bread and very good Wine, nor is there any better Provision to be had in any part of *Persia*: more especially, there is a sort of Pigeons which in goodness excel all the several kinds that we have in *Europe*. The City is very well peopl'd, and it is thought there are in it above twenty thousand Christians. The two thirds are *Armenians*, the rest *Nestorians*, with some few *Jacobites*. There are also some few *Capuchins*, that have no House of their own, but are forc'd to lodge in an Inn.

The *Bassa* of *Diarbequir* is one of the *Viziers* of the Empire. He has but an inconsiderable Infantry, which is not much requisite in that Country; the *Curds* and *Arabs* which infest that Country being all Horse-men. But he is strong in Cavalry, being able to bring above twenty thousand Horse into the Field. A quarter of an hours riding on this side *Diarbequir* there is a great Town with a large Inn, where the *Caravans* that go and come from *Persia* rather choose to lye than at *Diarbequir*; in regard that in the City-Inns, they pay three or four *Piasters* for every Chamber, but in the Country-Inns there is nothing demanded.

At *Diarbequir*, you cross the *Tigris*, which is always fordable unless when the Snow and Rains have swell'd it; for then you must go a quarter of a League higher, and cross it over a great Stone-Bridge. Half a League on the other side of *Tigris* stands a Village, with an Inn, which is the Rendevous of the whole *Caravan*, and where they that first come have time enough to provide themselves for a Journey of nine or ten days, as far as *Betlis*. For though you may find Towns and Inns thick enough upon the Road, yet there is no good Bread to be met with.

When the *Caravan* proceeds, the first days journey is fourteen hours on Horse-back, and you come to lye at *Shaye-batman*, where you must pay a *Piaster* for every Horse-load.

From *Chaye-batman* you come to *Chikaran*.

From *Chikaran* to *Azou*, which you leave half a League from the great Road, where the Toll-gatherers take their Toll, which is four *Piasters* upon every Horse-load.

From *Azou* you come to *Ziarat*; from *Ziarat* to *Zerque*, where you pay a Duty of two *Piasters* for every Horse-load.

From *Zerche* to *Cochakan*.

From

From *Cochakan*, to *Carakan*, a bad Inn; where you enter among the Mountains, that being full of Torrents reach as far as *Betlis*.

From *Carakan* to *Betlis*, a City belonging to a *Bey* or Prince of the Country, the moſt potent and moſt conſiderable of all the reſt for he neither acknowledges the *Grand Signor* nor the *Perſian*: whereas all the other *Beys* are Tributary either to the one or the other. And it is the Intereſt of thoſe two Potentates to correſpond with him; for it's an eaſie thing for him to ſtop up the paſſage from *Aleppo* to *Tauris*, or from *Tauris* to *Aleppo*; the Streights of the Mountains being ſo narrow, that ten Men may defend them againſt a thouſand. Coming near *Betlis* you muſt travel a whole day among high ſteep Mountains, that reach two miles beyond, with Torrents on each ſide; the way being cut out of the Rock on each ſide, where there is but juſt room for a Camel to paſs. The City ſtands between two high Mountains, equally diſtant one from the other, and about the height of *Montmartre*. It is built like a Sugar-loaf, the aſcent being ſo ſteep on every ſide, that there is no getting to the top, but by wheeling and winding about the Mountain. The top of all is a Platform, where ſtands a Caſtle well built, at the Gate whereof is a Draw-Bridge. Then you paſs through two great Courts, and then into a third, oppoſite to the *Bey*'s Apartment. It is very troubleſom to get up to the top of the Caſtle, and a Man muſt be very well Hors'd that does it. There is no other perſon but the *Bey* and his Eſquire, who is permitted to ride up on Horſe back. There is one Inn within the City, and another as it were without, in which the Merchants rather chooſe to lye than in the other, by reaſon that it is ready to be overflown when the Torrents ſwell, that run through every Street. The *Bey*, beſide the ſtrength of his Paſſes, is able to bring above five and twenty thouſand Horſe into the Field; and a very conſiderable Body of Foot, compos'd of the Shepherds of the Country, who are to be ready at a Call. I went to wait upon the *Bey* himſelf, and made him a Preſent of two pieces of Satin, the one ſtreakt with Silver, and the other with Gold: two white Bonnets, ſuch as the *Turks* wear, very fine, and adorn'd with Silver at the top; together with a ſute of Handkerchiffs, ſtreak'd with Red and Silver. While I ſtaid with the *Bey*, who ſent for Coffee for me according to the cuſtom, a Courier came to him from the *Baſha* of *Aleppo*, to deſire him that he would deliver up into his hands a *French* Chirurgeon that was his Slave, having been tak'n in *Candia*; complaining withall, that he had run away from him with the value of three thouſand Crowns. The *Bey*, who underſtood what belong'd to a Sanctuary, and was reſolv'd to protect the *French-man*, ſchool'd the Meſſenger ſo ſeverely, that he threaten'd to put him to death if he did not get him gone preſently; charging him to tell his Maſter withal, that he would complain to the Grand *Signor* of his inſolence; and that if he were ſtrangl'd, he might thank himſelf. And indeed it behov'd the Great *Turk* to keep fair correſpondence with him; in regard that if the *Perſians* ſhould at any time beſiege *Van*, the Grand *Signor* muſt march through the *Bey*'s Country to relieve it; who has Forces enow to oppoſe him if he ſhould be his Enemy.

But to travel through the Country of the *Curds* is very pleaſant: for if on the one ſide the ways are bad, and difficult to be travell'd, in other places you have a proſpect of ſeveral ſorts of Trees, as Oaks and Walnuts, and not a Tree which is not embrac'd with a wild Vine. Below the Mountains, in the Level, grows the beſt Wheat and Barley in all the Country.

From *Betlis*, where you pay five *Piaſters* for every Horſe-load, to *Taduan*, where you pay two.

Taduan is a great Town within a Cannon-ſhot of the Lake of *Van*, in ſuch a port, where Nature has made a Hav'n, ſhelter'd from all the Winds; being clos'd on all ſides with high Mountains, the entry into which though it ſeem narrow, is very free. It is able to contain twenty or thirty great Barks; and when it is fair Weather, and that the Wind ſerves, the Merchants generally Ship off their Goods from thence to *Van*: from whence it is but four and twenty hours ſail, and a very good paſſage; whereas by Land from *Taduan* to *Van* it is eight days journey on Horſe-back. Returning back, you may alſo take Water at *Van* for *Taduan*.

From *Taduan* to *Karmouſhé*.

From *Karmouſhé* to *Kellat*.

From *Kellat* to *Algiaoux*, a ſmall City, where you pay one *Piaſter* for every Load.

From *Agiaoux* to *Spanktiere.*
From *Spanktiere* to *Soüer.*
From *Soüer* to *Argiche.*
From *Argiche* to *Quiarakjerpou.*
From *Quiarakjerpou* to *Perkeri.*
From *Perkeri* to *Zuarzazin.*
From *Zuarzazin* to *Souſerat.*

From *Souſerat* to *Devan*, where two *Piaſters* are gather'd for every Horſe-load, or elſe you muſt pay at *Van.*

From *Devan* to *Van*, where there is a Duty of two *Tomans* and four *Abaſſis* to be paid for every Horſe-load. For though *Van* be in the Territories of the Grand *Signor*, yet the *Perſian* Money is better lik'd than his own Coyn.

Van is a great City upon the ſide of a wide Lake of the ſame name. There is a good Fortreſs belongs to it, that is ſeated upon the top of a high Mountain which ſtands by it ſelf. There is but one ſort of Fiſh in the Lake, a little bigger than a Pilchard, of which they take great ſtore in the Month of *April.* For about a League from the Lake there is a great River that is call'd *Bendmahi*, which deſcending from the Mountains of *Armenia*, empties it ſelf into the Lake. Now in *March* when the Snow melts and ſwells the River, vaſt numbers of theſe Fiſh come down the River into the Lake; which the Fiſher-men obſerving, ſo ſtop up the Mouth of the River that the Fiſh cannot go back; for elſe they would not ſtay above forty days; at which time they catch 'em up in wide-mouth'd Baskets at the Mouth of the River, thinking to return; it being lawful for any man to fiſh. The people drive a great Trade in theſe Fiſh, tranſporting them into *Perſia* and *Armenia*; for, the *Perſians* and *Armenians* both, drinking Wine at the end of their Feaſts, they then bring this Diſh to the Table for a Reliſhing-bit. The people of *Van* tell a Story, how that there was a certain rich Merchant who farm'd the whole Fiſhery, paying a good ſum of Money for it to the *Baſha*; who thereupon ſtrictly forbad any to fiſh but the Merchant; whereas before it was free for any man. But when the Fiſhing-ſeaſon came, and that the Merchant thought to have caught his Fiſh, he met with nothing but Serpents. So that after that time the Fiſhery was never more farm'd. And there ſems to be ſomething in it; for the *Baſha's*, who are a ſort of people that will loſe nothing they can get, would be certain to farm the Fiſh again and again, were there not ſome ſtrange reaſon to hinder it. There are two principal Iſlands in the Lake of *Van*; the one call'd *Adaketons*, where there ſtand two Covents of the *Armenians*, *Sourphague* and *Sourp-kara:* the other Iſland is call'd *Limadaſi*, and the name of the Covent is *Limqualiaſi*, all which *Armenian* Monks live very auſterely.

From *Van* to *Darcheck.*

From *Darcheck* to *Nuchar*; it ſtands in the Territories of a *Bey* of *Curdiſtan*, being a paltry Village conſiſting of two or three little Houſes. Theſe *Bey's* are a kind of particular Lords, upon the Frontiers of both the Empires of *Turkie* and *Perſia*, who care for neither: for they lye ſo ſecure among the Mountains, that there is no aſſaulting them by force. The *Curds* in general are a brutiſh ſort of people; who though they ſtile themſelves *Mahometans*, have very few *Moullah's* to inſtruct or teach them. They have a particular veneration for black Grey-hounds: ſo that if any perſon ſhould be ſeen to kill one of them, he would be knock'd o'the Head immediately. Neither does any one dare to cut an Onion with a Knife in their preſence; but it muſt be ſqeez'd between two Stones by him that intends to make uſe of it; ſo ridiculouſly ſuperſtitious they are.

The *Bey* to whom *Nuchar* belongs has his Toll-gatherers in that place, who exact ſixteen *Abaſſi's* for every Horſe-load, beſides a Preſent which the *Caravan-Baſhi* is oblig'd to preſent him, which comes ſometimes to ſeven or eight *Tomans*: ſometimes more: for otherwiſe the *Bey* would be ſure to watch the *Caravan* at ſome ſcurvy place, and plunder it to ſome purpoſe. As once it happen'd to a *Caravan*, with which my Nephew went along in the year 1672; though he had the good luck to loſe nothing more than one Camel laden with *Engliſh* Cloth, and another with his Proviſion. The *Baſha* of *Van* and the *Kan* of *Tauris* took the Field with an intention to remedy theſe diſorders: eſpecially the *Baſha* of *Van*, who perceiving that the Merchants would forſake that Road by reaſon of the Injuries they daily

receiv'd

receiv'd, was reſolv'd to make the *Baſha* reſtore ſome part of his Goods which he had taken from the Merchants; and for the future to leave two of his Subjects in *Tauris*, and two in *Van*, that ſhould be reſponſible for what miſchief ſhould be done to the *Caravan*. For otherwiſe the Merchants like this way beſt, as being the neareſt from *Aleppo* to *Tauris*, and where they pay leſs Duties.

From *Nuchar* to *Kuticlar*, is a long Journey through the Mountains, by the ſide of ſeveral Torrents, which are to be croſs'd in ſeveral places. This bad way brings Fifty i'the Hundred profit to the *Bey* of *Nuchar*; for were the *Caravan* to travel through Plains, or a level Country, one Horſe or Camel would carry as much as two or three, and the Merchant would pay Cuſtom for no more. Here therefore the *Caravan-Baſhi* and the Merchants muſt underſtand one another, and agree as cunningly as they can together.

From *Kuticlar* to *Kalvat*.

From *Kalvat* to *Kogia*.

From *Kogia* to *Darkavin*.

From *Darkavin* to *Soliman-Sera*: all which four places are very convenient Inns.

From *Soliman-Sera* to *Kours*: in that City reſides a *Bey*, who is tributary to the King of *Perſia*. He lives in an ancient Caſtle about half a League off, where the *Caravan* pays nine *Abaſſi's* for every Horſe-load, beſides a Preſent. But that Preſent conſiſts only in Sugar-loaves, Boxes of Treacle, or Marmaled; for he ſtands ſo much upon his Honour, that he ſcorns to take Money. The Wine of *Kours* is ſweet and tart.

From *Kours* to *Devogli*.

From *Devogli* to *Checheme*. About half way between theſe two places you croſs a Plain, which upon the South extends it ſelf a League to the Mountains, but upon the North-ſide enlarges it ſelf out of ſight. Upon the High-way, on the left hand ſtands a Rock three hundred Paces in compaſs, and about fourſcore Foot high; round about it were to be ſeen ſeveral Dens, which moſt certainly had been the Habitations of thoſe that fed their Cattel thereabouts. Under the Rock, which is hollow, appears a Fountain of clear cold Water, wherein there was great ſtore of Fiſh; thouſands of which would come up to the top of the Water, when a man threw any Bread into it. The Fiſh had a great Head, and a large Muſtache. I ſhot a Carbine into the River charg'd with Hail-ſhot, upon which they all diſappear'd, but preſently five or ſix return'd wounded to the top of the Water, which we eaſily took. The *Armenians* laught at me for ſhooting, believing it had been impoſſible to catch them in that manner; but they admir'd when they beheld them again turning up their bellies at the top of the Water. The *Turks* and ſome of the *Armenians* would not eat of them, believing them to be defil'd: but the *Armenians* that had been in *Europe* laugh'd at their Superſtition, and fell to, when they were dreſt.

From *Checheme* to *Davaſhiler*.

From *Davaſhiler* to *Marand*; a City where you muſt pay ſixteen *Abaſſi's* for a Camel's-load, and eight for a Horſes.

From *Merand* to *Sefian*.

From *Sefian* to *Tauris*. Theſe are the two biggeſt days journies throughout the Road.

Returning out of *Perſia* this way, we could not get Bread for Money; ſo that we were forc'd to give the Women ſome Trifles which they lov'd better. Through the People are *Mahometans*, yet they will not ſpare to drink luſtily.

CHAP. IV.

Another Road from Aleppo *to* Tauris, *through* Geziré *and other places.*

FRom *Aleppo* to *Bir* or *Beri*, where you muſt croſs *Euphrates*, days 4
From *Bir* to *Ourfa*, days 2
From *Ourfa* to *Diarbequir*, days 6
From *Diarbequir* to *Geziré*, days 4

Geziré is a little City of *Meſopotamia*, built upon an Iſland in the River *Tigris*; which is there to be croſs'd over a fair Bridge of Boats. Here the Merchants meet to buy Gall-nuts and Tobacco. The City is under the Juriſdiction of a *Bey*.

Having paſt the *Tigris*, all the Country between that and *Tauris* is almoſt equally divided between Hills and Plains; the Hills are cover'd with Oaks that bear Galls, and ſome Acorns withal. The Plains are planted with Tobacco, which is tranſported into *Turkie*, for which they have a very great Trade. One would think the Country were poor, ſeeing nothing but Galls and Tobacco; but there is no Country in the World where there is more Gold or Silver laid out, and where they are more nice in taking Money that is in the leaſt defective either in weight or goodneſs of Metal. For Galls being a general Commodity for Dying, and no where to be found ſo good as there, bring a vaſt Trade to the Country; wherein there are no Villages, yet it is over-ſpread with Houſes a Muſquet-ſhot one from another; and every Inhabitant has his quarter of his Vineyard by himſelf, where they dry their Grapes: for they make no Wine.

From *Geziré* to *Amadié*, days 2

Amadié is a good City, to which the Natives of a great part of *Aſſyria* bring their Tobacco, and Gall-nuts. It is ſeated upon a high Mountain, to the top whereof you cannot get in leſs than an hour. Towards the middle of the Rock three or four large Springs fall down from the Cliffs, where the Inhabitants are forc'd to water their Cattel and fill their *Borachio's* every morning, there being no Water in the City. It is of an indifferent bigneſs, and in the middle is a large *Piazza*, where all ſorts of Merchants keep their Shops. It is under the Command of a *Bey* that is able to raiſe eight or ten thouſand Horſe, and more Foot than any other of the *Beys*, by reaſon his Country is ſo populous.

From *Amadié* to *Giouſmark*, days 4
From *Giouſmark* to *Alback*, days 3
From *Alback* to *Salmaſtre*, days 3

Salmaſtre is a pleaſant City upon the Frontiers of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, and the firſt on that ſide in the Territories of the *Perſian* King. The *Caravan* never lyes there, becauſe it would be above a League out of the way: but when the *Caravan* is lodg'd, two or three of the principal Merchants with the *Caravan-Baſhi* according to cuſtom go to wait upon the *Kan*. The *Kan* is ſo glad that the *Caravan* takes that Road, that he preſents the *Caravan-Baſhi* and thoſe that go with him, with the Garment of Honour, or the Calaat, the Bonnet, and Girdle; which is the greateſt Honour that the King or his Governour can do to Strangers.

From *Salamaſtre* to *Tauris*, days. 4

In all thirty-two days journey this way from *Aleppo* to *Tauris*. But though this be the ſhorteſt cut, and where they pay leaſt Cuſtoms, yet the Merchants dare hardly venture for fear of being ill us'd by the *Beys*.

Teren, whoſe Capital City the *Perſians* call *Cherijar*, is a Province between *Mazandran* and the ancient Region of the *Perſians* known at this day by the name of *Hierac*, to the South-Eaſt of *Iſpahan*. 'Tis one of the moſt temperate Countries, that has nothing in it of the contagious Air of *Guilan*, where the King goes for the purity of the Air, and for his ſport of Hunting; beſides, that it produceth excellent Fruits in many places. The Capital City whereof, which ſome call by the name of the *Province*, is of a moderate compaſs, but there is nothing worthy obſervation in it: only a League from it are to be ſeen the Ruines of a great City, which had

had been two Leagues in Circuit. There were abundance of Towers all of burnt Brick, and Pieces of the Wall standing. There were also several Letters in the Stones which were cemented into the Walls; but neither *Turks*, *Persians*, nor *Arabians* could understand them. The City is round seated upon a high Hill, at the top whereof stood the Ruines of a Castle, which the Natives say was the Residence of the Kings of *Persia*.

CHAP. V.

The Road from Aleppo *to* Ispahan *through the small Desert, and through* Kengavar.

I Will describe this Road as if I were to return from *Ispahan* to *Aleppo*. This Road lies through *Kengavar*, *Bagdat*, and *Anna*, where you enter into the Desert, which I call *The little Desart*, because you get over it in far less time than the great Desert that extends Southwards to *Arabia the Happy*, and where you may often find Water, all the whole Journey being not far distant from the River *Euphrates*. A man that is well mounted may ride this way from *Ispahan* to *Aleppo* in three and thirty day, as I have done, and perhaps in less, if the *Arabian*, whom you take for your guide at *Bagdat*, knows the shortest cut through the Wilderness.

The Horse *Caravans* travelling from *Ispahan* to *Kengaver* are fourteen or fifteen days upon the Road; but being well mounted ten or twelve in a Company, you may Ride it in five or six days. The Country through which you travel, is very fertile in Corn and Rice, it produces also excellent Fruits and good Wine, especially about *Kengavar*, which is a large Town well peopl'd.

From *Kengavar* to *Bagdat* I was ten days upon the Road. The Country is not so fertile but very stony in some parts. And it consists in Plains and small Hills, there being not a Mountain in all the Road.

Now for a man that travels quick, the Road lies thus:

From *Ispahan* to *Consar*.
From *Consar* to *Comba*.
From *Comba* to *Oranguiè*.
From *Oranguiè* to *Naboüand*.
From *Naboüand* to *Kengavar*.
From *Kengavar* to *Sahana*.
From *Sahana* to *Polisha*, or the Bridge-Royal, being a great Stone Bridge.
From *Polisha* to *Maidacht*.
From *Maidacht* to *Erounabad*.
From *Erounabad* to *Conaguy*.
From *Conaguy* to *Castlisciren*.
From *Castlisciren* to *Iengui-Conaguy*.
From *Iengui-Conaguy* to *Casered*.
From *Casered* to *Charaban*.
From *Charaban* to *Bourous*.
From *Bourous* to *Bagdat*.

There are some, who instead of passing through *Kengavar*, take *Amadan*, one of the most considerable Cities of *Persia* in their way, and so from thence to *Touchiré*; but the way is longer; and according to the Road which I have set down you are to leave *Amadan* to the North upon the right hand.

Between *Sahana* and *Polisha* you leave the only high Mountain in all the Road to the North. It is as steep and as straight as a Wall, and as high as you can see; you may observe the Figures of men clad like Priests, with Surplices and Censors in their hands, and yet neither can the Natives tell you, nor any person imagin the meaning of those Sculptures. At the foot of the Rock runs a River, over which there is a Bridge of Stone.

About

About a days journey beyond the Mountain you meet with a little City, whose situation, the Streams that water it, the good Fruits that grow there, and particularly the excellent Wine which it affords, render a most pleasant Mansion. The *Persians* believe that *Alexander* when he return'd from *Babylon* dy'd in this place, whatever others have writt'n that he dy'd at *Babylon*. All the rest of the Country from this City to *Bagdat* is a Country of Dates, where the people live in little Hutts, made of the Branches of Palm-trees.

From *Bagdat* to *Anna* you ride in four days, through a desert Country, though it lye between two Rivers.

Anna is a City of an indifferent bigness, that belongs to an *Arabian Emir*. For about half a League round about the Town, the Lands are very well manur'd, being full of Gardens and Country-houses. The City for its situation resembles *Paris*; for it is built upon both sides of the River *Euphrates*; and in the midst of the River is an Island, where stands a fair *Mosquee*.

From *Anna* to *Mached-raba* is five days riding, and from *Mached-raba* to *Taïba*, five days more.

Mached-raba is a kind of a Fortress upon the point of a Hill, at the Foot whereof springs a Fountain like a large Vase, which is very rare in the Deserts. The place is encompass'd with high Walls, defended by certain Towers, and in which are little Hutts where the Inhabitants keep their Cattel, of which there is great store, but more Mares and Horses than Cows.

Taïba is also a fortifi'd place in a level Country, or a high Bank of Earth and Brick bak'd in the Sun. Near to the Gate a Fountain springs out of the Earth, and makes a kind of a Pond. This Road is most frequented by those that travel through the Desert from *Aleppo* or *Damas* to *Babylon*, or from *Damas* to *Diarbequir*, by reason of this Fountain.

From *Taïba* to *Aleppo* is but three days journey; but these three days are the most dangerous of all the Road for Robbers, in regard that all the Country is inhabited only by the *Bedoüins*, or *Arabian* Shepherds, who make it their business only to plunder and steal.

Now to take the same Road from *Aleppo* to *Ispahan*, it lyes thus:

From *Aleppo* to *Taïba*, days	3
From *Taïba* to *Mached-raba*, days	5
From *Mached-raba* to *Anna*, days	5
From *Anna* to *Bagdat*, days	4
From *Bagdat* to *Bourous*, days	1
From *Bourous* to *Charaban*, days	1
From *Charaban* to *Casered*, days	1
From *Casered* to *Conaguy*, days	1
From *Conaguy* to *Cassiscerin*, days	1
From *Cassiscerin* to another *Conaguy*, days	1
From *Conaguy* to *Erounabad*, days	1
From *Erounabad* to *Maidacht* days	1
From *Maidacht* to *Sahana*, days	1
From *Sahana* to *Kengavar*, days	1
From *Kengavar* to *Naboüand*, days	1
From *Naboüand* to *Oranguie*, days	1
From *Oranguie* to *Comba*, days	1
From *Comba* to *Consar*, days	1
From *Consar* to *Ispahan*, days	1

So that whether you travel from *Aleppo* to *Ispahan*, or from *Ispahan* to *Aleppo* you may easily ride it in thirty days.

From whence I make this Observation, That a man making it but two days more from *Alexandretta*, and finding a Ship ready there to set sail for *Marseilles*, with a fair Wind he may travel from *Ispahan* to *Paris* in two months.

Another time, having an occasion to go from *Aleppo* to *Kengavar*, and so to *Bagdat*; and from thence, so through the Desert; at *Bagdat* I met with a *Spaniard* that was travelling the same way, with whom I luckily met to bear half the Charges of the Gulde; which as soon as we had hir'd for sixty Crowns, we set forward from

Bagdat

Bagdat; the *Spaniard*, and I, and our *Arabian*, who was afoot, walk'd about a Piſtol Shot before our Horſes. From thence to *Anna* we met with nothing remarkable, but only that we ſaw a Lyon and a Lyoneſs in the Act of Generation: Whereupon our Guide believing we had been afraid, told us, that he had met them oft'n, but that he never found them do any harm.

The *Spaniard* according to the humour of his Nation, was very reſerv'd, and contenting himſelf with an Onion, or ſome ſuch ſmall matter at meals, never made much of his guide; whereas I was mightily in his favour, in regard there was never a day paſs'd wherein he did not receive of me ſome good buſineſs or other. We were not above a Muſquet Shot from *Anna* when we met with a comely old man, who came up to me, and taking my Horſe by the Bridle; Friend, ſaid he, come and waſh thy feat and eat Bread at my Houſe. Thou art a Stranger, and ſince I have met thee upon the Road, never refuſe me the favour which I deſire of thee. The Invitation of the old man was ſo like the cuſtom of the people in ancient times, of which we read ſo many Examples in Scripture, that we could not chooſe but go along with him to his Houſe, where he Feaſted us in the beſt manner he could, giving us over and above Barly for our Horſes; and for us he kill'd a Lamb and ſome Hens. He was an Inhabitant of *Anna*, and liv'd by the River, which we were oblig'd to croſs to wait upon the Governour for our Paſſports, for which we paid two *Piaſters* apiece. We ſtaid at a Houſe near the Gate of the City to buy Proviſions for our ſelves and our Horſes; where the woman of the Houſe having a lovely ſprightly Child of nine years of age, I was ſo taken with her humour, that I gave her two Handkerchiefs of Painted Calicut, which the Child ſhewing her Mother, all we could do could not make her take any Money for the Proviſions we had agreed for.

Five hundred paces from the Gate of the City, we met a young man of a good Family, for he was attended by two Servants, and rode upon an Aſs, the hinder part of which was Painted red. He accoſted me in particular, and after ſome Compliments that paſs'd, *Is it poſſible*, ſaid he, *that I ſhould meet a Stranger, and have nothing to preſent him withal?* He would fain have carry'd us to a Houſe in the Country whither he was going; but ſeeing we were reſolv'd to keep our way, he would needs give me his Pipe, notwithſtanding all the excuſes I could make, and though I told him that I never took any Tobacco; ſo that I was conſtrain'd to accept of it.

About three Leagues from *Anna*, we were going to eat among the Ruines of certain Houſes, and had thought to have lain there 'till midnight, when we perceiv'd two *Arabians* ſent by the *Emir*, to tell us that he had ſome Letters which he would put into our own hands to the *Baſha* of *Aleppo*, to which purpoſe he had order to bring us back. There was no refuſing, ſo that at our coming into the City the next day we ſaw the *Emir* going to the *Moſquée*, mounted upon a ſtately Horſe, and attended by a great number of people afoot, with every one a great Poniard ſtuck in their Girdles. As ſoon as we ſaw him we alighted, and ſtanding up by the Houſes, we ſaluted him as he paſs'd by. Seeing our Guide, and threatning to rip up his Belly; *Ye Dog*, ſaid he, *I will give ye your reward, and teach ye to carry Strangers away before I ſee them.* Carry them, ſaid he, to the Governours Houſe 'till I return from the *Moſquée*. Returning from the *Moſquée*, and being ſeated in a ſpacious Hall, he ſent for us and our Guide, whom he threatned again for carrying us out of the Town without giving him notice. But the Governour pleaded his excuſe, and appeas'd the *Emir*. After that he ſent for Coffee for us, and then caus'd us to open the Budget that we carry'd behind our Horſes, to ſee whether there were any thing that pleas'd him or no. In my Budget were two pieces of Calicut exquiſitely painted, for two Coverlets of a Bed; two pieces of Handkerchief of Calicut; two *Perſian* Standiſhes beautify'd with *Japon* Varniſh; two Damaſcene Blades, one inlaid with Gold, the other with Silver. All which he lik'd, and made me give him. In the *Spaniards* Budget he found nothing but a few old Clothes: But afterwards being known to have had ſome Diamonds about him, the *French Conſul* at *Aleppo* ſentenc'd him to pay me half the charges of what I gave the *Emir*.

The Prince ſatisfi'd with what he had tak'n, gave order that we ſhould be furniſh'd with all neceſſary Proviſions for our ſelves and our Horſes: but being provided before,

before, we only took three or four handfuls of excellent Dates, to ſhew that we did not ſlight his kindneſs.

Between *Anna* and *Macbed-raba* is the Guide to take ſpecial care ſo to order his Stages, as to come every morning to the Wells by break of day, for fear of meeting the *Arabs*, that come to fetch Water there by that time the Sun is up, who are apt enough to be injurious to Travellers.

At *Macbed-raba* I ſaw one of the moſt beautiful Virgins that ever I beheld in my life. For I had given a *Piaſter* to an *Arab* to get me ſome Bread, and going to ſee whether it were bak'd, I found the Virgin putting it into the Oven, who being alone, made me a ſign to retire. There I alſo ſaw a Colt of that wonderful ſhape, that the *Baſha* of *Damas* had offer'd three thouſand Crowns for it.

Coming to *Taïba*, we did not go into the Town, but lay without under the Walls. Only our *Arab* went in and brought us chopt Straw for our Camels. The Governour of the Town came along with him, and demanded twenty *Piaſters* of every one, for certain Duties which he pretended payable to him. We knew there were but four due, and refus'd to pay any more; but the *Arab* having a mind to put a trick upon the *Spaniard*, gave me a wink, intimating to me that I ſhould not trouble my ſelf: Thereupon the Governour incens'd goes back to the Town, and by and by returns with an Iron Chain; and had certainly carry'd the *Spaniard* fetter'd to the Fort, had he not laid down the twenty *Piaſters*. For my part, I was diſcharg'd for my four *Piaſters*, according to cuſtom.

Drawing near to *Aleppo*, the firſt Houſes that we came at bordering upon the Deſert were the Houſes of the *Arabs* and *Bedoüins*; the ſecond of which being the Habitation of a Friend of our Guide's, I deliver'd my Horſe to the Guide, to whom I had ſold it before at his own earneſt requeſt; for I was reſolv'd to go a-foot to *Aleppo*: and therefore that I might ſave the Cuſtom of a parcel of Turquoiſes that I had about me, I put them in the Pouches which I carry'd behind my Horſe, and threw the Pouches into a little Cheſt, as if they had been things of no conſequence; and deſir'd the Man of the Houſe to keep them a day or two. The *Arab* told me, that were it all Gold it ſhould be ſafe; and indeed when I ſent for them within a day or two after, I found nothing miſſing.

When I came to *Aleppo*, the *Engliſh* Conſul ask'd me what news from *Iſpahan*: I made anſwer, that he muſt of neceſſity know better than I, in regard the *Engliſh* Preſident there had ſent away an Expreſs to him while I was there; and that he went away with two *Capuchins* and an *Arabian* Guide. There upon the Conſul miſtruſting ſome miſchief was befal'n them, requeſted the *Baſha* to lend him ſome of his Soldiers; who readily granted him eight Men, part *Arabians*, part *Bedoüins*. Theſe the Conſul order'd to diſperſe themſelves upon ſeveral Roads in the Wilderneſs, to ſee if they could meet with any tidings upon the Way. In a ſhort time two of them return'd with two little Pouches, in one of which was the Packet of Letters. They reported alſo, that in a by-place between *Taïba* and *Macbed-raba* they ſaw the Bodies of four dead Men lying upon the Sand. One of them which was in black Clothes, being hack'd and mangled in a moſt miſerable manner; but the Bodies of the other three were entire, though run through in ſeveral places. Some time after the perſons themſelves that did the fact told both at *Diarbequir* and *Damas*, how it came to paſs. For certain Merchants of *Damas* going to *Diarbequir*, perceiv'd four Men early in the morning at certain Wells where they were to ſtop; whereupon they ſent two of their Company before to know who they were. But the *Auſtin*-Frier having a little parcel of Diamonds about him, and believing them to be Thieves, inconſiderately let fly his Gun and kill'd one of them immediately upon the place: the Merchants ſeeing one of their companions dead, fell all at once upon the other three, cut the *Auſtin*-Frier to pieces, and ſlew the reſt; and ſo without rifling them purſu'd their Journey.

From *Aleppo* I went to *Alexandretta*, and there embarqu'd in a Veſſel of *Marſeilles*, with a favourable Wind, 'till we came to make the Coaſt of *Candy*, where we were becalm'd for two days. One morning by break of day we diſcover'd a Pickaroon, whereupon ſeeing we could not avoid being fetch'd up by him, we made ready. He made two or three ſhot at us, which did us no other harm but only touch'd the Beak-head of the Ship. Our Gunner made a ſhot at him, which brought down his Top-gallant; a ſecond went through and through the great Carbin,

and

and caus'd a great disorder in his Ship, as far as we could discern with our Prospective-Glasses. But when the Wind began to blow fresh, the Pirate, who had enough of us, and had discover'd another Vessel which perhaps he thought better prize, made all the Sail he could from us toward the other Vessel. Thereupon we pursu'd our Voyage with a fair Gale, and came to *Malta*.

From *Malta* we departed seven or eight in company, in two of the Pope's Gallies, staying three days at *Syracuse*, and one at *Messina*; where our Company increasing, we hir'd a Feluck for *Naples*. But as we were coasting by the Shoar to the Port of *Naples*, so terrible a Tempest surpriz'd us near to *Paolo*, that we were forc'd to put in there upon *Palm-Sunday*. The next day we went to see the Covent of St. *Francis* of *Paolo*; the way to it lying between a high Mountain on the right, and a Precipice on the left hand. This Mountain leans so, that it seems to be tumbling down; and there is a good height upon the Rock the seeming print of a Hand, which as the report goes, was the print of St. *Francis*'s Hand, who sustain'd it a whole day, and kept it from falling. From *Paolo* we went to *Naples*, where we arriv'd upon *Easter-eve*; and as we enter'd into the City, the great Guns went off round the City, in honour of the Resurrection. At *Rome* we all separated, according as our Business led us.

CHAP. VI.

Another Road from Constantinople *to* Ispahan, *by the* Euxin *or Black Sea; with some Remarks upon the principal Cities thereabouts.*

THere are three Roads yet remaining, leading out of *Europe* into *Persia* or the *Indies*. That of *Constantinople*, all along the Coasts of the Black Sea; that of *Warsovia*, crossing the same Sea at *Trebisond*; and that of *Mosco*, down the *Volga*, which has been amply describ'd by *Olearius*, Secretary to the Embassy of the Duke of *Holstein*. In this and the next Chapter I shall describe the Way from *Constantinople*, all along the Black Sea, and that from *Warsovia*, not knowing any person that has hitherto mention'd any thing upon this subject. And first of all I will give a short Description of the principal Places that lye upon that Sea, as well upon the side of *Europe* as of *Asia*, with the just distances of one Place from another.

The principal Cities upon the Black Sea, on the Coast of Europe.

From *Constantinople* to *Varna* they count it two hundred Miles, four of which make an *Alman* League; miles

From *Varna* to *Balshiké*, miles 200

From *Balshiké* to *Bengali*, miles 36

From *Bengali* to *Constance*, miles 70

From *Constance* to *Queli*, miles 60

Near to this City of *Queli* the great Arm of *Danow* throws it self into the Black Sea. Here is the grand Fishery for Sturgeon. 25

From *Queli* to *Aquerman*, miles 50

The City of *Aquerman* belongs to a *Kan* of the lesser *Tartary*; but it is not the place of his residence, for he keeps his Court at *Basha-Serrail*, twenty-five miles up in the Land.

From *Aquerman* to *Kefet* or *Kaffa*, miles 350

This is a great City, and a place of great Trade, wherein there are above a thousand Families of the *Armenians*, and about five hundred *Greeks*. They have every one their Bishop, and several Churches. St. *Peter's* is the biggest, very large and very beautiful; but it falls to decay, because the Christians have not Wealth

enough to repair it. Every Christian above fifteen years of age, pays a *Piaster* and a half tribute to the *Grand Signor*, who is Lord of the City; and he sends a *Bassa* that lives in the ancient City call'd *Frink-Hesser*. However the *Kan* of the Lesser *Tartary* extends his Jurisdiction as far as the Gates of *Kaffa*.

From *Kaffa* to *Assaque*, miles 70

Assaque is the last City in *Europe*, belonging also to the Grand *Signor*. By it runs a great River of the same name, the other side being in the Territories of the Duke of *Moscovy*. Down this River come the *Cossacks* that do so much mischief to the *Turks*. For sometimes they come with threescore or fourscore *Gelias* which are a kind of *Brigantines*, the bigger sort of which carry a hundred and fifty men, the less a hundred. Sometimes they divide themselves into two parts, one of which makes Havock toward *Constantinople*, the other Ravages the Coast of *Asia*, as far as *Trebizond*.

The Coast of *Europe* bord'ring upon the Black Sea is 861 miles in length.

The chief Citys upon the Black Sea on the Coast of Asia, *which is 1170 miles in length.*

From *Constantinople* to *Neapoli*, miles 250

In this City are made the greatest part of the Galleys and Vessels that belong to the Grand *Signor*.

From *Neapoli* to *Sinabe*, miles 250
From *Sinabe* to *Ouma*, miles 240
From *Ouma* to *Kerason*, miles 150
From *Kerason* to *Trebisond*, miles 80
From *Trebisond* to *Rise*, miles 100
From *Rise* to *Guni*, miles 100

The City of *Guni* belongs half to the Grand *Signor*, and half to the King of *Mengrelia*, with whom he keeps a good Correspondence, because the greatest part of the Steel and Iron that is spent in *Turky* comes out of *Mengrelia* through the Black Sea.

The only good Ports upon the Black Sea from *Constantinople* to *Mengrelia*, are,

Quitros, *Sinabe*, or *Sinope*, *Onnye*, *Samsom*, *Trebisond*, *Gommé*.

The Haven of *Quitros* is very deep, and the Vessels lie shelter'd from the winds, but the entrance into it is very bad, which only the Pilots of the place, or they who have often accustom'd themselves to that Trade can only find out. It seems that anciently there had been most stately Buildings round about the Port; and several noble Pillars are to be seen all along the shore, not to speak of those which have been Transported to *Constantinople*. Near the City towards the South stands a high Mountain, whence there flows good store of excellent Water, which at the bottom gathers into one Fountain.

To go from *Constantinople* for *Persia* by Sea, you must embark at *Constantinople* for *Trebisond*, and many times for *Rise* or *Guni*, which are more to the North. They that Land at *Trebisond* go directly to *Erzerom*, which is not above five days Journey off, and from *Erzerom* to *Erivan* or *Tunis*. But there are few that will venture upon this Sea where there is no good Anchorage; besides that it is subject to prodigious Tempests, from which there are very few good Ports to defend them; which is the reason it is call'd *Cara-denguis*, or the Black Sea: The Eastern people giving to all things, mischievous and dangerous, the Epither of Black.

They that are Bound for *Rise* or *Guni*, go to *Tessis* the Capital City of *Giorgia*, and thence to *Erivan*, for though the way be bad yet it is far better and smoother than the Road to *Tauris*.

The principal places from *Tessis* to *Erivan* are these, together with their respective distances.

From *Tessis* to *Soganlouk*, leagues 3
From *Soganlouk* to *Senouk-kupri*, leagues 7
From *Senouk-kupri* to *Guilkae*, leagues 7
From *Guilkae* to *Dakeou*, leagues 6

From

From *Dakſon* to *Achikent*, leagues 6
From *Achikent* to *Dillon*, leagues 6
From *Dillon* to *Yazegi*, leagues 6
From *Yazegi* to *Bicheni*, leagues 4
From *Bicheni* to *Erivan*, leagues 2
From *Erivan* you keep the ordinary Road to *Tauris*.

CHAP. VII.

The Road from Warſow *to* Iſpahan, *over the Black Sea, and from* Iſpahan *to* Moſco; *with the Names of the principal Cities and Iſlands of* Turky *according to the vulgar pronunciation and as they are call'd in the Language of the* Turks.

FRom *Warſow* upon the left hand of the *Viſtula*, the ordinary reſidence of the Kings of *Poland*, to *Lublin*, days 6
From *Lublin* to *Iluove*, days 5
There all the Bales are open'd, and the Cuſtomers take Five in the Hundred for their Merchandize.
From *Iluove* to *Jaſſowieer*, days 12
This is the laſt City of *Poland* toward *Moldavia*, where if you ſell any quantity of Goods you muſt pay Five *per Cent.*
From *Jaſſowieer* to *Taſhé*, days 8
This is the Capital City of *Moldavia*, and is the Reſidence of the *Vaywood* which the Grand *Signor* ſends to govern in the Country. There they open all the Bales, and there is a Roll of what every Merchant ought to pay, which may amount to Five *per Cent.*
From *Taſhé* to *Ourſhaye*, days 3
This is the laſt City of *Moldavia*, where there is no Cuſtom to be paid.
From *Ourſhaye* to *Akerman*, days 4
Here they never open the Bales, but they take Four in the Hundred.
From *Akerman* to *Ozou*, days 3
Here they never open the Bales, but the Cuſtom amounts to two *per Cent.*
From *Ozou* to *Precop*, days 5
Neither do they here open the Bales, but truſt to the Merchant's word, and the Cuſtoms amount to Two and a half *per Cent.*
From *Precop* to *Kaffa*, days 5
Nor are the Bales open'd here, but the Cuſtom comes to Three *per Cent.*

Thus from *Warſow* to *Kaffa* the Journey takes up one and fifty days, in the Wagon, which is the manner of Carriage in thoſe Countries. All the Cuſtoms amount to Eighteen and a half *per Cent.* to which you muſt add the Cartiage, and Paſſage by Sea to *Trebizond*: where you pay three *Piaſters* for every Mules-load, and four for every Camels-load.

Obſerve by the way, that the *Armenians* do not uſually take ſhipping at *Trebizond* but go to another Port more to the Weſt, upon the ſame Coaſt, where they never pay above a *Piaſter* and a half for a Camels load. This Port, call'd *Onnie*, is a very good Haven; and there is another a little farther off, call'd *Samſon*, which is no bad one, but the Air is unwholſom and dang'rous.

There is alſo another Road from *Warſow* to *Trebizond*, ſhorter by three days journey.

From *Warſow* to *Taſhé*, according to the Road already ſet down, days 31
From *Taſhé* to *Galas*, days 8

All Merchandize is Tax'd at this place, and the Duties are tak'n at *Galas*, according to the Note which the Merchant brings from *Galas*. *Galas* is a City of *Moldavia*.

From *Galas* to *Megin*, days

The Bales are not open'd here, but the Merchant pays three and a half, or four *per Cent.*

From *Megin* to *Mangalia*, days 1

This is one of the four Ports to the West upon the Black Sea, and the best of all.

The three others toward the South upon the Coast are *Kavarna*, *Balgik*, and *Varna*. At *Mangalia* they demand but half a *Piaster* for every Bale. Crossing from thence to *Trebisond* you have five days Journey to *Erzerom*.

Now to the Road of *Muscovy*; which having been exactly describ'd by *Olearius*, going into *Persia*, I will describe it returning out of *Persia*.

Having led the Reader to *Shamaqui*, I will return home from thence.

From *Shamaqui* to *Derbent*, days 7

Derbent, which the *Turks* call *Demir-Capi*, is the last City within the Jurisdiction of the *Persians*; by which there runs a River which is call'd *Shamourka*.

From *Derbent* to *Tetarck*, days 8

By this Town runs a River which is call'd *Bocan*.

From *Tetarck* to *Astracan* they hire small Barks with a dozen Oars. All along the shoar the Osiers grow so very thick, that they afford shelter for the Barks in fowl weather. If the Wind serve they will put up a little Sail and be at *Astracan* in four or five hours; but if they only Row, they cannot be there in nine.

When you Embark upon the *Caspian* Sea, where you only creep along by the shore, you must provide your self with Water for the three first days, in regard the Water is bitter and ill tasted all along the Coast all that while; but for the rest of the Voyage it is very good. If you carry heavy Goods, you may hire large Boats to save Charges.

When you come to *Astracan* you unlade your Goods; at what time the Officer comes, and sealing up every Bale, causes them to be sent to the Merchants Lodging. Three days after the Customer comes to op'n the Bales, and takes five *per Cent.* If the Merchant happ'n to want money, and takes it up at *Astracan*, to pay again at *Moscow*, he pays sometimes thirty *per Cent.* according to the Rate of Gold *Ducats*.

If a Merchant have any Diamonds, or any other Jewels, and let it be known, he pays five *per Cent.* But if a Merchant have any Jewels, or any other Rarities, and tells the Governour that he intends to carry them to the Grand Duke; the Governour sends a Convoy with him either by Land or Water, that costs him nothing: and moreover sends a Courrier before to the Court, to give Notice of his coming. There is very good Wine at *Astracan*; but better at *Shamaqui*, where I advise the Traveller to provide himself.

From *Astracan* to *Moscow*, you take Shipping in great Barques, that make use both of Oars and Sails, rowing against the Tide, and weigh whatever you put Aboard, to a very Coverlet. Generally you pay for every pound fourteen *Caya*, and three *Abassi's* and a half, and an *Abassi* makes eighteen *Sous* and three *Deniers*.

In *Muscovy*, they reckon the way neither by Leagues nor Miles, but by *Shagerons*, five of which make an *Italian* Mile.

From *Astracan* to *Courmija*, *Shagerons* 300
From *Courmija* to *Sariza*, *sha.* 200
From *Sariza*, to *Sarataf*, *sha.* 350
From *Sarataf* to *Samarat*, *sha.* 200
From *Samarat* to *Semirikat*, *sha.* 300
From *Semirikat* to *Coulombe*, *sha.* 150
From *Coulombe* to *Casan*, *sha.* 200
This is a great City with a stout Fortress
From *Casan* to *Sabouk-sha*, *sha.* 200
From *Sabouk-sha* to *Godamijan*, *sha.* 120
From *Godamijan* to *Niguina*, *sha.* 280
Niguina is a large and well Fortifi'd Castle
From *Niguina* to *Mouron*, *sha.* 300

From

From *Mouron* to *Casin*, *sha.* 100
From *Casin* to *Moscow*, *sha.* 250
So that from *Astracan* to *Moscow* they count it *sha.* 2950
which makes 590 *Italian* miles.

At *Sarataf* you may go ashore, and so by Land to *Moscow*. When the Snow is gone you travel in Wagons, but when the Snow lies, in Sledges. If a man be alone, and that his Goods weigh not above two hundred pounds *Paris* weight, they put them into two Bales; and laying them upon the Horses back set the man in the middle, paying for Carriage as much as from *Astracan* to *Moscow*.

From *Saratof* by Land to *Inserat*, days 10
From *Inserat* to *Tymnek*, days 6
From *Tymnek* to *Canquerma*, days 8
From *Canquerma* to *Volodimer*, day 6

Volodimer is a City bigger than *Constantinople*, where stands a fair Church upon a Mountain in the City, having been formerly the residence of the Emperours themselves.

From *Volodimer* to *Moscow*, days 5
In all, days 35

Observe by the way that they never go ashore at *Seratof* but in case of necessity, when the River begins to be Frozen. For from *Seratof* to *Inserat* is a Journey of ten days, in all which time there is nothing to be had, either for Horse or Man. The Custom is the same at *Moscow* as at *Astracan*, that is Five *per Cent.* All the *Asiaticks*, *Turks*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, and others, lodge in a sort of Inns: but the *Europeans* lie in a place by themselves altogether.

The Names of some Cities and places belonging to the Empire of the Grand Signor, *as they are vulgarly call'd, and in* Turkish.

Constantinople after it was taken by *Mahomet* the second, the twenty seventh of *May*, 1453, was call'd by the *Turks Istam-Bol*; *Istam* signifying *Security*, and *Bol*, *Spacious*, *large*, or *great*, as much as to say, *Great Security*.

Vulgar,	*Turkish.*
Adrianople,	Edrené.
Burse,	Brousa.
Belgrade,	Beligrade.
Buda,	Boudim.
Grand Caire,	Mesr.
Alexandretta in *Egypt*,	Iskendrié.
Mecca,	Meqquié.
Balsara,	Basra.
Babylon,	Bagdat.
Nineveh,	Mousoul.
Nisibis,	Nisbin.
Edessa,	Ourfa:
Tiqueranger,	Diarbequir.
Eva-togea,	Tokat.
Teve Toupolis,	Erzerom.
Shamiramager,	Van.
Jerusalem,	Koutsheriff.
Damas,	Cam.
Tripoli in *Syria*,	Cam Taraboulous.
Aleppo,	Haleb.
Tripoli in *Barbary*,	Taraboulous,
Tunis,	Tunis.
Algier.	Gezaiir.
Candy,	Guirir.
Rhodes,	Rodes.
Cyprus,	Kebres.

Chio,

Chio,	Sakes.
Methelin,	Medilli.
Smyrna,	Izmir.
Troy,	Eski Iſtamboul
Lemnos,	Limio.
Tenedos,	Bogge-adaſi.
Negropont,	Eghirbos.
The *Dardanels*,	Bogaz-ki.
Athens,	Atina.
Barut,	Biroult.
Seyde,	Saida.
Tyre,	Sour.
St. *John* of *Dacres*,	Acra.
Antioch,	Antexia.
Trebizond,	Tarabozan.
Sinopus,	Sinap.

In the Fortreſs of *Sinopus*, at the lower part of the Wall there is a Stone to be ſeen, where there is an Inſcription in *Latin* abbreviated, with the word *Rome* in it; whence ſome conjecture may be made that the *Romans* built it.

The Mediterranean Sea,	Akdeniis.
The Ocean,	Derijay Mouhiit.
The Black Sea,	Kara-Deniis.

CHAP. VIII.

Remarks upon the Trade of the Iſland of Candy, *and the principal Iſles of the* Archipelago, *as alſo upon ſome of the Cities of* Greece *adjoyning; with a particular Relation of the preſent Condition of the Grand* Signor's *Galleys, belonging as well to the Iſles as to the Continent.*

Of the ISLAND of CANDY.

OUT of the Iſland of *Candy* Strangers export great ſtore of Wheat and Sallet-Oyl, all ſorts of Pulſe, Cheeſe, yellow Wax, Cottons, Silks, but more eſpecially Malmſey, wherein conſiſts its chiefeſt Trade. When Vintage draws near, the Country-people that are to gather the Grapes wrap their Feet in a piece of a Boar's Skin, which they tye together upon the upper part of the Foot with a piece of Pack-thred, to preſerve their Feet from the violent heat of the Rocks upon which they are to tread. Thoſe Skins are brought out of *Ruſſia* by the *Ruſſes*, that bring Botargo and Caviare to *Conſtantinople*, where they have a vaſt vent for it all over *Turky*, *Perſia*, and *Ethiopia*; where they that follow the *Greek* and *Armenian* Church, eat little or nothing elſe all the *Lent*. By the way take notice, that the *Turks* make a certain Glew out of Sturgeon, which is the beſt in the World, ſo that whatever is faſten'd with it, will rather break in another place than where it is glew'd. They make it thus: When they have caught a Sturgeon, they pull out his Guts, and then there remains a Skin that covers the Fleſh; this Skin they take off from the head to the belly. It is very clammy, and about the thickneſs of two Sheets of Paper, which they roll as thick as a Man's Arm, and let it dry in the Sun. When they uſe it, they beat it with a Mallet, and when it is well beat'n they break it into pieces, and ſteep it in Water for half an hour in a little Pot.

When the *Venetians* were Maſters of *Candy*, they that had committed any Crime which deſerv'd Death, if they could get out of the Iſland before they were apprehended

hended, went directly to *Constantinople*, to beg their pardon. For you must know, that no person but the Ambassador of the Commonwealth of *Venice* had the Priviledge to pardon Crimes committed in *Candy*. For example, when Signor *Dervisano* was Ambassador for the Common-wealth of *Venice* at *Constantinople*, a *Candiot* having a desire to lye with a Woman by force, she told him she would sooner eat her Child's Liver than yield to his Lust. Whereupon, the Villain enrag'd he could not compass his design, took his opportunity, kill'd the Child, cut out the Liver, and made the Mother eat it, and then slew the Mother also. Upon this he fled to *Constantinople*, to beg pardon of the Ambassador, and obtain'd it there: But the Ambassador at the same time wrote word to the Governour of *Candy* to put him to death at his return; having only granted him his Pardon, to preserve his Priviledge. And indeed, to speak truth, the *Candiots* are the most wretched people under Heaven.

Of the ISLAND *of* CHIO.

THE City of *Chio*, which gives the Island its Name, contains about thirty thousand Inhabitants; where there are little less than fifteen thousand *Greeks*, eight thousand *Latins*, and six thousand *Turks*.

Among the several *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, the last of which hath continu'd ever since the time that the *Genoeser* possess'd the Island, there are some indifferent handsom Structures. The five principal *Latin* Churches are the Cathedral, and the Churches belonging to the *Escolantines*, the *Dominicans*, the *Jesuites*, and the *Capuchins*. The *Turks* have also their *Mosquees*, and the *Jews* their *Synagogue*.

Four Miles from the City, near to the Sea-side is to be seen a vast Stone, which was cut out of some Rock; it is almost all round, only the upper part, which is flat, and somewhat hollow; round about the upper part, and in the middle, are places like Seats, cut into the same Stone; of which there is one higher than the rest, like a School-master's Chair; and Tradition reports that this was *Homer*'s School, where he taught his Scholars.

In this Island there is such an infinite number of Partridges that the like is not to be found in any part of the World. But that which is a greater Rarity is this, that the Natives breed them up, as we do our Poultry, but after a more pleasant manner; for they let them go in the fields all the day long, and at night every Country-man calls his own severally home to Roost by a particular Note, whither they return like a Flock of so many Geese.

There are great quantities of Damasks and Fustians wrought in the Island of *Chio*, which are transported to Grand *Cairo*, and to all the Cities upon the Coast of *Barbary*, *Natolia*, and particularly to *Constantinople*.

Three Leagues from the Island of *Chio*, upon a Mountain to the South there grows a peculiar sort of Trees; the Leaves are somewhat like a Myrtle, their Branches so long that they creep upon the ground; but which is more wonderful, that when they are down, they rise again of themselves. From the beginning of *May* to the end of *June*, the Inhabitants take great care to keep the Earth under the Tree very clean; for during those two Months there issues out a certain Gum from the joynts of the Branches, which drops upon the ground; this is that which we call *Mastick*, and the *Turks*, *Sakes*, according to the Name which they give the Island. The Island produces great store of this *Mastick*, which is spent in the *Seraglio* of *Constantinople*, where the Women continually chew it, to cleanse and keep their Teeth white. When the *Mastick* Season draws near, the Grand *Signor* every year sends a certain number of *Bestangi's* to take care that it be not exported, but be preserv'd for the use of the *Seraglio*. If it be a plentiful year for *Mastick*, the *Bestangi's* that cull out the lesser sort to sell, put it into little Bags and seal it up; which Bags being so seal'd, are never question'd by the Custom-house Officers. The Island also yields very good Turpentine.

Of

Of the ISLAND *of* NAXIS.

THere is not one Port belongs to this Iſland; the Veſſels that are Bound thither for Trade, being forc'd to ſtay in the Haven of the Iſle of *Paros*, call'd *Derion* ſix miles from *Naxis*, which is one of the beſt Havens in the *Archipelago*, able to contain a thouſand Ships. There are the ruines of a Wall ſtill to be ſeen that made a Mole, where four or five Galleys might ride. There are alſo the ruines of ſeveral Houſes of the ancient Dukes, the Stables ſtanding almoſt whole, all Arch'd, and built of Marble. Theſe Dukes were alſo Lords of twelve other Iſlands. As for the Iſland it ſelf, it is well ſtor'd with Villages, and has three good Cities, *Barequa*, *Quſa*, and *Falet*.

Near this Iſland within a ſtones throw, there is a curious piece of Antiquity ſtill to be ſeen. It is a flat Rock, as big about in compaſs as the ancient Court of the *Louvre*. In the middle of this Rock it was that the Temple of *Bacchus* was built all of Marble, of which there is nothing but the Foundations that remain. The Gate is ſtill ſtanding made of three Stones, whereof two make the ſides, and the third lies acroſs. From the Iſle to this Rock there is a fair Stone Bridge of Free-ſtone, upon each ſide whereof are to be ſeen the Pipes that convey'd the Wine into the Temple, that was drank at the Feaſt of *Bacchus*. *Naxis* alſo is the Iſland that produces the beſt *Emeril*.

As to the Inhabitants themſelves, if the Husband or Wife happens to dye, the Surviver never ſtirs out of the Houſe in ſix Months after, upon any buſineſs how urgent ſoever, no not to hear Maſs. There are both *Latins* and *Greeks* in the Iſland, but the latter are the moſt numerous. There is a *Latin* Arch-biſhop, and Canons belonging to the *Metropolitan* Church, with two Religious Houſes, one of *Capuchins*, and the other of *Jeſuites*: The *Greeks* alſo have their Arch-biſhop.

The Iſland of *Naxis* is ſixſcore miles in compaſs, being one of the faireſt and pleaſanteſt Iſlands in the *Archipelago*. The ancient Dukes made it their reſidence, whence they command the greateſt part of the *Cyclades*. There is great plenty of White Salt made in *Naxis*, and it produces excellent Wine both White and Claret, which caus'd the Inhabitants to build a Temple to *Bacchus*, who according to their ancient Tradition choſe that Iſland for his Habitation. The Iſland produces excellent Fruits, feeds great ſtore of Cattle, and abounds in ſeveral other things neceſſary for human ſupport. There are alſo in it large Woods full of ſmall Deer, and frequented by a great number of Eagles and Vultures.

Here follow the names of the *Cyclades*, as the people of the Country Pronounce them.

1. *Deloa* or *Sdilis*.
2. *Giaroa*.
3. *Andros*.
4. *Paros*.
5. *Nicaria*.
6. *Samoa*.
7. *Pathmoa*.
8. *Olearoa*.
9. *Sitino*.
10. *Rhena*.
11. *Miconoa*.
12. *Tenoa* or *Tino*.
13. *Sciroa* or *Sira*.
14. *Subiuma*.
15. *Syphnus* or *Sifante*.
16. *Nixcia*.
17. *Chios* or *Scio*:
18. *Aſtypalea*.
19 *Amorgus* or *Amorgo*.

Of the Iſlands of Zea, *of* Milo, *of* Paros, *and other Iſlands of the* Archipelago.

ZE*A* is an Iſland wherein there is nothing remarkable, and from whence there is nothing to be Exported but *Valanede*, to dye Leather withal. Neither are there any Goods Imported into it but what the Pirates bring in, which are very few, in regard the Iſlanders are careful to provide themſelves otherwhere.

Milo

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The *Athenian* Merchants buy up Tiſſues, Velvets, Satins, and Cloth, with which they ſerve other Countries adjoyning. The Commodities which Foreigners export from thence, are Silks, Wool, Sponges, Wax, Cordivan-Leather, and Cheeſe. Which is all that can be ſaid in few Words, of the Trade of all theſe places.

A Particular Relation of the Gallies belonging to the Grand Signor, *as well at* Conſtantinople, *as in the Iſles and other Parts of the Empire.*

FOrmerly there lay in the Road of *Conſtantinople* above a hundred and fifty Galleys: But the Grand *Viſier* perceiving that ſo great a number did but cauſe confuſion, and that the Captain-*Baſha* could not conveniently take ſo great a burden as to look after ſuch a number, he gave order that no more than twenty-four ſhould lie in the Port of *Conſtantinople*; ſending the reſt to other Ports, as well of the Continent, as the Iſlands.

At preſent the Number of the Grand *Signor*'s Gallies is fourſcore, thus diſtributed under the Command of their ſeveral *Beys* or Captains.

At *Conſtantinople*, twenty-four under the Command of the Captain-*Baſha*, or Admiral of the Sea; who when he goes out upon any Expedition, ſends to the reſt to meet him according to Orders. When he goes in perſon to Sea, he gives to every one of his Slaves beſides their ordinary Habit a kind of Caſſock of Red Cloth, and a Bonnet of the ſame colour. But this is only in the Admiral's Gally, and at his own Coſt. His Gally carries uſually 366 Slaves, and to every Seat of the Rowers, a *Bonne Vole*. Theſe *Bonne Voles* are certain Volunteers that freely offer themſelves to the Service of the Admiral, and there is great care taken for their being well paid. Their Pay is 3500 *Aſpers* for their Voyage, which generally continues ſeven or eight Months. They feed as the other Slaves; but if they Row negligently or lazily, they are beaten worſe than the Slaves; for the Volunteers have nothing to do except it be to Row: But the Slaves are put to ſeveral other Duties. Take notice alſo that the Volunteers that ſerve in the General's Gally, have 500 *Aſpers* more than thoſe in the other Gallies, that is to ſay, 4000 *Aſpers* for their Voyage, which comes to 40 Crowns.

The Reer-Admiral carries Two hundred and fifty men, as well Slaves as Volunteers. That Galley and the great *Teſterdar*'s or Treaſurers, are the beſt provided of any in the whole Fleet: For the Reer-Admiral *Baſha* has his choice to take four of the beſt men out of every Galley for his own, or elſe to receive 3500 *Aſpers* for every man, which is paid by the Captain of the Galley; which makes him the richeſt of all the *Beys*.

The great *Teſterdar*'s Galley is one of the Twenty four Galleys of *Conſtantinople*, and he ſends a particular Treaſurer, in the quality of a Lieutenant, to command her. That Command is very much conteſted for, in regard that Galley is very well provided with all things; and for that all the Captains Court the *Teſterdar*, who, when the Galleys return to Port, rewards them according to their Merit.

The *Janizary-Aga*'s Galley is of the ſame number; but he never goes to Sea, always ſending one in his room.

The *Bey* of *Rhodes*, that takes upon him the Title of *Baſha*, has eight Galleys.

The *Bey* of *Stancho*, an Iſland about an hundred Miles from *Rhodes*, Lieutenant to the *Bey* of *Rhodes*, has one Galley.

The *Bey* of *Suſſam*, a ſmall Iſland near *Scio*, has one Galley, and his Lieutenant another. Theſe Galleys are generally appointed to watch the *Maltheſi*, and *Ligorn*.

The *Bey* of *Scio* formerly had but three; but ſince the War with *Candy*, he has had ſix.

The Lieutenant of the *Bey* of *Scio* has two Gallies. There be alſo three other *Beys* in the Iſland of *Scio*, who have no dependance upon the *Baſha* of *Scio*, but buy their Proviſions where they can find it beſt cheap.

The *Bey* of *Smyrna* and his Lieutenant have two Gallies; but they can do nothing without the Orders of the *Bey* of *Scio*.

The

The *Bey* of *Metelin* has two Gallies.

The *Bey* Cavale, a small Bay, twelve Miles on this side the *Dardanells*, upon the Coast of *Europe*, has one.

The *Bey* of *Nestrepont*, seven.

The *Bey* of *Napoli* in *Romania*, five.

The *Bey* of *Coron*, one.

The *Bey* of *Modon*, one.

The *Bey* of *Famagosta*, six.

The *Bey* of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, five.

The *Bey* of *Canée*, two Gallies.

The *Bey* of *Candia*, one.

The *Bey* of *Castel-Tourneze* or *Navarin*, two Gallies.

All these Gallies make up the number of Fourscore.

The light Gallies carry not above 196 men; the four men that are wanting of two hundred, being the *Bey*'s profit.

Every Captain is allow'd thirteen thousand *Piasters* for his Provision; and every *Christmas* he gives to every Slave a pair of Breeches, and a Cassock of course Cloth, with a scantie kind of a Cloak.

Every Slave has every day a pound and a half of good Bread, and nothing else. But upon *Friday* which is the *Mahometans Sunday*, they have hot Pease, or Beans, or Lentils boyl'd in Butter. They receive also sometimes the Alms of the *Greeks*, when they lie in any Port. But at *Constantinople* they fare somewhat better; for twice a week, as well the *Turks*, as the *Greeks* and others, come to the *Bains*, and bestow their Charity of Rice and other good Victuals. The *Bains* is the name of the place where the Sea-men are kept when they are not at Sea.

Sometimes when they are to go Sea, they will counterfeit themselves sick or lame; but they are so narrowly observ'd, that it serves them to no other purpose than to procure to themselves the more Blows.

CHAP. IX.

A Relation of the present State of Georgia.

GEORGIA, which others call *Gurgie*, or *Gurgistan*, extends Eastward to the *Caspian* Sea; and upon the West is bounded by Mountains that part it from *Mengrelia*. Formerly it was a Kingdom, all the Inhabitants whereof were Christians, of the *Armenian*, and of the *Greek* Church; but of late the *Mahometans* have got footing among them. And the King of *Persia* having fill'd them full of Divisions, has made two Kingdoms of it, which he calls Provinces; over which he has plac'd two Governors. They are generally Princes of the Country, who must turn *Mahometans* before they can be admitted to that Dignity. When they are advanc'd, they take upon them the title of Kings; and while they have any Issue, the King of *Persia* cannot dispossess their Children.

The most Potent of these two Kings, is he that resides at *Teflis*, who in the Language of the Country is call'd the King of *Cartelé*. The present King is the last that has continu'd a Christian, with his four Sons; the Eldest of which, the King of *Persia* having entic'd to Court, partly by Promises, and partly by Presents, has won to *Mahumetism*. Immediately thereupon, he caus'd him to be declar'd King of the other Province.

These two Kings have each of them a Guard of *Mahumetan* Horse-men under their own pay; and at present I believe there are in both Kingdoms near upon 12000 *Mahumetan* Families.

The King of *Teflis* coyns Money in the King of *Persia*'s Name; and the Silver which he coyns, is in *Spanish* Reals, *French* Crowns, and such other Money, which the *Armenians* bring out of *Europe* for their Goods. As to the Justice of the Countrey, neither the King himself, nor the *Mahometans* have any thing to do

with it. A thief is acquitted, paying seven-fold what he has stole; two parts whereof go to the Party robb'd, one part to the Judges, and four parts to the King. If the Thief has not wherewithal to make restitution, he is sold: If the Product do not yet equal the Sum, if he have a Wife and Children, they first sell the Wife, and if that will not do, then they sell the Children: But if the Party robb'd be so merciful, as to forgive the Thief his share, then neither the King nor the Judges can demand any thing for their share. If any man commit a Murder, they condemn him to die, and deliver him up into the hands of the Kindred of the Party slain, to do Execution as they please themselves. However, it is in their power to pardon him, if he be able to give sixty Cows or more to the next a-kin to the Party kill'd. In matter of Debt, a Creditor has Power to seize upon all the Estate of the Debtor; and if that will not satisfie, he may sell his Wife and Children.

The Christians of *Georgia* are very ignorant, especially in Matters of Religion. They learn that little they know, in the Monasteries, as also to write and read; and generally the Women and Maids are more knowing than the Men; not only because there are more Religious Houses for Women than for Men, but also because the Boys are bred up to labour, or sent to the Wars. For if a Virgin grows up, and happens to be handsom, some one or other presently endeavors to steal her, on purpose to sell her into *Turky*, *Persia*, or the Territories of the great *Mogul*. So that to prevent their being stoln, their Fathers and Mothers put them very young into Nunneries, where they apply themselves to study; wherein, if they attain to any proficiency, they usually stay as long as they live: After that, they profess, and when they come to a certain Age, they are permitted to Baptize, and to apply the holy Oyls, as well as any Bishop or Arch-Bishop can do.

The *Georgians* are very great Drinkers; and Nature has fitted them a Countrey that produces good store of Wine. They love the strongest Drinks best; for which reason, at their Feasts both men and Women drink more *Aqua vitæ* than Wine. The women never eat in publick with their Husbands; but when the man has invited his Friends, the next day the Woman invites her She-companions. And it is observable that at the Womens Festivals there is more Wine and *Aquavitæ* drank than at the mens. The Guest is no sooner enter'd into the Dining-room, but he is presented with 2 or 3 Dishes of Sweet-meats, and a Glass of half a pint of *Aquavitæ* to excite his Appetite. They are great Feeders upon Onions and Herbs, which they eat raw out of the Garden. The *Georgians* are also great Travellers, and very much addicted to Trade; they are very dexterous in shooting with Bow and Arrows, and are accounted the best Souldiers in all *Asia*. They compose a great part of the King of *Persia*'s Cavalry, who keeps them in his Court at peculiar pay, and relies very much upon their fidelity and courage. There are several also in the Service of the Great *Mogul*. The Men are very well complexion'd and very well shap'd; and for the Women, they are accounted the fairest and most beautiful of all *Asia*; and therefore out of this Country it is that the King of *Persia* chooses all his Wives, being not permitted to marry a Stranger. *Teflis*, where the Women have more liberty than in any part of *Asia*, is the Capital City of *Georgia*, well situated, large and well built, where there likewise is a great Trade in Silk.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A RELATION of the preſent State of Mengrelia.

MEngrelia extends from a Chain of Mountains, that ſeparates it from *Georgia* to the *Black-Sea*, and is now divided into three Provinces (every one of which has their King.) The firſt is call'd the Province of *Imareté*, or *Baſſa-Shiouk*, the king whereof pretends to a ſuperiority over both the other, which is the reaſon they are often at War, and that with ſo much cruelty, that when they have tak'n any Priſoners of either ſide, they ſell them into *Turky*. They are ſo accuſtom'd to ſell one another in this Country, that if a man or his wife have any occaſion for money, they will go and ſell one of their Children, and many times they will exchange a Child for Ribands or other Toyes at the Mercers Shops.

The ſecond Province is that of *Mengrelia*, and the King of this Province is call'd the King of *Dadian*.

The third is the Province of *Guriel*, the King of which Province is call'd the King of *Guriel*.

The Province of *Mengrelia* was formerly ſubject to the King of *Baſſa-Shiouk*, who ſent thither a Governor, which is call'd in their language *Dadian*.

One of thoſe Governours being a perſon of wit and courage, gain'd ſo far upon the affection of the People, that they choſe him for their King.

The chief of the Province of *Guriel*, ſeeing how the *Dadian* had obtain'd the Kingdom, following the Example of *Mengrelia*, ſhook off the Yoke of the King of *Baſſa-Shiouk*, and choſe another King among themſelves, who keeps his Soveraignty to this day, by the ſupport of the *Grand-Signor*. For when the *Dadian* rebell'd he entr'd into an Alliance with the *Grand-Signor*, and oblig'd himſelf to furniſh him every year with ſuch a certain quantity of Iron, upon condition that if the King of *Baſſa-Shiouk* ſhould war upon him, he ſhould furniſh him with twenty thouſand Horſe. Of which the *Turk* was very glad, finding thereby the Country of *Mengrelia* divided, which being united, was able at any time to have diſturb'd him with an Army of fifty thouſand Men.

The King of *Baſſa-Shiouk* coyns money of the ſame bigneſs and weight with that of the King of *Perſia*. But in regard it is not ſo fine metal as that of the King of *Perſia*, he would have much ado to make it paſs in the trade between his Subjects and the *Perſians*, which is very great, had he not found an expedient by putting the King of *Perſia*'s name upon the Coyn as well as his own, which makes it paſs without any difficulty. He would alſo put the *Grand-Signor*'s Name upon his Coyn, but that the *Turk* coyns none but ſmall money, or *Aſpers*, excepting only ſome Ducats which he coyns at *Cairo*. The King of *Baſſa-Shiouk*, as well as the King of *Teflis* coyns all ſorts of forreign money.

Theſe three Kings of *Baſſa-Shiouk*, *Mengrelia* and *Guriel*, are Chriſtians alſo. And when they go to war, all the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons attend them; Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, Prieſts and Monks: not ſo much as to fight as to encourage the Souldiers.

Being at *Conſtantinople* the firſt time I travell'd into *Perſia* I ſaw there an Embaſſador from the King of *Mengrelia*, whoſe behaviour gave all the *Franks* occaſion of laughter. The preſent which he made the *Grand-Signor* was in Iron and Steel, and a great number of Slaves. The firſt time of his Audience, he had a train of above 200 Perſons. But every day he ſold two or three to defray his expences; So that at his departure, he had none but his Secretary and two Vaſſals more left. He was a man of preſence but no wit: and every time he went to viſit the *Grand Viſier*, he preſum'd to wear the white Bonnet which all the *Franks* wonder'd at; when they ſaw that the *Grand-Viſier* wink'd at it. For ſhould any other Chriſtian have done ſo, he had been moſt certainly put to death, or conſtrain'd to turn *Mahumetan*. By which it was apparent how much the *Grand-Signor* valu'd the Friendſhip of the King of *Mengrelia*, and how careful he is of offending thoſe that are ſent from his Court. He knew thoſe People ſuffer no affronts, but upon the leaſt word preſently draw; beſides that there is nothing to be got by provoking them.

This Embaſſadour going once upon a viſit into the Country, returning home was ſurpriz'd

surpriz'd with a Storm, whereupon he pull'd off his Boots and carri'd them under his Coat, chooſing rather to go bare-foot to his lodging, then to ſpoil his Boots.

Another time, it being the cuſtom of all Catholick Ambaſſadors to go to Maſs to the Covent of Grey Friars in *Pera*, upon St. *Francis*'s day, the *Mengrelian* Ambaſſador after Maſs was done, coming out of the Church, and ſeeing ſeveral baubles which the Pedlers expoſe in the Cloyſter upon that day, bought a Tin Ring, two or three ſmall Looking-Glaſſes, and a Pipe, which he put in his mouth and went piping all the way i'th Street, as Children do coming from Fairs.

But to return to the matter, you muſt take notice that there are not only Iron Mines, but alſo Mines of Gold and Silver in two places five or ſix days Journey from *Teflis*, the one call'd *Scüanet*, the other *Obetet*. But the miſchief is, the people can hardly be got to work there, for fear the Earth ſhould tumble down, and bury them in the Mine, as it has many times happen'd.

There is alſo a Mine of Gold near to a place which is call'd *Hardanouſhé*, and a Mine of Silver at *Gumiſhé-Koné*, five days Journey from *Erzerom*, and as many from *Trebiſond*.

As for the people themſelves both *Georgians* and *Mengrelians*, they never trouble themſelves about the ignorance and viciouſneſs of their Prieſts, or whether they be able to inſtruct them or no. The richeſt among them are they which are in moſt credit, and abſolutely give Laws to the poor. There are alſo ſome heads of the Church, that aſſume ſuch a juriſdiction over the people, as to ſell them both to the *Turks* and *Perſians*, and they chooſe out the handſom'ſt Children, both Boys and Girls, to get the more money, by which authority alſo the great men of the Country enjoy Marry'd Women and Maids at their pleaſure. They will chooſe out their Children for the Biſhops while they are yet in their Cradles; and if the Prince be diſſatisfi'd at it, all the Clergy joyns with him that makes the choice, and then together by the Ears they go. In which Skirmiſhes they will carry away whole Villages, and ſell all the poor people to the *Turks* and *Perſians*. And indeed the cuſtom of ſelling men and women is ſo common in that Country, that a man may almoſt affirm it to be one of their chiefeſt Trades.

The Biſhops diſſolve Marriages when they pleaſe, and then Marry again after they have ſold the firſt. If any of the Natives be not Marri'd to his fancy, he takes another for ſuch a time as he thinks fit, for which he pays her all the while as the *Turks* do. Very few of theſe people know what Baptiſm means. Only two or three days after the woman is brought to Bed, the Prieſt comes and brings a little Oyl, mumbles over a few Prayers, and then anoints the Mother and the Infant, which they believe to be the beſt Baptiſm in the World. In ſhort, they are a people of no Devotion at all, neither in their Ceremonies nor in their Prayers. But there are great ſtore of Nunneries, where the young Maids apply themſelves to their Studies, and after ſuch an age, whether they ſtay in the Nunneries or betake themſelves to the Service of any of the great Lords, they Confeſs, Baptize, Marry, and perform all other Eccleſiaſtical Functions, which I never knew practis'd in any other part of the World beſide.

CHAP. XI.

Of Comania, Circaſſia, *and of certain people which they call* Kalmouchs.

Comania is bounded toward the Eaſt by the *Caſpian* Sea; Weſtward by the Mountains that divide it from *Circaſſia*; Northward it lies upon *Muſcovia*; and Southward it is bounded by *Georgia*. From the Mountains that bound upon the North-Eaſt to *Tercki*, which is the River that parts *Muſcovia* from *Comania*, it is all a level Country excellent for Tillage, and abounding in fair Meadows and Paſturage. However it is not over-peopl'd, which is the reaſon they never Sow twice together in one place. The Climate is much the ſame

as between *Paru* and *Lian*, where it Rains very much; and yet the Country people have cut several Channels from the Rivers to water the Grounds after they have Sow'd them, which they learnt from the *Persians*. Those Rivers fall from the Southern Mountains, being not at all tak'n notice of in the Map. There is one among the rest a very large River, which can be forded at no time. They call it *Coyasson*, or *The thick water*, in regard it is continually muddy, the stream being so slow, that they can hardly discern which way it runs. It falls gently into the *Caspian* Sea to the South of the mouth of *Volga*. Not far from this River, in the months of *October* and *November*, all along the Shore of the same Sea, you may see vast shoals of fish about two foot long. Before, they have two legs, like a Dog's legs, behind instead of legs they have only claws. Flesh they have none, but only fat with a bone in the middle. Now in regard they are but slow pac'd, when they come upon Land the Country people easily knock them on the head, and make Oyl of them; which is the greatest Trade they have.

The people of *Comania*, commonly call'd *Comouchs*, dwell for the most part at the foot of the Mountains, because of the Springs so plentiful in those places, that in some Villages you shall have above twenty or thirty. Three of these Springs meeting together, make a stream strong enough to drive a Mill. But this is not the sole reason, for there is Water enough in the plain. But in regard they are a people that only live upon the spoil and plunder of their Enemies, and of one another, as they are in continual fear of being set upon, they love to dwell near the refuge of the Mountains, whither they fly with their Cattle upon any occasion of danger. For all the people round about, as *Georgians*, *Mengrelians*, *Cirkassians*, *Tartars*, and *Muscovites*, live altogether by rapine, and continual In-roads into one anothers Countries.

There are another sort of people which are call'd *Kalmouchs*, that inhabit upon the Coast of the *Caspian* Sea between the *Muscovites* and the *Tartars*. The men are strong, but the most deformed under Heaven. Their faces are so flat and broad, that there is the breadth of five fingers between each Eye. Their Eyes are very small, and that little Nose they have is so flat, that there is nothing to be seen but two little holes instead of Nostrils. Their Knees also and their Feet turn inward. When they go to the Wars, they carry their Wives and their Daughters, if they be twelve years of age, along with them, who fight as courageously as the men themselves. Their Arms are Bows, Arrows, and Skains, with a great wooden Mace at the Pummel of their Saddles; their Horses being the best in all *Asia*. Their Captain is of some ancient Family, but they more particularly choose him for his valour. The Duke of *Muscovia* sends them presents every year, to preserve their friendship, which presents consist in Cloth. And he grants them free passage through his Territories, when ever they have a mind to invade the *Mengrelians*, *Georgians*, or *Cirkassians*, at which sport they are much more dextrous than the lesser *Tartars*. Sometimes they advance into *Persia*, as far as the Province of the *Usbekes*, which is a part of Great *Tartary*, ranging up as far as *Cabool* and *Candahar*. Their Religion is particular to themselves, but they are great Enemies to the *Mahumetans*.

As for the *Comouchs* or people of *Comania*, they are *Mahumetans*, and very precise ones too. They are under the protection of the King of *Persia*, who makes great account of them, in regard they defend the Passes into his Country on that side against the *Kalmouchs*. They are habited both men and women like the Lesser *Tartars*, fetching all the Silk and Calicut which they use out of *Persia*; for as for Cloth, they are contented with what they make in their own Country, which is very course.

Circassia is a pleasant good Country, and full of variety. There are Plains, Forrests, Hills, and Mountains abounding in Springs, some of which are so large, that some of them will serve seven or eight of the neighbouring Villages. But on the other side, in all the Rivers that proceed from these Springs, there is not a fish to be seen. Flowers they have in abundance, especially fair Tulips. There is a sort of Strawberry also with a short stalk, of which five or six grow in a bunch; the least are as big as a small Nut, of a pale yellow Colour. The Soil is so fertile, that it brings forth without any great trouble a vast plenty of all sorts of Fruits. Nor do the people need any other Gardens than their Fields which are cover'd with

Cherry

Cherry-trees, Apple-trees, Pear-trees, Walnut-trees, and all other useful Trees of the same nature: but their chiefest Wealth consists in Cattel, but especially in well-shap'd Horses, not much unlike the *Spanish* Gennets. They have also an abundance of Goats and Sheep, whose Wool is as good as that of *Spain*; which the *Muscovites* fetch away to make Felts. They neither sow Wheat nor Oats, but only Barley for their Horses, and Millet to make Bread; nor do they ever sow twice in the same place: not but that the Land is good enough to bear Wheat, but because they love Bread made of Millet better. They have very good Fowl, and Venison, and Wild-Fowl more than they know what to do withal; which they never hunt with Dogs, nor fly their Hawks at; for their Horses are so swift and so good, that they will tire the Beast, and force him to lye down and yield. Ev'ry Horse-man has a Rope with a sliding-knot ready at the Pummel of his Saddle, which they are so dextrous to throw about the neck of the Beast that begins to be weary, that 'tis twenty to one if they miss him. When they have kill'd a Deer, they cut off the legs, and breaking the Bones, eat the Marrow, which they say is the best thing in the World to strengthen the Body. When they go to steal Cattel, they carry along with them great Cows-horns stuft with boyl'd Tripes cut in small pieces; then watching their times when the Herdsmen are asleep, when the Dogs begin to bark, they throw to ev'ry one a Horn, with which the Dog presently runs away: and so while the Shepherds are asleep, and the Dog is busie to get the Meat out of the Horn, which is there ramm'd in on purpose, the Thieves drive away what they please.

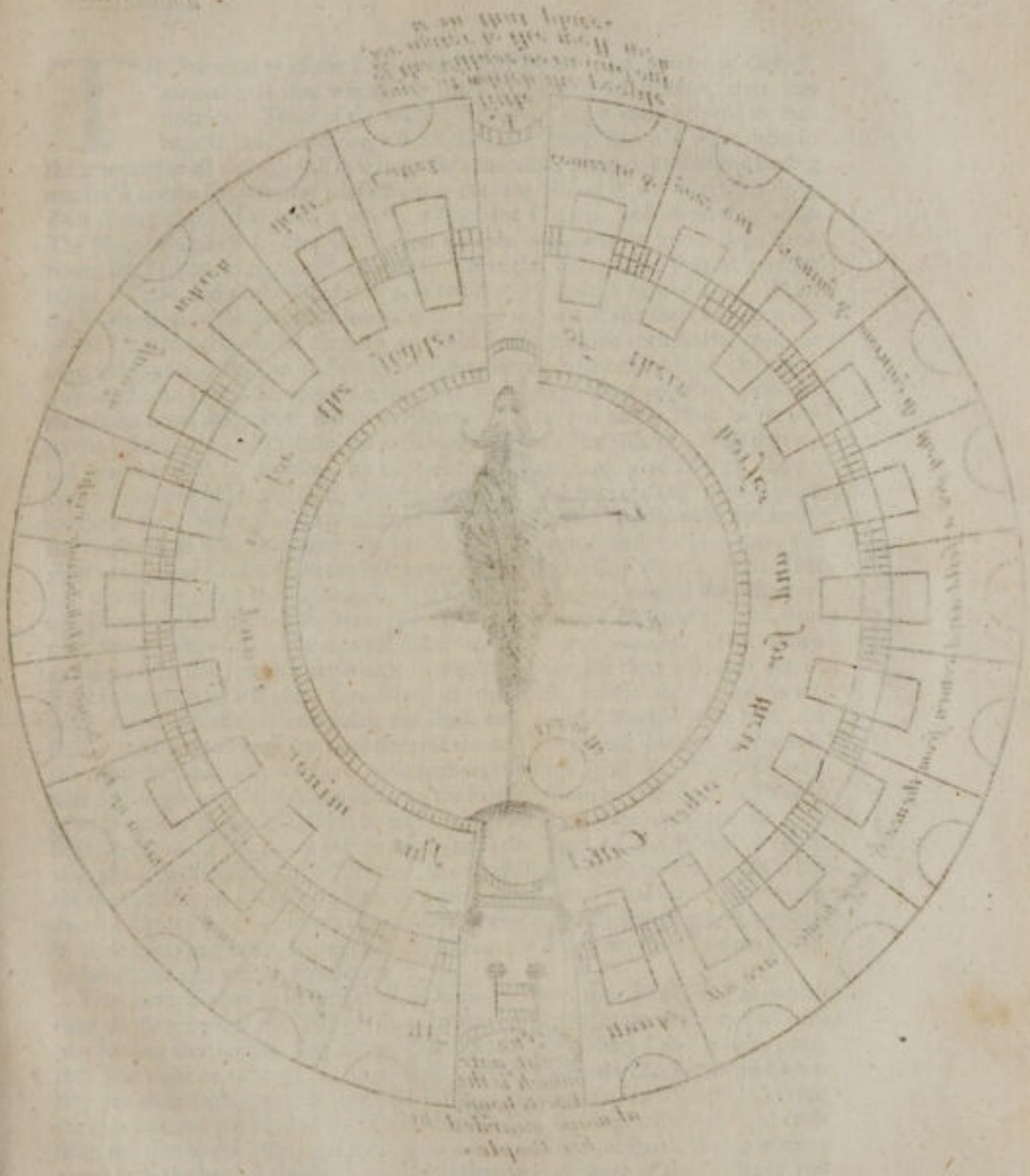
The Drink of the *Sherkes* is Water and *Bosa*. *Bosa* is a Drink made of Millet as intoxicating as Wine, which they want in the Country.

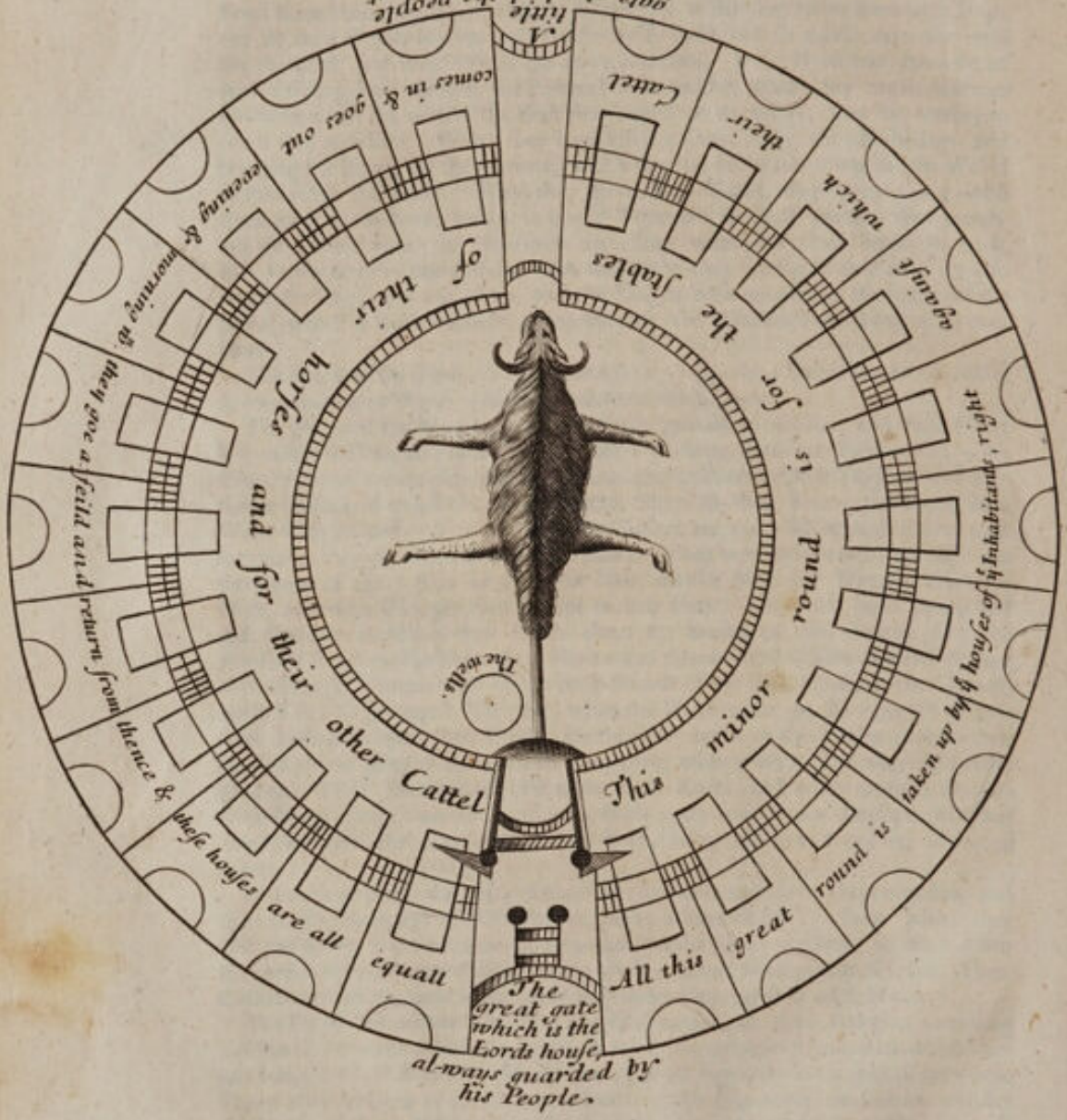
The Men and the Women, Boys and Girls go habited all alike, and their Habit is a colour'd Robe of Fustian, with a kind of large Petticoat underneath; with this they wear a little pink'd Wastcoat that reaches down to their Thighs; and over that a Cassock of course Cloth that reaches down to their Knees, girt about their Wasts with a Cord. The Sleeves of the Cassock are op'n below and above, and sometimes they pin them behind their Backs. They wear no Beards 'till they are sixty years of age. And as for their Hair, neither Men nor Women, Boys nor Girls, ever wear it longer than the tips of their Ears. The Men, both young and old, shave the middle of their Heads about the bredth of two Fingers from the Forehead down to the Nape of the Neck: and then in stead of Hats or Head-clothes, both Men and Women wear only a little Bonnet of the same Cloth as the Cassock, made like a Night-cap. 'Tis true, when the Maids come to be marry'd there is some distinction upon their Heads; for then they fast'n to the hinder part of their Heads a round piece of Felt, which they cover with a white Veil very artificially pleated. Their Breeches are ty'd below their Knees, and reach to their Ancles; their Shooes, which are of Cordovan, both upper and under Leather, have but one seam upon the upper part of the Foot, being light, and cut like a pair of Pumps.

As for their Beds, they take several Sheep-skins and sow them together, and then stuffing them full of Millet-leaves, make a kind of Quilt. Now when they beat the Millet, the Leaf comes to be as small as the Chaff of Oats; so that when the person rises off from the Quilt, the Quilt rises and swells again of it self. Their Cushions are of the same Make, only sometimes they are stuft with Wool.

The People are neither Christians nor *Mahometans*, all their Religion consisting in some Ceremonies which they perform with the greatest Solemnities which they can imagin: for at that time old and young of all Ages and Sexes, and all the whole Town must be there at the place appointed, unless impotency or sickness excuses them. I call them Villages, for in all these Countries there is neither Fortress nor City, and as for their Villages, they are all built after the same Model, round, with a *Piazza* in the middle, according to the Figure,

CHAP.





THE PLATFORME OF ONE OF THE VILLAGES OF THE COMOUKS

CHAP. XII.

Of the Ceremonies and Cuſtoms of the People of Comania *and* Circaſſia.

THe Principal of all the Feaſts which the *Comouchs* and *Sherkes* or *Cirkaſſians* make, is that which they make at the end of Autumn, after this manner. Three of the ancienteſt of the Village are appointed to manage it, and to diſcharge themſelves of a Duty impos'd upon them in the company of all the people. Theſe three old men take a Sheep or a Goat, and having mutter'd certain Prayers over the Beaſt, they cut the throat of it: after they have dreſt it very clean, they boil it whole, all but the Gathers, and them they roaſt. The Sheep being boil'd, they ſet it upon a Table, and carry it into a large Barn, where the People are appointed to meet: There the three old men ſtand upright before a Table, and all the People, Men, Women and Children behind them. When the Table upon which the Meat ſtands, is brought in, two of the three old men cut off the Legs and the roaſted Gathers, and hold them up above their heads, and the third holds up a great Cup of *Boſa* in the ſame manner, to the end the people behind may ſee them. When the people ſee the Meat and *Boſa* ſo lifted up, they proſtrate themſelves upon the ground, and ſo continue till all the reſt of the Meat be ſet upon the leſſer Table, and that the old men have ſaid ſome few words. Then the two old men that held up the Meat, cut off two little pieces, and give each of them a piece to him that holds the Cup, which being done, they take each of them a piece for themſelves. When they have all three eaten of the meat, the old man that holds the Cup, drinks firſt, then gives the two old men to drink, firſt to him upon the right hand, next to him upon the left, never letting go the Cup all the while. This firſt Ceremony being thus accompliſh'd, the two old men turn toward the Aſſembly, and go and preſent both of the Meat and the Drink, firſt to their Chief or Lord, then to all the people, who equally eat their ſhare, both men and women. That which remains of the four feet, is carry'd back to the Table, and the three old men eat it. This done, they go and place themſelves at the Table, where the Mutton is ſet, where the oldeſt of the three taking the Head, eats a little Morſel; after him, the ſecond, and next to him, the third does the ſame. Then the firſt old man commands the reſt to be carry'd to the Lord, who receives it with a great deal of reſpect, and after he has giv'n it to his next a-kin, or the Friend whom he loves beſt, the Head is gi'vn from one to another, till it be eat'n up. This being done, the three old men begin to eat of the Mutton a bit or two, and the Lord of the Village is call'd, who comes with his Bonnet in his hand, in a trembling poſture; to whom, one of the old men preſenting a Knife, he cuts off a piece of Mutton, and eats; and having drank a Cup of *Boſa*, he returns to his Seat. After him, all the people, according to their turns in quality, do as much; and then, for the Bones the Children go together by the ears among themſelves.

They have another Feaſt before they begin to Mow their Meadows; at which time all the people of the Village, that have wherewithal, take every one a Goat, (for in their Ceremonies they eſteem Goats better than Sheep) and for the poor, they join eight or ten together for a Goat. Let them be Goats, Sheep or Lambs, when they are all brought together, they cut their Throats, and then flea off the skin, leaving the four feet and the Head in it. Then they ſtretch the Skin with ſticks that croſs from one foot to the other, and ſet it upon a Pole fix'd in the Earth, the top whereof enters into the head of the Beaſt, as is to be ſeen in the Figure of the Village; and as many Beaſts as there are kill'd, ſo many Poles are planted in the midſt of the Village, with every one a particular Skin upon it; to which, every one that paſſes by, makes a profound obeyſance.

Ev'ry one having boil'd his Goat, brings it into the void place in the middle of the Village, and ſets it upon a great Table with the reſt. There is the Lord of the Village with his Servants, and ſometimes the Lord of ſome other Village is invited. Now all this Victuals being upon the Table, three of the oldeſt men of the Village

 ſit

ſit down and eat a Bit or two: Then they call the Lord of the Town, and if there be any other Lord, they come both together, with ſome other of the Seniors of the Pariſh; who being ſet down, eat up one of the Beaſts, which the old men had ſet apart for them; the reſt is divided among the people, ſitting upon the ground.

There are ſome Villages where you ſhall have fifty Goats and Sheep, or Lambs and Kids, kill'd together at one time. As for their *Boſa*, there are ſome that bring above 200 Pints; others more or leſs, according to their quality. All the day long they eat and drink, and ſing and dance to their Flutes a dozen together, which are in ſome meaſure harmonious, as conſiſting of ſeveral parts, and decreaſing proportionably from the Treble to the Baſe. When the old men have ſolac'd themſelves with eating and drinking, they go home, and leave the young people, Men and Women, Boys and Girls to be merry by themſelves: They ſtay as long as there is any Drink; and the next day they go early to Mowing.

They have other Ceremonies particular only to their Families. Once a year in every Houſe they make a Croſs after the Form of a Mallet, about five Foot high, the two Sticks that compoſe the Croſs, being as big as a man's Arm. This the Maſter of the Houſe ſets in the Evening near the Door in his Chamber, and calling all his Family together, gives them every one a lighted Wax-Candle. Then firſt he fixes his own to the Croſs, next his Wife ſticks hers, and ſo all the Children and Servants: If the Children be ſo young, that they cannot do it themſelves, the Father and Mother do it for them. If one of the Candles burn out before it be put out, 'tis a Prognoſtick that he or ſhe that fix'd it there, ſhall not live out their year. If the Candle falls, then he whoſe Candle it was, ſhall be robb'd, or be forc't to fly for his Life.

If it thunders, all the people run out of the Village, and the young people of both Sexes ſet themſelves to ſinging and dancing in the preſence of their Elders: And if any one be Thunder-ſtruck, they bury that perſon honourably, believing him to be a Saint. Beſides that, they ſend over all the Country for a white Goat, which they breed up and keep in the Village where it happen'd to thunder, having it in great veneration, till thundring in another place, the people ſend for it thither alſo. If the Thunder fall upon any of their Houſes, though it kill neither Man, Woman, Child, nor Beaſt, all that Family ſhall be kept upon the publick ſtock all that year, without being ty'd to any Labour but of Singing and Dancing. Theſe people, during that time, go from Village to Village Dancing and Singing at peoples Doors, but never going into their Houſes; for which the Inhabitants are bound to bring them out ſomething to eat.

There is a day in the Spring, when all that have been ſtruck'n with Thunder, meet together in the Village where the white Goat is kept; who has always a Cheeſe hanging about his Neck as big as a *Parma*-Cheeſe. This Goat they take and carry to the Village of the chief Lord of the Countrey. They never go in, but the Lord with all the reſt of the Village coming out, they all together proſtrate themſelves before the Goat. Having ſaid ſome Prayers, they take away his Cheeſe, and immediately put another in its place. The Cheeſe which was taken away, is at the ſame time cut into little pieces, and diſtributed among the people. After that, they give the Strangers to eat, and beſtow their Alms upon them; ſo that by this wandring from Village to Village, they get good ſtore of Money.

They have among them but only one Book; and it is as big as one of our largeſt *Folio*'s, and it lies in the hands of an old man, who has only the priviledge to touch it. When that old man is dead, they chooſe another old man to keep the Book; whoſe Duty it is to go from Village to Village, where he hears of any ſick people. He carries the Book with him, and after he has lighted up a Wax-Candle, and put the people out of the Room, he lays the Book upon the Stomach of the ſick perſon, opens it, and reads in it, then blows over it ſeveral times, ſo that the Breath paſſes toward the mouth of the Party: Then he cauſes the party diſeas'd to kiſs the Book ſeveral times, and as often lays it upon his head, which is a Ceremony of half an hour. When the old man goes away, one gives him a Beef or a Heifer; another gives him a Goat; every one according to their Quality and Eſtate.

They have alſo Old Women that take upon them to cure the Sick. Theſe women feel the body of the ſick party, all over, but more particularly they handle and grope that part where the diſtemper lies: during which time they let go ſeveral belches out

of

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CHAP. XIII.

Of the leſſer Tartars, *call'd* Nogaies, *bord'ring upon* Comania.

THE leſſer *Tartars* have a very ancient race of Horſes, which they breed up even to Superſtition; ſo that it would be among them an act of Sacriledge to ſell them to ſtrangers, as being not a little curious how they ſell them to one another. Theſe are the Horſes which they ride, fifty or ſixty in a Troop together when they go a thieving; and ſometimes a hunder'd together, when they deſign any Incurſion upon their Enemies. When the old Men come to be infirm and impotent, if they know any ſtout young Man that is a Souldier, they will lend him one of their Horſes (if he have none of his own) to make an Incurſion, upon condition to have half of the Booty. Many times they run up as far as *Hungary*, near to *Comora* and *Javarin*. Theſe Horſes, partly by nature, partly by early cuſtom, will travel four or five days together with a handful of Graſs giv'n them once in eight or ten hours, and a little Water every four and twenty hours. But they never go a robbing with them 'till they come to be ſeven or eight years old: beſides that, they muſt undergo a very ſevere education ere they make uſe of them in thoſe hardſhips. Their Bit is only a piece of Iron with a Buckle on each ſide, to which they faſt'n the Bridle and Head-ſtall. For eight days together they put under the Saddle a bag of Gravel or Earth. The firſt day the Sack is a Horſe-man's weight; and ſo they add to it every day, 'till it come to be double the weight at the end of the eight days. As they increaſe every day the weight upon the Horſes back, they abate every day the Horſe's Provender and Drink. During theſe eight days, they get up and walk the Horſe two or three Leagues. The next eight days, they abate every day of the weight, 'till the Sack be quite empty. Proportionably alſo they abate him of his Meat and Drink as in the firſt eight days, and every day take up the Girt a hole ſhorter. The three or four laſt days they afford the Horſe neither Provender nor Drink, according as they find him able to endure hunger and thirſt, and the labour which he is to undergo. The laſt day, they work him 'till he be all over of a Sweat; then they unbridle and unſaddle him, and pour upon him the coldeſt Water they can meet with. That done, they lead him into a field, and tye him by the leg with a Cord, at ſuch a length as they intend he ſhall feed; yet ſtill from day to day allowing him more Rope, 'till at laſt they let him looſe, and feed with the reſt of the Horſes. This terrible faſting and labour, during which time, that little which they do eat and drink, they eat and drink with the Bit in their mouth, brings them to be ſo lean and out of fleſh, that their very bones are ready to ſtart out of their skins: So that if any one ſhould ſee them in that miſerable condition, that does not know the nature of the Horſes, would think they would never be fit for good ſervice. The hoofs of theſe Horſes are ſo hard that they never ſhoe them, and yet they will leave the prints of their feet in the Earth, or upon the Ice, as if they had been ſhod. Theſe *Tartars* are ſo curious in having Horſes that will endure labour, that ſo ſoon as they ſee any handſom Colt in their Breed, they preſently take him up, to ſchool him as I have related: but hardly ten in fifty endure the tutoring.

As for their Diet, 'tis a great advantage for theſe *Tartars* to ride a Mare, in regard they Drink the Milk. They that ride Horſes, carry along with them a little Bag full of pieces of Cheeſe dry'd in the Sun; they have alſo a ſmall *Borachio* of Goat-skin, which they fill with Water where they meet with it, into which they put two or three bits of their hard Cheeſe, which ſoftens with the motion of the Horſe, the *Borachio* being ty'd under his Belly: and thus the Water becomes a kind of ſowr Milk, which is their ordinary Drink.

As for their Inſtruments of Cookery, every Horſe-man has a large wooden Ladle hanging at the Pummel of his Saddle, out of which the rider drinks himſelf, and gives his Horſe likewiſe to drink. They that encounter them, can hope for no better Booty than

than their Horſes; but they are very hard to be tak'n; for when one of theſe Horſes perceives that his Rider is ſlain, he follows thoſe that fly with all the ſwiftneſs imaginable. Beſide that, thoſe Horſes being carri'd into other Countries, are preſently ſpoil'd, and come to nothing.

Their Cloathing is only a Sheep-skin, which in Winter they wear with the wool next their Bodies; in the Summer turning the other ſide. They that are the Nobility of the Countrey, wear Wolves-skins, with a kind of Shirt, and Breeches of courſe Fuſtian of divers Colours, which the Taylor gets little credit by ſhaping.

Their Women are very white and well proportion'd, but their Faces are broad, and their Eyes little, ſo that by thirty years of Age they become very deformed. There is not a man but has two or three Wives, which they never chooſe but out of their own Tribe. Every Tribe has a Chief; who is one of the Nobility of the Countrey, and carries for his Banner a Horſe-tail faſten'd to a half-Pike, and dy'd into the Colour belonging to the Tribe. When they march, every one knows where to place himſelf, and how much ground they ought to take up for their Tribe and their Cattel; one Tribe never encroaching upon another.

The Women and Maids are generally clad in a large Shirt that reaches down to their feet. Upon their Heads they wear a large white Vale, their Foreheads being bound about with a large black Handkerchief ty'd in five or ſix Rolls. The Noble ſort of Women and Maids wear over this Vail a Bonnet open behind, which comes down upon their Foreheads like a three-corner'd Cap: One of theſe Points ſtands up in the midſt of the Forehead, lin'd with Velvet, Satin, or Cloth of Gold, and ſet with ſmall pieces of Gold and Silver, and falſe Pearls, of which they alſo make themſelves Bracelets: Their Breeches are of ſingle-colour'd Cloth, and for Shoes and Stockings, they only wear a Cordovan Boot of what Colour they pleaſe, neatly ſew'd.

When a young man intends to marry, it behoves him to give the Father and the Mother of the Maid a certain quantity of Horſes, Bullocks or Cows, or other Cattel, which is done in the preſence of the greateſt part of the ancienteſt of the Tribe, and a *Moullah* beſide. When the Agreement is made, the young man has the liberty to ſee his Miſtreſs, but not till then: For before, he has only the information of her Mother, his Siſters, or ſuch Women as were his own Friends. Beſides the three Wives which the man is allow'd to take, he may keep ſeveral female Slaves; but the Children are ſtill ſlaves, and can never inherit. These *Tartars* are of a very hot conſtitution, though not ſo hot as the women. Both the one and the other are very fair-hair'd; but the men have little or no Beards: So that if there be any one that has more Beard than ordinary, and can but write and read, they make him a *Moullah*.

Theſe people have no Houſes, but live in Tents, or in Waggons which are drawn after them where-ever they go. The Tents are for the old people and little Children, with their Slaves that attend them. The young women ride in Waggons clos'd up with Boards, and to let in the Air, upon one ſide they open a Window that is made like a Lattice. In the Evening they are permitted to ſpend a little time in the Tents. When the Girls have attain'd to the age of ten or twelve Years, they never ſtir any more out of their Waggons till they are married, not ſo much as for the neceſſities of Nature; but in the middle of the Waggon there is a Plank to be taken up; and if it be in a place where they ſtay, a Slave preſently comes and cleanſes all underneath. The Maidens Waggon is eaſie to be known, as being painted with Flowers; and generally there is a Camel ty'd to the Tail of it beſmear'd with ſeveral colours, and ſeveral Noſegays or Poſies of Flowers ſtuck about the Head of the Beaſt.

The young men have alſo every one their Chariot, wherein they only carry a *Borachs* of Horſe-skin, containing about 38 Quarts, which they uſually fill with Mares-milk, which is very ſowr. They have alſo every one another Waggon next to that wherein they ride themſelves; wherein they carry ſeveral *Borachs* full of Cows-milk, which is very ſowr. At Meals they drink this Milk: But before they powr it out, they ſtir it in the *Borachs* with a great Stick, that the Curd may mix with the thin Milk. But the Mares-Milk is only for the Maſter and Miſtreſs, though before they drink of either, they mix it with water. When a Friend comes to ſee

them

them, they fetch out their dri'd Cheese, which they call *Kourout*, and breaking it into little Bits, eat it with fresh Butter. At their Feasts they sometimes kill old Sheep, sometimes old Goats. But for their Horses they never kill them but at the Funerals of their Kindred, at the Birth of a Child, or at their Marriage-Feasts, or lastly, when their Friends return laden with Spoil from any incursion, and are flor'd with Slaves. They never drink any thing but Mares-Milk or Cows-Milk, and when they can get neither, they will endure thirst for three or four days together before they will drink water, being always grip'd with a terrible Colick when they drink it. They never eat any Salt, being of an opinion that it is naught for the Eyes. They live long, and are very strong, and seldom sick; nor do they refuse any Diet but Swines-flesh.

Their Countrey is very level; only for some few Hills in some places. They have great store of Pasture-grounds, and every Tribe has their peculiar Wells to water their Cattle. In the Winter they lodge upon the banks of great Rivers, near to Woods and Marishes, suffering their Herds to feed at liberty. When the Snow is very deep, the Cattel scrape it away with their feet to come at the Grass, though they meet with very little else but Reeds and Bushes. In the mean while the men cut down the Woods, make great Fires, and employ themselves in Fishing. There are some parts of these Rivers where the least Fish they take is about four or five foot long; and some there are above ten or twelve foot in length. Some they dry in the wind, and preserve against Summer; some they smoke in holes which they make in the Earth: As for the smaller sort, they boil them, and eat them without Salt or any other seasoning. When they have eat'n their Fish, they scoop up a large wooden Ladel full of the Fish-water and gulp it down. As for Bread, there is no talk of it in their Countrey.

When they are not at Wars, or are but newly return'd from any Incursion, they spend their time in Hunting, but cannot endure any other Hounds except Greyhounds: So that he must be a very poor *Tartar* indeed that do's not keep a Greyhound. Take notice however by the by, that these petty *Tartars*, concerning whom I have last discours'd, are certain people adjoyning to *Comania*, which the *Turks*, *Persians* and *Mengrelians* call *Nogaïes*; who may be well reckon'd among the number of the petty *Tartars*, in regard they are all under one Prince, whom the Grand *Signor* appoints King over all Petty *Tartary*, and who receives his Investiture at *Constantinople*.

These *Tartars* are all *Mahumetans*. Nor have they any Physician among them; making use only of certain Simples of which they have a traditional knowledge. When the sik person lies in any extremity, they send for a *Moullah*, who comes with the *Alcoran*, which he opens and shuts three times, saying certain Prayers, and laying it upon the sick person's face. If by chance the sick person recover, they attribute his recovery to the Sanctity of the *Alcoran*, and present the *Moullah* with a Sheep or a Goat: If he die, all his Kindred meet and carry him to the Grave with great Testimonies of Sadness, crying continually *Alla*, *Alla*. When he is interr'd, the *Moullah* mutters certain Prayers ov'r the Grave, and is paid for his pains according to the wealth of the Heirs. For the poor he generally spends three days and three nights in that exercise; for the rich he as usually spends a Month, never stirring all the while from the Grave; and sometimes sev'n or eight.

When any one of them is wounded, they use no other Salve but only boil'd Flesh, which they apply hot to the wound. If the wound be deep, they thrust in a piece of Fat as hot as the wound can endure it; and if the person be able to kill a Horse, the wound is cur'd so much the sooner; for the Flesh and Fat of a Horse are much more medicinable than the Flesh of any other Creature.

Were it not the Custom of the *Tartars* to buy their Wives when they marry, there would be fewer Whores. But in regard there are an abundance of poor young men that have not wherewithal to buy Wives, they never marry at all. This is that which makes so many Souldiers among them, and emboldens 'em to invade their Neighbors, and to get something whereby they may be enabl'd to buy them a Wife. For the Virgins they are nev'r to be defil'd, being always shut up in their waggons: But for the women they are oft'n debauch'd, appointing their private Meetings, when they go to fetch water for their Cattel, when their Husbands are a-hunting, or looking after their Herds. Nor is it a hard thing to conceal it from their Husbands, in regard the *Tartars* are not in the least prone to Jealousie.

By

By the way take notice, that the *Nogaies*, though they live almoſt after the ſame manner as the *Tartars*, and are under the ſame Prince, yet they perfectly hate them; reproaching them for effeminate, becauſe they live in Houſes and Villages, whereas the true Souldier ſhould live in Tents as they do, to be ready upon all occaſions.

They that run a-foot, as well in theſe Countries, as in *Perſia*, when they are weary, take Walnuts and bruiſe them, and then rub the Soles of their feet with them before the fire as hot as they can endure it, which preſently makes them freſh again.

Having thus done with all the ſeveral Roads; here follows an Alphabetical Table of the Longitudes and Latitudes of all the Principal Cities of the whole Empire of *Perſia*.

THE

LONGITUDES and LATITUDES

OF THE

Principal Cities of PERSIA, *according as the* Geographers *of thoſe Countries place them.*

A.

A *Amoul* is in 72 Degrees, 20 Min. of Longitude, 36 deg. of Latitude. The Lands about this City abound in Prunes.

Abeher, in 74 deg. 20 min. Long. 36 deg. 15 min. Lat. 12 Leagues from *Caſbin*, a ſmall City; but the Land is good about it.

Abſecun, in 79 deg. 15 min. Long. 37 deg. 10 min. Lat. A ſmall City in an excellent Soil.

Abdebil, in 60 deg. 20 min. Long. 36 deg. 24 min. Lat. The Inhabitants are moſt Chriſtians, and there are many ancient Churches in it. It depends upon *Sultany*.

Abwaz, 70 deg. 15 min. Long. 31 deg. 15 min. Lat. A ſmall City half ruin'd, in the Province of *Belad Cowreſtan*, in a Soil that yields excellent Fruits.

Arbella, 69 deg. 50 min. Long. 36 deg. 20 min. Lat. A ſmall Champaign City, where Proviſions are Cheap.

Ardevil, 62 deg. 30 min. Long. 38 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Ardeſton, 77 deg. 10 min. Long. 33 deg. 7 min. Lat. Famous for the Copper Veſſels that are there made.

Arion, 74 deg. 32 min. Long. 32 deg. 25 min. Lat. One of the three places where Olives grow in all *Perſia*.

Aſſed-Abad, 63 deg. 40 min. Long. 34 deg. 50 min. Lat. A ſmall City toward *Amadan*.

Ava, 75 deg. 10 min. Long. 34 deg. 40 min. Lat. This is a very ſmall place.

Azadkar, or *Yevin*, 82 deg. 15 min. Long. 36 deg. 32. min. Lat. A City in a great Plain, where there are above four hundred Channels under ground.

B.

Bab El Abab, or, the *Gate of Gates*; call'd alſo *Demir-capi*; or, the *Gate of Iron*. The *Tartars* call it *Monjou*: 75 deg. 15. min. Long. 45 deg. 15 min. Lat. it has been formerly a ſtrong place.

Badkiſt,

Badkeist, 85 deg. 32 min. Long. 35 deg. 20 min. Lat. A ſmall, but moſt pleaſant City, and well built.

Baſte, 80 deg. 15 min. Long. 29 deg. 15 min. Lat. A City in the Province of *Kerman*, where in Summer the Mornings are very cold, the Afternoons hot; yet the Air very good.

Bafrouche, ſee *Mahmeter*.

Beylagon, 63 deg. 52 min. Long. 41 deg. 20 min. Lat. A City toward the *Caſpian* Sea, in a Country abounding in Corn and Fruit.

Balk, 91 deg. 36 min. Long. 38 deg. 10 min. Lat. Three days journey from *Moultan*.

Bem, or *Bembe*; 74 deg. 15 min. Long. 28 deg. 20 min. Lat. Thought to have been built by *Caliph Mouktadar*, near the great Deſert of *Berſham*.

Berdoe, 63 deg. 15 min. Long. 35 deg. 30 min. Lat. It lyes ſurrounded with Paſture-grounds, which breed great ſtore of Cattle.

Berzendè, 63 deg. 14 min. Long. 37 deg. 40 min. Lat. Here are made a ſort of courſe Druggets for ordinary people.

Beſton, 79 deg. 15 min. Long. 37 deg. 20 min. Lat. It lyes in a Country abounding in Corn and Fruits.

Bimoncheer, 74 deg. 10 min. Long. 37 deg. 30 min. Lat. Here is great Trade for Silk.

Boſt, 91 deg. 28 min. Long. 32 deg. 16 min. Lat. A great City, to which belongs the faireſt and ſtrongeſt Caſtle in all *Perſia*.

Bourou-Jerdè, 74 deg. 30 min. Long. 34 deg. 20 min. Lat. Famous for Saffron, and for being the native City of many Learned Men.

C.

Chemkon, 63 deg. 15 min. Long. 41 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Chiras, 78 deg. 15 min. Long. 29 deg. 36 min. Lat.

Chirvan, or *Erivan*; 63 deg. 15 min. Long. 38 deg. 32 min. Lat. Here all the Silk-*Caravans* rendevous; and it is one of the richeſt *Kanats* or Governments in *Perſia*.

D.

Dankon, 78 deg. 15 min. Long. 30 deg. 15 min. Lat. A bad Town, in a bad Soil.

Darabguired, 80 deg. 15 min. Long. 30 deg. 15 min. Lat. In ſeveral ports round about this City they meet with Salt of ſeveral colours, as red and green, black and white. Here they alſo make long-neck'd Glaſs-Bottles, which are very curious work; nor are they without Sider to fill thoſe Bottles, in regard of the great plenty of Apples thereabouts. Near to the City there is a Sulphur-Mine, and great ſtore of Mummy, very much eſteem'd in *Perſia*.

Debeſton, 80 deg. 15 min. Long. 38 deg. 15 min. Lat. This is not properly a City, but a great many Villages joyn'd together.

Deras, 79 deg. 30 min. Long. 31 deg. 32 min. Lat.

Devinmaat, 62 deg. 5 min. Long. 38 deg. 40 min. Lat.

Din Ver, 63 deg. 15 min. Long. 35 deg. Lat. A City in a fruitful Soil, ſtor'd with *Moſquees*.

Doulad, 74 deg. 15 min. Long. 37 deg. 50 min. Lat. The Country about is full of black Mulberry-trees.

Dourak, 74 deg. 32 min. Long. 32 deg. 15 min. Lat. Here they make the looſe Caſſocks without Sleeves which the *Arabians* wear. Near to this City the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, meeting at a place call'd *Hella*, make a Marſh, where grow the Reeds of which the Eaſtern people make their Pens.

E.

Elelbetem, 87 deg. 15 min. Long. 37 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Eltiib, 70 deg. 15 min. Lon. 32 deg. 15 min Lat.

Enderab, 93 deg. 15 min. Long. 32 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Erivan,

Erivan, see *Chirvan*.

Espharaïen, 81 deg. 40 min. Long. 37 deg. 15 min. Lat. The Country about it abounds in Pears and Apples.

Estakré, 78 deg. 30 min. Long. 30 deg. 15 min. Lat. The ancient City in the Province of *Fars*, properly *Persia*; in a Soil abounding in Vines and Date-trees.

Esterabat, 75 deg. 35 min. Long. 36 deg. 50 min. Lat.

F.

Ferah, 18 deg. 15 min. Long. 39 deg. 15 min. Lat. Built by *Abdalla* the Son of *Taher*, in the time of *Maimon Reshid*, *Caliph* of *Berni-Abbas*.

Ferouzabad, 82 deg. 32 min. Long. 30 deg. 10 min. Lat. Anciently call'd *Hecatompylon*.

G.

Gireste, 73 deg. 40. min. Long. 31 deg. 10 min. Lat. One of the biggest Cities in the Province of *Kerman*. The Trade of the City consists in Honeys and Wheat.

Girreadegon, vulgarly *Paygon*, 75 deg. 35 min. Long. 34 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Goutem, 74 deg. 46 min. Long. 37 deg. 20 min. Lat. A little City, full of Silk-Twisters.

H.

Hamadan, 75 deg. 20 min. Long. 34 deg. Lat. The Country about it breeds great store of Cattel.

Hasn-Eltaf, or, *The Center of Beauty*; 72 deg. 32 min. Long. 34 deg. 40 min. Lat. At this day almost ruin'd.

Hawas, 75 deg. 40 min. Long. 33 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Heaye, 74 deg. 35 min. Long. 31 deg. 50 min. Lat.

Helaverde, 91 deg. 30 min. Long. 35 deg. 15 min Lat. Built by *Abdalla* before mention'd.

Herat, 85 deg. 30 min. Long. 36 deg. 56 min. Lat. A City in the Province of *Caraffan*, where Sultan *Housseïn-Mirza* founded several Colledges for Youth.

Hesn-Medi, 78 deg. 45 min. Long. 32 deg. 5 min. Lat.

Hessne Ebneamoaé, 70 deg. 45 min. Long. 26 deg. 20 min. Lat.

Herman, 85 deg. 15 min. Long. 32 deg. 30 min. Lat. A small City, in a bad Air.

I.

Jemnon, 78 deg. 15 min. Long. 37 deg. 40 min. Lat. The Trade of it is in Copper Manufactures.

Jend-Babour, 75 deg. 5 min. Long. 31 deg. 15 min. Lat. A very strong place, famous for the Tomb of *Melek-Yakoub-Sha*, King of *Schiras*.

Irson, 80 deg. 35 min Long. 36 deg. 50 min. Lat.

Ispahan, or *Hispahan*; 86 deg. 40 min. Long. 32 deg. 40 min. Lat.

K.

Kaar, 78 deg. 40 min. Long. 42 deg. 32 min. Lat.

Kasban, 76 deg. 15 min. Long. 34 deg. 40 min. Lat.

Kasre-Chirin, 71 deg. 50 min. Long. 34 deg. 40 min. Lat. Built by *Nousshirevon-Aadel*, surnamed the Just; and upon the acts and deeds of this King is all the Morality of the *Persians* founded.

Kaien, 83 deg. 20 min. Long. 36 deg. 32 min. Lat. Said to breed the choicest Wits of all *Persia*.

Kalaar, 76 deg. 25 min. Long. 37 deg. 25 min. Lat. One of the chiefest Cities in *Guilan*.

Kalin, 87 deg. 5 min. Long. 35 deg. 35 min. Lat. In an excellent Soil for Cattel and Fruit.

Karkoub, 74 deg. 45 min. Long. 32 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Kasbin, 75 deg. 40 min. Long. 36 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Kaſre-le-lehous, or *Kengavar*, 76 deg. 20 min. Long. 33. deg. 35 min. *Lat.*

Kazeron, 88 deg. 30 min. *Long.* 28 deg. 30 min. *Lat.* The Country about produces Oranges, Limons, and Cypreſs-trees.

Kerab, 86 deg. 40 min. Long. 34 deg. 15 min. *Lat.*

Kerman, or *Kirman*, 81 deg. 15 min. *Long.* 29 deg. 50 min. *Lat.*

Kervak, 87 deg. 32 min. *Long.* 34 deg. 15 min. *Lat.*

Kirmonſha, 63 deg. 45 min. Long. 34 deg. 37 min. *Lat.*

Kom, 75 deg. 40 min. *Long.* 35 deg. 35 min. *Lat.*

Kouh de Mavend, 74 deg. 15 min. *Long.* 36 deg. 15 min. *Lat.* the ſmalleſt now which was once the largeſt City in *Perſia*.

Kouebe, 83 deg. 40 min. *Long.* 33 deg. 20 min. *Lat.* In a ſoyl excellent for Corn and good Fruits.

Koy, 60 deg. 40 min. *Long.* 37 deg. 40 min. *Lat.*

Kevachir, or *Verdechir*, 80 deg. 30 min. *Long.* 28 deg. 15 min. *Lat.*

L.

Labijan, 74 deg. 25 min. *Long.* 37 deg. 15 min. *Lat.* The Trade of the Town conſiſts in Stuffs, half Silk, half Cotton, call'd *Tafsile*.

Louſſek, ſee *Touſſes*.

M.

Maameter, or *Barfrouche*, 77 deg. 35 min. *Long.* 36 deg. 50 min. *Lat.*

Mebrouyon, or *Behbehon*, 75 deg. 15 min. Long. 39 deg. 35 min. Lat.

Meraqué, 71 deg. 20 min. Long. 37 deg. 40 min. Lat. It ſtands in one of the Gardens of *Perſia*.

Merend, 63 deg. 15 min. Long. 37 deg. 37 min. Lat.

Mervaſaé, 87 deg. 32 min. Long. 34 deg. 15 min. Lat. In a fertile Country for Corn and Fruit.

Merverond, 88 deg. 40 min. Long. 34 deg. 30 min. Lat. in a fertile Country.

Meſched, look *Touſs*.

Moukon, or *Derbent*, 20 Leagues from the *Caſpian* Sea, 63 deg. 15 min. Long. 37 deg. 40 min. Lat.

Mourjan, 84 deg. 15 min. Long. 37 deg. 15 min. Lat. A City well peopl'd, wherein there are ſeveral *Moſqueés*, and fair *Piazza's*.

N.

Nackjivan, or *Nachevan*, 61 deg. 32 min. Long. 39 deg. 40 min. Lat.

Natel, 77 deg. 40 min. Long. 36 deg. 7 min. Lat. in a fertile Country for Paſturage.

Nehavend, or *Nahoüand*, 73 deg. 45 min. Long. 34 deg. 20 min. Lat. The Country people aver this City built before the *Louſon*, or the Flood.

Neher-Terij, 75 deg. 00 min. Long. 32 deg. 40 min. Lat.

Neſſab, 84 deg. 45 min. Long. 38 deg. 40 min. Lat.

Nichabar, 80 deg. 55 min. Long. 36 deg. 20 min. Lat.

O.

Onjon, 61 deg. 35 min. Long. 32 deg. 24 min. Lat. To this City finely ſeated belongs a fair Caſtle.

R.

Rachmikdon, 87 deg. 34 min. Long. 35 deg. 15 min. Lat.

Rem-hormous, 74 deg. 45 min. Long. 31 deg. 45 min. Lat. In this City *Selmon*, *Haly*'s Foſter Father was born.

Rey, 76 deg. 20 min. Long. 35 deg. 35 min. Lat. In the beſt Soil of all *Perſia*, for Wheat, Fruit, and Paſturage.

Roudbar, 75 deg. 37 min, Long. 37 deg. 21 min. Lat. in the Province of *Guilan*.

Royon, 71 deg. 36 min. Long. 36 deg. 15 min. Lat. in the Province of *Mazandran*.

S.

S.

Saassour, 86 deg. 20 min. Long. 35 deg. 15 min. Lat.
Saron, 76 deg. 20 min. Long. 36 deg. 15 min. Lat. In the Province of *Guilan*.
Sary, 78 deg. 15 min. Long. 36 deg. 40 min. Lat. Seated among the Copper-Mines.
Sebzevoar, 81 deg. 5 min. Long. 36 deg. 15 min. Lat. Near this City the people gather great quantities of Manna.
Semiron, 71 deg. 30 min. Long. 34 deg. 40 min. Lat. A pleasant City stor'd with good Water and Fruits.
Serijr-el lan, 63 deg. 15 min. Long. 45 deg. 50 min Lat.
Serkess, or *Serakus*, 85 deg. 35. min. Long. 36 deg. 15 min. Lat. A pleasant City for Situation, and plenty of Waters.
Sermeghon, 87 deg. 37 min. Long. 37 deg. 32 min. Lat. In a fertile Soil, yet not very plentiful.
Serveston, 78 deg. 15 min. Long. 29 deg. 15 min. Lat. In a Soil abounding with Gardens.
Servon, 79 deg. 15 min. Long. 32 deg. 15 min. Lat, In a Soil abounding with Wine and Dates.
Surjon, 74 deg. 40 min. Long. 30 deg. 20 min. Lat. Where the best *Persian* Carpets are made, and *Shaads*, or Girdles of Goats Hair curiously wrought.
Sobreverede, 73 deg. 36 min. Long. 36 deg. 5 min. Lat.
Sfouss, 73 deg. 45 min. Long. 32 deg. 15 min. Lat.
Sultanie, 76 deg. 15 min. Long. 39 deg. 40 min. Lat. Where the Mornings and Evenings are very cold; all the rest of the day very hot.

T.

Taberon, 80 deg. 34 min. Long. 35 deg. 20 min. Lat.
Talikon, 88 deg. 15 min. Long. 36 deg. 32 min. Lat. In a Country plentiful in Corn, Fruit, and good Water.
Tauris, otherwise call'd *Sfernerdebi*, 63 deg. 15 min. Long. 39 deg. 10 min. Lat.
Tebess, 80 deg. 40 min. Long. 38 deg. 15 min. Lat.
Tessis, 60 deg. 15 min. Long. 43 deg. 15 min. Lat.
Toukon, 82 deg. 45 min. Long. 38 deg. 40 min. Lat.
Touss, or *Meshed*, 82 deg. 30 min. Long. 38 deg. 40 min. Lat.
Toussea, otherwise call'd *Loussek*, 85 deg. 40 min. Long. 37 deg. 50 min. Lat.

Y.

Yesd, 79 deg. 15 min. Long. 32 deg. 15 min. Lat.
Yevin, see *Azadkar*.

Z.

Zemma, 89 deg. 14 min. Long. 38 deg. 35 min. Lat. In a Country abounding in all sorts of Cattel.
Zenjon, 73 deg. 36 min. Long. 36 deg. 5 min. Lat. Famous for its antiquity and formerly the *Persian* University.
Zertah, 79 deg. 30 min. Long. 32 deg. 30 min. Lat. The biggest City in the Province of *Belad-Ceylon*, abounding in Wine and Shell-fruit.
Zour, 70 deg. 20 min. Long. 35 deg. 32 min. Lat. A City in the same province.
Zouzen, 85 deg. 15 min. Long. 35 deg. 39 min. Lat. In the Province of *Mazandran*.

Zourend, 73 deg. 40 min. Long. 31 deg. 15 min. Lat. In the Province of *Kerman*, where there is great store of curious Potters ware; where also grows the Root *Hanna*, with the juice whereof the *Persians* dye their Nails, and the Breasts and Tails of their Horses.

The End of the Third BOOK.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE TRAVELS OF MONSIEUR TAVERNIER: BEING, A DESCRIPTION OF PERSIA.

CHAP. I.

Of the Extent of PERSIA, *and its division into Provinces.*

PERSIA, according to the present State of the Empire, to the North is bounded by the *Caspian* Sea; Southward, by the Ocean; Eastward it joyns to the Territories of the Great *Mogul*; Westward, to the Dominions of the Grand *Signor*; the two Empires being parted by the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

But that you may the better understand the full extent of the Dominions of the *Persian* King, you are to know, That this great Monarch, besides that Tract of Ground which is properly call'd *Persia*, possesses a vast part of the ancient *Assyria* and the great *Armenia*, the ancient Kingdoms of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, the Kingdom of *Lar*, the Kingdom of *Ormus*, and all Eastward of *Persia* beyond *Candahar*, almost as far as the Kingdom of *Scindi*.

But because those *Europæans* that have Travel'd before me, either were not so curious, or had not perhaps the opportunity to learn the true number of the Provinces that compose the whole Continent of *Persia*, I have undertak'n, though the *Persians* themselves are ignorant enough, to give the best account I can, finding it necessary for the better satisfaction of the Reader, to take some notice of the Names of Places according to the ancient Geography.

The first is the Great *Armenia*, which our Maps without any ground or reason at all call *Turcomannia*; in regard they might have more properly call'd it *Ermenick* in general, since the Inhabitants are the greatest part *Armenians*. That part whereof which is situated between the two Rivers of *Araxes* and *Cyrus*, at this day call'd *Aras* and *Kur*, by the Natives is call'd *Iran*, or *Cara-bag*, being one of the most beautiful, and richest pieces of Land in all *Persia*; the principal Cities of which are *Erivan*, *Nackjivan*, *Zulpha*, and *Van*.

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The second is *Diarbeck*, formerly *Mesopotamia*, between *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; the chief Cities whereof are *Bir*, *Car-Emir* or *Diarbequir*, *Ourfa*, *Mouſſul*, *Gezirè*, *Merdin*, &c.

The third is *Curdiſtan*, formerly *Aſſyria*, extending all along the East-ſide of the River *Tigris*, from the Lake *Van* to the Frontiers of *Bagdat*; the principal Cities are *Nineveh*, *Sheriſoul*, *Amadiè*, *Sncirne*, *Betlis*, and *Salmaſtre*.

The fourth is *Hierak-Arabi*, otherwiſe the Country of *Babylon* or *Chaldea*; the principal Cities whereof are *Felougia* upon *Euphrates*, *Bagdat* upon *Tigris*, *Meſhed-Ali*, *Gourno*, and *Balſara*; and in the Country of *Bourous*, *Sharaban*, *Eronnabat*, &c.

The fifth is *Hierak-Agemi*, or the ancient *Parthia*; the principal Cities whereof are *Hiſpahan*, *Touſhercan*, *Hamadan*, *Caſhan*, *Kan*, and *Caſbin*; and perhaps *Yeſd*, if it be not rather in *Kerman* or *Sigiſtan*.

The ſixth contains *Shirvan*, all along the *Caſpian* Sea, where ſtand the Cities of *Derbent* or *Demir-Capi*, *Baku*, and *Shamaki*; and the Province of *Edzerbaijan*; wherein ſtand the Cities of *Tauris*, *Ardevil*, and *Sultany*. Which two Provinces comprehend the ancient *Media* within a very little, extending to the very Shoar of the *Caſpian* Sea.

* Derbent in the Perſian Tongue ſignifies a Strait Gate, and Demir-Capi in the Turkiſh, a Gate of Iron; near to which place were the ancient Caſpian Gates, or Caſpiæ Pylæ of the Ancients.

The ſeventh contains *Kylan* and *Mazandran*, lying likewiſe upon the *Caſpian* Sea, formerly *Hyrcania*; wherein are the Cities and Towns of *Firuzcuh*, *Sukar-abad*, and *Monikielle* at the entry of the Mountains; *Giru*, *Talara-peſti*, and *Saru*, in the Plain; *Ferh-abad*, *Ciarman*, and *Gſeref*, toward the Sea.

The eighth is *Eſtarabad*, formerly *Margiana*, which extends to the River *Ruthkhané-kurkan*, which the Ancients call'd *Oxus*; the principal Cities whereof are *Eſtarabad*, *Amul*, *Damkam*.

The ninth contains the Province of the *Uſbeck-Tartars*, comprehending all the ancient *Sogdiana* and *Bactriana*; the chief Cities whereof are *Balk*, *Samarcand*, and *Boccara*, &c.

The tenth is *Coraſſan*, formerly *Aria*, with ſome part of *Bactriana*; the chief Cities whereof are *Eri*, *Meſhed*, *Niſabur*, *Thun*, &c.

The eleventh *Sableſtand*, formerly *Peloponneſus*; the principal Cities whereof are *Beksabat*, *Aſbé*, *Buſt*, *Sarents*; the Territory and City of *Candahar* being alſo comprehended within the extent of this Province, together with *Duki* and *Alunkan*, upon the Frontiers of the Great *Mogul*'s Dominions.

The twelfth is *Sigiſtan*, formerly *Drangiana*; the principal Cities whereof are *Siſtan*, *Shalack*, and *Kets*.

The thirteenth comprehends all the Territories of the ancient *Arachoſia*, bord'ring upon the Kingdom of *Scindi*, not having any Cities that we know of.

The fourteenth is the Province of *Makran*, lying all along upon the Sea of *Mogoſtan*, formerly *Gedroſia*; the chief Cities whereof are *Makran*, *Firbk*, *Chalak*, and the Port of *Guadel* toward *Guzerat*.

The fifteenth *Kerman*, formerly *Caramania*, extending as far as the Gulf of *Ormus*; the chief Cities whereof are *Kerman*, *Bermazir*, the Port of *Kuhoſtek*, and the Cape of *Jaſques*.

The ſixteenth is *Farſiſtan*, or that part of *Perſia* ſo properly call'd; the chief Cities whereof are *Schiras*, *Caſeron*, *Benarou*, *Firuz-abat*, *Darab-guier*, &c. To which you may add the little Province of *Laraſton*, with the City of *Lar*, juſt againſt *Ormus*. But this Province formerly extended no farther than *Benarou*, two days journey from *Lar*, before *Sha-Abas* conquer'd the Kingdom of *Lar*, and then the Kingdom of *Ormus*. Now they are both united; though they have both ſeveral Governours, as they had diſtinct Princes before. The Ports in this Province upon the *Perſian* Gulf are *Bander-Abaſſi* and *Bander-Congo*.

There are two other little Ports in the *Perſian* Gulf, about thirty hours ſail from the Mouth of *Euphrates*, but not capable of receiving any other than ſmall Barks; which are very much to be admir'd; for in regard the Inhabitants are ignorant of the uſe of Iron, it is ſtrange to ſee their Boats made ſo handſom and ſtrong withal; the Planks being only ty'd together with a Cord, which is made of a kind of Hemp tak'n from the out-ſide of the Coco-nut.

The laſt is the Province of *Curſiſtan*, formerly *Suſiana*, which *Euphrates* and *Tigris* joyning together ſeparate from *Chaldea*; the principal Cities whereof are *Suſter*, anciently *Suſa*, the Capital City of the Empire of King *Abaſuerus*, *Ahawas*, *Scabar*, *Rambormus*, &c.

The

The temper of the Air in *Perſia* varies according to the variety of ſituation. The Countrey of *Edzerbaijan* is very cold, but very healthy. The Air of *Mazandran* is very unwholſom; for being a low ſenny Country, and full of Inſects, when the Waters dry up in the Summer, the Inſects alſo dye and infect the Air. Sometimes thoſe bad Waters over-flow the Country; in ſo much that the Inhabitants receive a tincture in their Complexions from the colour of the Earth. The Province of *Guilan* is included in the Province of *Mazandran*; and the Air is ſo unwholſom, that the People cry of him that is ſent to command there; *Has he robb'd, ſtol'n, or murther'd, that the King ſends him to* Guilan?

At *Iſpahan*, which is almoſt in the middle of *Perſia*, there are ſix months of hot, and ſix months of cold weather. The Snow falls three or four times in a ſeaſon, and ſometimes ſo very thick, that there is hardly any travelling upon the Road. About a League from the City, toward the Mountain, there ſtands a Stone about two or three Foot high, which when the Snow hap'ns to cover, prognoſticates a plentiful Year; and the firſt Country-man that carries the news thereof to the King, receives a hundred *Tomans*. As for Rain, there is very little falls there, unleſs it be in *April*, and then it ſometimes rains very hard.

In the Southern Provinces, the heats are very exceſſive, and kill abundance of our *Europeans*, eſpecially thoſe that are giv'n to drink.

All *Perſia* is water'd with little Rivers; but there is not one navigable River through the whole extent of it, unleſs it be *Aras*, or the *Araxes* of the *Indians*, which carries ſome few flat-bottom Boats. The other Rivers, inſtead of growing bigger, the farther they keep their courſe from the Springs, grow ſhallower for want of Water, by reaſon of the infinite number of *Kreiſes* or Channels, which they cut out of the Rivers to water the Lands, which would not bring forth ſo much as only Graſs without the help of thoſe Cuts; unleſs it be in the Province of *Mazandran*, which from *September* to *March* ſeems a kind of Terreſtrial Paradiſe, through the pleaſing variety of Herbs and Fruits. However, *Perſia* in general being thus water'd is a moſt fruitful Country: though it be true, that many of their Springs and Channels are loſt and brok'n. And *Mirza-Ibrahim* Governour of the Province of *Edzerbaijan* told me one day, that in the very Territory of *Tauris*, there were above two hundred Springs utterly loſt, either by accident or negligence.

As for their Gardens, they water them with Well-water, by the help of a Wheel and an Ox; but the running Water is much better, as not being ſo cold, and more fatning to the Earth. And therefore the Fruits that grow in the Mountains which are only water'd by the Rain or by the Dews, are much better taſted, and keep longer.

Perſia is a mountainous Country, but for the moſt part the Mountains are very dry and barren. As for Woods, there are none in all the Country. Travellers are alſo forc'd to go a great way out of their Road to find a Spring; and ſometimes they ſhall ride ten or twelve Leagues, before they meet with any Water but what they carry in their Bottles. There are ſome Mountains out of which they dig Salt, as Stones out of a Quarrey. There are alſo Plains where the Sand is nothing but Salt, though it be not ſo ſavoury as our Northern Salt.

Of late ſeveral Copper-Mines have been found out, of which the Natives make all ſorts of Kitchin-Houſhold-ſtuff. Their Lead comes from *Kerman*; their Iron and Steel from *Coraſan* and *Karbin*, though not ſo good as that of *Spain*. Their Steel is very fine, with a ſmooth grain, and grows very hard in the Water, but it is as brittle as Glaſs. Neither will this ſort of Steel agree with the Fire: ſo that if the Fire have not more than a double heat when the Steel is forg'd, it will look juſt like a piece of burnt Charcoal. The Steel which we call *Damas-Steel* comes from the *Indies*, and the *Perſians* call it *Gauherder*.

There are alſo ſome Mines of Gold and Silver in *Perſia*, wherein it appears that they have anciently wrought. *Sha-Abas* alſo try'd again, but found his expence to be more than his profit: whence it is become a Proverb in *Perſia*, *Nokre Kerven dehkrarge nobhaſſel*; The Silver-Mine of *Kerven*, where they ſpend ten to get nine, which is the reaſon that all the Gold and Silver of *Perſia* comes out of Forein Countries.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Flowers and Fruits of Persia, *of Turquoises and Pearls.*

THE Flowers of *Persia* are nothing comparable to our *European* Flowers, neither for variety nor beauty. For having pass'd the *Tigris* in the Road to *Persia*, you meet with nothing but Roses and Lillies, and some other Fruits peculiar to the Country.

As for Roses, they have great store, which they distil, as they do Orange-flowers, and transport the Waters into all the Eastern parts of *Asia*.

I never left the Court of *Persia*, but some of the Lords, especially four of the white Eunuchs, beg'd of me to bring them some Flowers out of *France*; for they have every one a Garden before their Chamber-door: and happy is he that can present the King with a Posie of Flowers in a Crystal Flower-Pot.

There are in *Persia* Apples, Pears, Oranges, Granates, Prunes, Cherries, Apricots, Quinces, Chesnuts, Medlers, and other sorts of Fruit, which is not generally so well-tasted as ours.

Their Apricots indeed, especially the lesser sort, are better than ours. When you open this Apricot, the Stone cleaves in two, and then the Kernel, which is only a small Skin, as white as Snow, is more pleasing to the taste than if it had been preserv'd.

As for their Melons, they are most excellent, and very plentiful, neither is it so dangerous to eat them to excess, as ours. There have been some that have eat'n six and thirty pound in a day, and have never been the worse. There is a prodigious quantity of them sold in *Ispahan*, where they are brought to Market, from midnight 'till four a Clock in the afternoon. Those Melons which are first in season, and are call'd *Guermez*, are insipid, and taste of nothing but Water. However the Physicians advise you to eat them, saying that they plump up the Flesh, and renew the habit of the Body. The next to the *Guermez*, are better than they, and they increase in goodness 'till they come to be quite out of season; the last of which they keep all the Winter long.

Though they have such vast plenty, yet they never leave but one Melon upon a stalk, and when it is as big as a Nut, the Gard'ner, or his Wife, or his Children, lye down upon the ground and lick off the Down, which they say keeps the Melon from being sweet, and rip'ning kindly.

The *Persians* have also a particular sort of Quince-Pipin, but not so good as ours, which they fry unpar'd, casting great store of Salt in the Pan to excite thirst, and then present them to their Friends at their Collations. They have also Almonds and Figs, but few Small-nuts or Wall-nuts.

Oyl they have none, but in the Provinces of *Mazandran* and *Guilan*, which furnish all the rest of *Persia*; but the Olives are rotten, black, gravelly, and not worth any thing, compar'd with *Province*-Olives.

Armenia, *Mengrelia*, *Georgia*, and *Media* abound in Vineyards. They bury their Vines all the Winter, and take them up again in the Spring by reason of the cold. In the hotter Countries they dress their Vines as we do, without any under-propping them. There are three sorts of Wines in *Persia*. That of *Yesd* is very delicate; that of *Ispahan* but ordinary: that of *Yesd* is transported to *Lar* where there lives a great number of *Jews*, who care not to live but where they may have good Wine, and that at a cheap rate. It is also carry'd to *Ormus*, where it is sold half in half cheaper than the Wine of *Schiras*. As for the Wine of *Schiras*, it is made of one only Grape, sweet in taste, but which heats the Mouth extremely. This sort of Grape is call'd *Kichmishé*; it is a white Grape, without any stone, as vulgarly believ'd; but however it has a stone, though it be hardly to be perceiv'd, which nevertheless will appear in new Wine, when it frets like a little Ligament. They say that the Wine of *Ispahan* is cold upon the Stomach, but that it fumes into the Head. For its coldness upon the Stomach I can say little, but I know it will warm the Head, if a man takes too much of it. In *Persia* they never keep their Wine in Tuns, but in great

great earthen Veſſels bak'd in an Oven, either glazed, or elſe ſmear'd over with the fat of a Sheeps rump, ſtopp'd up with wood'n Covers, cover'd over again with a great piece of red Calicut, that lyes over all the lids of the Pots.

The King and his Lords have other ſorts of Cellars for magnificence, where they treat ſuch as they invite. Theſe are four ſquare Rooms not above three or four ſteps deep, with a Well in the middle, the floor being ſpread with *Turky* Carpets. Now at the four corners of the Well ſtand four great Bottles containing twenty Pints apiece, the one of White, the other of Claret. Between the great Bottles ſtands a row of leſſer Bottles filled, a Bottle of White, and a Bottle of Red. In the Cellar-wall are ſeveral niches one above another, and in every nich a Bottle, ſtill vary'd *Gules* and *Argent*; a very pleaſant ſight to good Companions in a Room, which is as light as day.

As for Herbs and Roots they have very good in *Perſia*, but above all, moſt excellent *Roman* Lettuce. But there is no ſort of Pulſe, nor can they find a way to make Peaſe grow among them. The *Carmelites* carry'd Aſparagus, Artichoaks, and Succory, which were never ſeen there before, but now begin to thrive very well.

As for Turquoiſes and Pearls I ſhall ſpeak thereof in my diſcourſe of Jewels, toward the end of my *Indian* Travels.

CHAP. III.

Of the Beaſts of Service; of the Fiſh and Fowl of Perſia.

THE Beaſts for ſervice in *Perſia*, are Horſes, Mules, Aſſes, and Camels. The Horſes of *Perſia* are but of an ordinary ſtature, leſs than ours, very narrow before, but very ſwift and light. They carry their heads very ill in running, by reaſon of the Cuſtom to which the *Perſians* uſe them. For they have got a trick of managing their Horſes, yet never getting upon their backs; they teach them to Amble by tying their feet with two Cords of an equal length, to the middle whereof are faſten'd two other Cords that are faſten'd to the Saddle, which two Cords keep their feet ſo, that they cannot ſtir but at ſuch a diſtance; and ſo they deal with their Mules upon which the old men generally covet to ride. The Horſes of *Perſia* are very docible, and eaſily brought up. They give them nothing elſe from one Evening to another but a Sack full of chopt Straw, with a meaſure of Barley which they mingle together with the Straw, to the end they may eat both together. When the Barley is newly ear'd, they give it them for fourteen or twenty days together to purge their Bodies, as we for the ſame end put our Horſes to Graſs in the Spring. The *Perſian* Horſes hold out very well 'till eighteen or twenty years of age; but they never cut their Stone-Horſes in that Country. In the Winter, they never take off their Shooes, but only Froſt-nail them. Their Furniture is very light and handſomly made. And this is further obſerv'd, that whereas we keep Goats in our Stables and Inns, the *Perſians* keep Hogs.

There are two ſorts of Aſſes in *Perſia*. Thoſe that are bred in the Country only ſerve to carry burthens; but there are a ſort of *Arabian* Aſſes that are ſwift and very handſom, excelling in price the common ſort of Horſes. The Merchants of *Iſpahan* keep theſe Aſſes in their Country Houſes, taking it for a great piece of Grandeur to Ride every Morning to their Shops.

Some parts of *Perſia* are perplex'd alſo with wild-Beaſts, as Lyons, Bears, and Leopards, but there are but very few; nor have we heard that ever they did any great miſchief. Porcupines they have alſo; and I my ſelf ſaw brought before the King two men, the one of which was Shot through the Thigh, and through the Leg with a Porcupine's Quill. The ſecond was kill'd, the Porcupine having darted his Quill a little above his right Pap through his Breſt. As for their Fiſh, there are an abundance of Carps, Trouts, and Pikes in the River *Aras*: but in all the other Rivers of *Perſia* there is but one ſort of Fiſh, which is a kind of

Barbel. In the ſubterranean Channel which they bring to water their fields there is another ſort of Fiſh very plentiful of bones, and as little as can be eaten.

Where the white Mulberies grow by the River ſide, ſo ſoon as they begin to bear fruit, 'tis very good paſtime to ſee the Crabs, as big as the Palm of a man's hand, come out of the River after Sun-ſet, and climb the trees to eat the fruit, and then by break of day return into the River again. They are delicate food, far beyond Crey-fiſh, but a hot provocative Diet, as the Phyſicians well obſerve.

During the Froſt they bring from the *Caſpian* Sea great ſtore of Salmon or Salmon-Trouts, four or five Foot long. The Province of *Media* is well ſtor'd with Sturgeon from the mouth of the River *Araxes*. In the ſame Sea there is a certain Fiſh like a Carp, which they ſalt and dry like our Herrings. From the *Perſian* Gulf comes nothing but Salt-fiſh, which is tranſported over all the Kingdom.

Their Fowls are much the ſame that we have in *Europe*, only I do not remember that I ever ſaw any Quails in the Country. As for their Pigeons, they fly wild about the Country; but only ſome which they keep tame in the City, wherewithal to decoy the reſt: which is a ſport the *Perſians* uſe in hot weather as well as in cold. Now in regard the Chriſtians are not permitted to keep theſe Pigeons, ſome of the vulgar ſort will turn *Mahometans* to have that liberty. There are above three thouſand Pigeon-houſes in *Iſpahan*. For every man may build a Pigeon-houſe upon his own Farm, which yet is very rarely done; all the other Pigeon-houſes belong to the King, who draws a greater Revenue from the Dung than from the Pigeons: which Dung, as they prepare it, ſerves to ſmoak their Melons.

Poultrey is very plentiful in *Perſia*; and the *Armenians* brought out of *Europe* the way how to Fat Capons; the firſt ſo fatted they preſented to the King, who lik'd them ſo well, that he order'd that the richeſt of the *Armenians* ſhould be commanded to provide him ſuch a number every year. There are no Turkeys in all *Aſia*; but the *Armenians* trafficking to *Venice* carry'd ſome from thence, which when the King had taſted, he lik'd ſo well, that he order'd the *Armenians* to breed him up ſuch a number, and to ſtock the Kingdom with them. But the *Armenians*, ſeeing the King would impoſe a new Tribute of Turkeys as well as Capons, grew negligent, and ſuffer'd the Chickens to dye as ſoon as they were hatch'd. Thereupon the *Perſians* ſuſpecting the fraud, commanded the *Armenians* to keep the dead Turkeys, that they might be Judges how they came by their deaths: And it was my wonder to ſee ſo many young Turkeys hanging againſt the Walls of ſome Houſes in *Zulpha*, that occaſion'd this Story to be told me.

All ſorts of Water-fowl are as plentiful in *Perſia*, as with us.

Upon the Frontiers of *Media* and *Armenia*, at a certain ſeaſon of the year are to be ſeen a great number of Birds, much like to our Owzils. Much about the ſame time the Corn begins to appear, but then is the ground cover'd with ſuch infinite ſwarms of Locuſts, that the *Armenians* are forc'd to betake themſelves to their Proceſſions, and to water the ground with a Water which they fetch a great way off, whereinto the Bodies of ſeveral martyr'd Chriſtians were thrown. Three days theſe Proceſſions and waterings of the ground continue, and after that, whether it be that the fore-mention'd Birds do eat the Locuſts, or only drive them away, in two or three days the Country is clear of them.

As for Birds of prey, the Country wants none, Falcons, Sparrow-Hawks, Lanerets, &c. of which the King of *Perſia* is very well provided, having above eight hundred belonging to his Game. Some of theſe Birds are taught to fly at the wild Boar, or wild Aſs, or wild Goat; others at Cranes, Herons, wild Geeſe, and Partridg. The chiefeſt of which Birds are brought from the Southern Mountains extending from *Schiras* to the *Perſian* Gulf.

The King takes great delight to hunt the Boar and Hart; and if it come to paſs that the Game out-run the Dogs, then they let fly one of their Hawks, who preſently ſeizes the head, and while ſhe is continually pecking and diſturbing the Beaſt, the Dogs are preſently at his heels. The Hawks are taught to ſtop like a Horſe at full ſpeed: elſe they would never quit their prey, which they preſently do, as ſoon as ever the Falconer ſhews them their reward. Now their way of ord'ring or making the Hawk is this. They take the skin of a Hart, head, body, and legs, and ſtuff it with Straw, to the end it may be like the Beaſt which they intend to repreſent in the nature of a Quarry. When they have ſet it in the place

where

where they uſually train up the Hawk, they lay meat upon the head, or in the holes of the eyes, to the end the Bird may be ſure to ſeize thoſe parts at his down-come. Being accuſtom'd to feed in this manner for ſome days together, they fix the Beaſt upon a Plank with four Wheels, and cauſe it to be drawn with long Cords by certain men, that mend their pace ev'ry day, 'till at length it is drawn by a Horſe at full ſpeed, whereby the Bird is accuſtom'd by degrees not to forſake her prey. After the ſame manner they counterfeit all other ſorts of Quarrys to enter their Hawks, as well wild Boars, wild Aſſes, as Hares and Foxes. Some there are that will order a Crow with the ſame induſtry as you would make a Hawk. They have alſo a certain Beaſt which they call *Once*, which has a ſpotted skin like a Tiger, but which is nevertheleſs very gentle and tame; this a Horſe-man will carry behind him, and when he ſees a wild Goat, he ſets down the *Once*, which is ſo nimble, that in three leaps he will be upon the back of the wild Goat; though the wild Goat be a very ſwift Creature. The *Once* immediately ſtrangles him with his ſharp teeth. But if by accident the wild Goat get from him, the *Once* will ſtand ſtill in the ſame place abaſh'd and troubl'd, ſo that an Infant may take him and kill him, without the leaſt reſiſtance made in his own defence.

The Kings of *Perſia* take great delight in Hunting, and in that ſport it is that they love to ſhew themſelves magnificent: Inſomuch that *Sha-Sefi* deſirous to treat all the Ambaſſadors then at his Court, which at that time were the *Tartarian*, *Muſcovite*, and *Indian*, carry'd them along with him into the field, and having tak'n a great number of Harts, Fallow dear, Hinds, and wild Boars, he caus'd them all to be made ready to be eat'n the ſame day; And while he was feaſting, an Architect had order to raiſe a Pyramid of the heads of thoſe Beaſts in the middle of *Iſpahan*, of which there are ſome remains to this day. When the Architect had rais'd it to a conſiderable height, he came very pleaſantly to the King, and told him he wanted nothing but one head of ſome great Beaſt to finiſh the Work. The King, whether in his Wine, or to ſhew the Ambaſſadors how abſolute he was over his Subjects, turning briskly toward the Architect; *Thou ſay'ſt well*, ſaid he, *nor do I know where to meet with a Head more proper than thy own.* Thereupon the miſerable Architect was forc'd to ſubmit his own Head, the King's Command being preſently put in execution.

CHAP. IV.

Of the manner of Building in Perſia.

IN regard there is little Wood or Stone in *Perſia*, all the Cities, except ſome Houſes, are generally built of Earth; but of an earthen, or rather a kind of Potter's Clay, ſo well wrought, that you may cut it like Turf, being wrought to a juſt conſiſtency. The Walls are made with lays of Earth, according to the proportion intended, and between every lay of Earth, three Foot high, two or three rows of Bricks bak'd in the Sun. Theſe Bricks are made in a ſquare Mold three fingers thick, and ſeven or eight inches broad: and for fear they ſhould cleave with drying in the Sun, they lay over them pounded Straw to keep them from chopping in the heat. They never lay the ſecond lay 'till the firſt be dry, nor is the ſecond lay to be ſo broad as the lowermoſt. Thoſe Buildings which are made of Brick bak'd in the Sun are very handſom; and after the Wall is rais'd, the Maſon plaiſters it over with a Morter made of Potter's Clay mingled with Straw; ſo that the defects of the Building being cover'd, the Wall appears very firm and cloſe. Then the Work-man plaiſters the Morter over again with a Lime mixt with *Muſcovy*-Green, which he pounds with a certain Gum, to render the Lime more glutinous: and then rubbing the Wall over with a courſe Bruſh, it becomes as it were damask'd and ſilver'd, and looks like Marble. The poor are contented with only bare Walls, or ſome courſe daubing that coſts little. The middle of the Houſe conſiſts of a large *Portico*, twenty or thirty Foot ſquare; and in the middle of the *Portico* a Fountain full of Water. It is all open upon one ſide; and from the *Portico* to the Pond or

Fountain all cover'd with Carpets. At every corner of the *Portico* is a Room to sit and take the fresh Air; and behind another large Room, the floor whereof is spread with Carpets, Mattresses, and Cushions, according to the quality of the Master of the House. Upon the two sides of the *Portico* are two other Chambers, and doors to go from one Chamber to another: and thus are the Houses of the great Lords built, but only they are more spacious. For their Houses consist of four great Parlours, that look toward the four corners of the World, and every Parlour has two Chambers upon each side, which make eight Chambers, that surround a great Hall in the middle. The King's Palace is also built after the same fashion: and generally the *Persians* Houses are very low, it being a rare thing to see one three Stories high. Yet all their Chambers and Rooms are arch'd, wherein the *Persian* exceeds us. For without all that trouble and time that we spend, they will presently raise an Arch so broad and high as easily demonstrates the skill of the Work-man. The tops of their Houses are flat and terrass'd; being plaster'd with Earth mixt with Straw chopt very small and well temper'd; which they bind together with a layer of Lime beat'n for seven days together, which makes it as hard as Marble, and if they want Lime, they pave the Terrass with square Tiles bak'd in an Oven, so that the Rain can do no harm. But they are very careful to shovel off the Snow, for fear it crack the Terrass with lying. Without the Houses show nothing, but within they are curiously painted with Birds and Flowers, wherein the *Persians* are no bad Artists. They take great delight to have several little Chambers, with several Doors, and Lattice-windows, the quarrels whereof are of Glass of various colours. This sort of glazing serves generally, and indeed more properly, for the Apartment where the Women may come. For they might have Crystal-windows if they pleas'd, but they glaze the void spaces in this matter, that their Women may not be seen; after they have fram'd the op'n place that gives light, like a Flower-Pot with several Flowers in it, which the Glass of several colours imitates to the life; whereby it is impossible that the Windows should be peer'd through; besides, that it is pleasant to the Eye. The Doors of their Houses are of *Tebinar*-Wood, which is very noble, and their Wainscoting is as neat. The *Persians* that love ostentation, always display their rich Carpets, Mattresses, Cushions, Coverlets, and all the most costly Furniture they have, in the fore part of their dwellings: For the *Harami*, or the Women's Quarter is but meanly adorn'd, in regard they are never visited by any men but their Husbands. In some of their Rooms they have very narrow Chimnies; for the *Persians* set all their Wood upright which they burn, because of the Smoak; besides, they make but small Fires, in regard they have so great a scarcity of Wood. When they would go to sleep, they lye down upon a Plank cover'd with a Carpet, and wrap themselves in a quilted Blanket. In the Summer they sleep in the open Air, upon their Terrasses; and in regard the Women lye there too, there is an order obtain'd, that the *Moullahs* that sing upon the *Mosquees* shall not presume to go up in the morning, because it might be their hap to see the Women as they lay; it being one of the highest pieces of infamy imaginable for a Woman to be discover'd with her Face op'n.

There are some Houses that belong to great Lords, that have a square place before their Doors, where they that come to visit them may put their Horses, to the end the Street should not be pester'd. If you look upon the Front of their Houses, there is little ornament to be seen, unless it be upon some which have been lately built.

CHAP. V.

A Description of Ispahan, *the chief City of the Kingdom and Dominions of the King of* Persia.

ISpahan, *Sphahan*, or *Sphaon*, as the *Persians* pronounce it, which some Travellers have too unwarily affirm'd to be a fine City, lyes in the Province of *Hierac*, which composes some part of the ancient Kingdom of the *Parthians*. It is the Capital City of all *Persia*, and a very large place, where the King usually keeps his Court. The Records of the *Persians* declare that formerly it was two contiguous Towns, one part

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the leg deep; though it be very true that there are very few people to be seen then in the Street; for in regard of the vaulted Channels that run through every Street, should the Soak'd Earth chance to fall under the Horse, it might endanger a Limb. Besides, the *Persians* are so superstitious, that they will hardly receive a man within their doors with a spot of Dirt upon his Cloaths, for fear of being defil'd by him.

You shall also meet with little Holes against the Walls of the Houses in the op'n Street, where the *Persians* are not asham'd to squat and Piss in the face of all the World. If there be any running Water in the Street, they take a little in their Hands and wash their Member with it; or if there be no Water, they rub it against a Stone or the Wall, which they take for a great piece of gentility and modesty.

That which farther contributes to the nastiness of the Streets of *Ispahan*, is, that the Butchers throw the Blood and Excrements of the Beasts which they kill into the Streets. If a Horse or a Mule, a Camel or an Ass dye, they presently throw him into the Street. True it is, that there are people who come presently to buy it of the Owner; who make *Harisse*, which they sell to the poor Work-men. This *Harisse* is thus prepar'd; they boyl the flesh of the dead Beast with Corn, and after it is well boyl'd they mash it together, 'till it becomes like a Pottage. They also make *Harisse* of good Mutton; both which sorts they sell in the Market-place, or great *Meydan* of the City.

Though the City of *Ispahan* be dirty, yet there is a way for persons of Ability to avoid it; for they never stir but on Horse-back, with two or three Lackeys, call'd *Chatres*, that run before to make room. For the Men are all upon the false Gallop in the Streets, without any fear of hurting the Children: by reason that the Children are not suffered to play in the Streets like ours, but as soon as ever they come from School, they sit down by their Parents, to be instructed by them in their Profession.

These *Valets* or Foot-men make a Trade of Running; of which the King and the Lords have several in their service; it being a piece of grandeur to keep a great many. They serve from Father to Son, undergoing an Apprentiship in Running. From six to seven years of age, they only set themselves to walk slowly. The next year they run a League at a time upon a handsom trot, the next year after they run two or three Leagues, and so proportionably for the rest. At eighteen years of age they are allow'd a Scrip of Flowr, with a flat piece of Copper to bake their Bread upon, and a Bottle of Water; all which they carry about them when they run. For these people when they are sent Post never take the *Caravan*-Road but the shortest cuts through the Deserts, and must therefore accustom themselves to carry their Provision. The King and the Lords have no *Chatres*, but what are Masters; which degree they are not to arrive at without some Ceremony and performing a Race, like our *Jemmy* and the Butcher of *Croyden*.

If he be a Lord that owns the *Chater* who desires to be a Master, he sends for all his Friends, sets up a Scaffold in the *Meydan*, provides a Collation, and sends for the Curtisans to divert the Company. Now there is not one of these Guests that does no bring something to give this *Chater* after the Race is run, either a Bonnet or a Girdle, or some other thing, part of which the *Chater* gives to his fellows. Then the *Chater* appears with his Legs greas'd, his Thighs bare, only a slight short pair of loose Breeches, and a Girdle with three little bells hanging upon his Belly. Thus accouter'd he starts from *Ali-Capi*, and between Sun-rising and Sun-setting he runs backward and forward to a Stone a League and a half from the City toward the Mountains; running in that time six and thirty of our common Leagues, or a hundred and eight Miles. While he runs, there is *Kouronk* in the *Meydan*, and upon all the Road where he runs, and three or four Horse-men that continually ride to and fro, to see that there be no deceit in the *Chater*'s Race; who when he approaches near the City, ride before to give notice of his coming. Every time he starts and returns, the Drums and Trumpets sound; at the end of the Race there stand several persons with Arrows in their Hands, and ev'ry time he comes to the Stone they give him an Arrow, which he carries back every course to *Ali Capi*. Every time he returns, the Curtisans rub him and make much of him. All the time he runs, he eats nothing, but drinks Sherbet now and then. If he acquit himself well

well, which appears by the number of Arrows brought back, he is admitted a Master by the approbation of the King's Foot-men, who are superior to all the rest. The *Kans* or Governours of Provinces run their own *Chaters* with the same Ceremonies, and in the same manner.

The Fortress of *Ispahan* is nothing at all considerable. It joyns to the Wall upon the South side of the City, and is twice as long as broad, but without any defence in the World, unless it be of some pitiful Towers made of Earth. Here it is that the King keeps all the Rarities which he has purchas'd, or that has been presented to him. For as to his main Treasure, I believe it consists chiefly in Gold-Plate. Within the Fortress there is a large Field, sow'd every year with Rice and Corn; hard by which stands the House of the *Capuchin*-Friars.

Ispahan in general, unless it be the *Meydan* and some few arch'd Streets where the Merchants live, is more like a great Village than a City; the Houses standing at a distance one from the other, with every one a Garden, but ill look'd after, not having any thing in it perchance but only one pitiful Tree: true it is that they begin to build better of late days, but it is without the City. As for the Women, 'tis not a pin matter whether they live out of the City or within, in regard they never stir out of doors, and as seldom go a-froo.

The *Meydan* or great *Piazza* of *Ispahan* was the contrivance of the great *Sha-Abas*, who had never done it, if a great Prince of the ancient Race of the Kings of *Persia* had not refus'd him the old *Meydan*, with several Priviledges, and the House that stood by it. Thereupon he design'd this new *Piazza*, to draw off the Merchants, and to spoil the old Market-Place by their departure from that quarter of the City which is less inhabited at this day. It is not far from this old *Meydan*, that the *Austin-Friars* on the one side, and the *Carmelites* on the other have their Habitations. There are also two sides of that *Meydan* entire, under the *Portico's*, where sit only such People as sell Herbs, Fruit, and Victuals; the other two sides are almost faln to decay; but when it was all standing, it was as handsom as the new one: and it is to be wonder'd, that the Prince, who built it, did not choose the place where *Sha-Abas* has built his, as being near the Water, and consequently far more convenient.

The great *Meydan* then is a place about seven hundred Paces long, and between two and three hundred broad. It has Buildings upon all the four sides; it lyes in length directly North and South; the Fronts are every one Portico'd, and Terrass'd at the top; and on the City-side are little Chambers nine or ten Foot high, which fall very much to decay, being only built of Brick bak'd in the Sun. They are inhabited, the greatest part of them, by the most infamous Curtisans of the City. At some Paces distance from the *Portico's*, is a Channel which is pav'd with stone, and runs round about the *Piazza*; *Sha-Abas* caus'd several Trees to be planted by the side of it, but both the Channel and the Trees being altogether neglected, are faln to decay; besides, that the smell of the Water in the Summer time is very noysom.

In the midst of the *Piazza* stands a kind of a May-Pole, or Mast of a Ship, where the People exercise shooting at Birds. When the King comes to shoot, they set a Cup of Gold upon the top of the Mast, which he is to strike down with an Arrow. To which purpose he must ride full speed, nor is he permitted to shoot 'till after he has past the May-Pole, turning himself upon the crupper of his Horse: a remain of the ancient custom of the *Parthians*, that kill'd their Enemies flying.

The Cup belongs to him that strikes it down; and I have seen *Sha-Sefi*, Grandfather of the present King, in five Courses strike down three Cups.

From this Mast or May-Pole down to the great *Mosquee*, they sell nothing but Wood and Charcoal: from the same Pole to the Sun-Dial upon the North-side, are none but such as sell old Iron-Tools, old Harness for Horses, old Coverlets, and other Brokery-ware, as in our *Long-Lane*.

From the Pole to another *Mosquee*, to the South, just again the Sun-Dial, is the place for all the Poulterers. The rest of the *Piazza* toward the Palace, is always kept clean, without any Shops, because the King comes often abroad in the Evening to see Lions, Bears, Bulls, Rams, Cocks, and all other sort of Creatures fight which are brought thither.

The people of *Ispahan*, as in many other Cities, are divided into two parts, the one

one call'd *Hedari*, the other *Nametlai*; and upon all the Combats of Beasts before-mention'd, there are always very considerable Wagers laid between these two Tribes. The King, who is a neuter, gives to the Master of the Beast that gets the upper hand sometimes five, sometimes ten, sometimes twenty *Tomans*, according to the value of the Wager laid; and he that wins the Wager, presents the Master of the Beast likewise. They have also a Sport at breaking of Egg, by knocking the ends one against another, some of which Eggs come to three or four Crowns. The Hens that lay them are bred in a Country which they call *Sansevare*, about a hundred leagues from *Ispahan*, toward the Province of *Karasan*; the Cocks of which Country are bigger and stronger than other Cocks, and cost some of them a hundred Crowns. There are a sort of Tumblers also, that after Dinner set up their Stages in the *Meydan*, and toward the Evening, they that play the *Maid-Marians* come and encompass a square place with a course piece of Calicut; and then through another very fine Cloth, the Wenches shew a thousand tumbling Tricks and antick Postures. When they have done, they come and ask the Spectators for Money, who give them every one what they think fit. Every Friday, which is as it were Market-day, the Country-folks bring to Town what they have made in the Villages, as Doors and Windows fitted to be hung up, Window-frames, Locks, and other things of that nature. Upon that day also they sell Mules, Horses, Camels, and Asses, which brings a great confluence of people from all parts.

Upon the West-side, where stands the Gate of the Palace, and *Ali*'s Gate, between the Canal and the *Portico's* are rang'd some seventy Pieces of Cannon upon their Carriages. These Guns, together with the Sun-Dial, were brought from *Ormus* by the Great *Sha-Abas*, of which the *English* ought to have had their share; for without their assistance he never could have tak'n the Town.

From the corner of that Front, which touches upon the Eastern Front of the *Mosquee*, in the middle, are all Sadlers Shops; and from that *Mosquee* to another corner that touches upon the Western Front, live the Book-Sellers, Book-binders, and Trunk-makers. In the middle of the Southern Front stands a Portal, with a Tower upon each side, which leads to a *Mosquee*, the Gate whereof is cover'd all over with Plates of Silver, and is certainly the neatest Portal and fairest Entrance into any *Mosquee* of *Persia*.

At the other end of the same Front, where it joyns to that upon the West, there is a great Portal that leads to a false Gate of the King's Palace; near to which, as soon as you are enter'd, you meet with the Apartment of the Great Treasurer, who is a white Eunuch, and having the Keys of the Chamber where the Money lyes, takes care to pay what-ever the King orders him. Through that false Gate all the King's Provisions are carry'd into the Palace. This way also enter they that are entertained for the Manufactory of the King's Tissues, Silks, Sattins, Coverlets, and the like. In the same Enclosure also the *Franks*, who are under the King's Wages, and live at *Zulpha*, come every day to work; as also all the most particular and eminent Artists that the King hires.

The Western Front, which makes one of the two lengths of the *Meydan*, is thus appointed; from the Southern angle that touches the Trunk-maker's quarter, live all your Pedlers that sell all the small Commodities of *Norimberg* and *Venice*.

As for the King's Palace, I cannot make any handsom description of it, in regard there is nothing of Beauty either in the Building or in the Gardens. I think I have been as far in the House as a man could go, every time I was sent for by His Majesty; but excepting only four Rooms which they call *Divans*, I saw nothing but pitiful low Galleries, and so narrow that hardly two men could pass a-breast in 'em. In one of those Galleries I had audience of the King, in the Garment of Honour which he had bestow'd upon me. But In regard I have spok'n of two of them in another place, and that the other two are much alike both Building and Furniture, I shall say no more of them here.

From the King's Palace Gate to *Haly*'s Gate live the Goldsmiths, Lapidaries, and Gravers of Stones for Seals: *Haly*'s Gate is a plain Gate, naked of Work: of which I have already spok'n.

Between *Haly*'s Gate, and the other angle of the same Western Front, stands a great Gate which leads into a *Bazar*, where all the *Armenians* that live at *Zulfa* keep their Shops, and sell all sorts of Cloth that comes out of *Europe*, and other the choicest

choiceſt Wares of *Perſia*. At the end of that *Bazar* ſtands a fair Inn two Stories high, which the Mother of *Sha-Abas* the ſecond caus'd to be built. In the middle ſtands a great Fountain with four great Gates, which lead into four other Inns. Here by the way let me give a Traveller and a Trader in *Perſia* this advice; that if his Goods be not very heavy, he never hire a low Chamber, as being three times dearer than thoſe above: For the Chambers which the Sun lies upon moſt in the Summer, are the Chambers which coſt leaſt. Not but all the Chambers in the Inn are Tax'd at the ſame rate by the King; but the Hoſt for his profit will find ſome pretence or other to raiſe his price, pretending thoſe Chambers be hir'd already which you deſire, eſpecially if they be corner Chambers, which are the largeſt and moſt commodious. And indeed without this colluſion Chambers would be very cheap. The beſt convenience of thoſe Inns is, that a man is more ſecure in one of them then in a private Houſe: For there if it happ'n that a piece of Goods be ſtol'n; or that your Chapman prove inſolvent for Goods bought, the Inn-keeper is to make all good; being by the Law to receive ſo many blows aday 'till he pays the ſum demanded. The Merchant alſo gives two in the hundred for every thing that he ſells, and when the Market is done they preſently go to the Hoſt, who ſets down in his Book the quality of his Goods, and the names both of buyer and ſeller. If he knows not the buyer, he is bound to go and enquire after him, and if he be not ſolvent, the Merchant takes his Goods again. Sometimes the Merchant to ſave the two in the hundred, combines with the Purchaſer to carry away ſome of his Goods without the knowledge of the Hoſt, which is done by greaſing his Deputies fiſt, who will preſently ſhut his Eyes. But then if the Purchaſer proves inſolvent, the Merchant dares not complain, becauſe his Goods are not Regiſter'd in the King's Book, whom he has defrauded of his Cuſtom.

No leſs ſecure are the *Bazars* or Market-places, where the Merchants ſhut up their Shops very ſlightly, the *Bazars* being ſtrongly guarded both within and without all night long. As for the petty Stalls in the *Meydan*, every one puts up his Ware in a Box Padlock'd up, and then lay them down at one end of the place one by another. As for the courſe ſort of Ware, as Tents, Cords, Ropes, and ſuch other things they only heap them under a large Coverlet faſten'd at the four corners by four ſticks, for the *Meydan* alſo is as ſtrongly guarded as the *Bazar*.

Between *Haly*'s Gate and that which leads to the *Bazar* where the *Armenians* keep their Shops live all thoſe that deal in *Ruſſia* Leather, making *Boracchio's* to tye under the Horſes Bellies, little Buckets, and Furniture for Horſe-men, as alſo Bowyers, Fletchers, and Forbiſhers. From the laſt Gate to the end of the Gallery, live all the Druggiſts and Apothecaries.

At the Angle upon the two fronts upon the Eaſt and North, there is a Gate that leads to the Great *Bazar*; next to that live only your Sails-men that ſell whole Habits for men, as Shirts, Sheets, Hoſe, and the like. There be alſo thoſe that ſell Leather Shoes for men and women; which Shoes are always worn by perſons of quality.

Out of this *Bazar* you go into another full of men that work in Copper, ſuch as make Pots, Plates, and other Utenſils for the Kitchin. Here alſo live thoſe that make Files, and the blades of Sythes. The reſt of the *Bazar* is poſſeſs'd by Dyers of Calicut; and at the end of the *Bazar* is a fair Inn, where all the Merchants live that ſell Muſk, *Ruſſia* Leather, and Furrs.

I have in another place obſerv'd that the King has a great Revenue out of the *Bazars* and Inns which he has caus'd to be built, which is particularly laid out in proviſion for his Table. For the Law of *Mahomet* forbidding Princes to impoſe Taxes or Cuſtoms upon the People, they do not believe that the money which ariſes from thence is fit to be employ'd or laid out for the neceſſaries of life, believing that their food ſo purchas'd would do them no good. By virtue of this prohibition of *Mahomet* it is, that the Merchants take all the liberty they can to deceive the King of his Cuſtoms, believing that they cannot offend the Prince, while they tranſgreſs not the Law. Beſides, that if they ſhould pay all the King's Duties, the price of Goods would riſe ſo high, ſo as to ſpoil the whole Courſe of Trade and Commerce. Neither would the Revenue of the *Caravanſera's*, *Bazars*, and Gardens ſuffice for the Kings Kitchin, were not the ſeveral *Kans* or Governours of Provinces oblig'd to ſupply that expence every Week in their turns, whereby thoſe expences coſt the King little or nothing.

Upon the North-Front of the *Meydan*, are made under the *Portico's* ſeparations for Chambers, that look upon the *Piazza*, where people go to ſmoak Tobacco and drink Coffee. The Seats of thoſe Rooms are plac'd as in ſo many Amphitheaters, and in the midſt of every one ſtands a large Veſſel full of running Water, wherewith their Pipes be cleans'd when they are over-foul. All the *Perſians* that have any ſpare time, fail not every day to reſort to thoſe places between ſeven and eight in the Morning, where the Owner of the Room preſently brings them every one their Pipe and their Diſh of Coffee. But the Great *Sha-Abas*, who was a man of a great underſtanding, finding thoſe places were only ſo many Meeting-houſes, where men aſſembl'd to talk and prattle of State-affairs, a thing which no way pleas'd him; to break the neck of thoſe petty Cabals, he order'd that a *Moullah* ſhould be ſure to be betimes at every place before the reſt of the People came thither, and that he ſhould entertain thoſe Tobacco-whiffers, and Coffee-quaffers, ſometimes with a point of the Law, ſometimes with Hiſtory, ſometimes with Poetry. This cuſtom is ſtill obſerv'd: ſo that after this entertainment has laſted two or three hours, the *Moullah* riſing up, crys to every one in the Coffee-Room, *Come my Maſters, in good time, let's all now retire every man to his buſineſs.* Straight every one retires upon the *Moullah*'s words, who is liberally entertain'd all the while by the Society.

In the midſt of the North-Front ſtands a great Portal, with a large Dial over it, which *Sha-Abas* brought from *Ormus* when he took it from the *Portugals*. But the Dial is of no uſe, nor is ever like to be. Round the Tower of that Portal runs an op'n Gallery, with a kind of a Cieling over head ſupported with Pillars; from whence every Evening about Sun-ſet, and at Midnight, a noiſe of Drums and Trumpets is to be heard through the whole City. Though the truth is, the Muſick would never charm a curious Ear. Out of ſome parts of the Gallery are contriv'd little Dormitories, where the chiefeſt of the Court lye. In all the Cities where the *Kans* reſide is the Cuſtom of making this ratling noiſe of Drums and Trumpets obſerv'd, and not elſewhere.

On each ſide of the Portal, under the Horologe, are five or ſix Banks of Jewellers, who there put to ſale certain parcels of Pearls, Emralds, Granats, and Turquoiſes, which are not of any great value: every parcel being ſet by it ſelf in a Diſh, and the whole Stall cover'd with a ſilk Net, to preſerve the Stones from being ſtoln.

Juſt againſt the ſame Portal, going toward the South-Front, you meet with two little Goals five or ſix Foot high, and ſev'n or eight diſtant one from the other. Here the men play at Pall-mall on horſe-back, the Horſe-man being to ſtrike the Ball running at full ſpeed, between the two Goals.

Through that Portal you enter into an Encloſure much like the place where the Fair of St. *Germans* is kept, and there it is that the Merchants of Gold and Silver-Tiſſues and other rich Stuffs, with all your fineſt ſorts of Calicuts and Linnens, keep their Shops.

The Court ſide of the *Meydan*, which is upon the Eaſt, and which anſwers to the grand Front where the King's Houſe ſtands, is thus appointed. In the middle ſtands a *Duomo* cover'd with a kind of bak'd Earth, and as well the *Duomo* as the Portal, which is very high, are all varniſh'd over. You aſcend nine or ten ſteps, the Port of *Haly* facing it on the other ſide of the *Piazza*. From the end of the *Portico's* that touch the North-ſide of the *Moſquee*, live the Shop-keepers that ſell ſowing-Silk, and ſmall Manufactures of Silk, as Ribands, Laces, Garters, and other things of the ſame nature. From the *Moſquee* to the other end, are all Turners, that make Cradles for Children, and Spinning-Wheels. There are alſo ſome Cotton-beaters, that make quilted Coverlets. Without the *Portico's* are none but Smiths, that make Scyths, Hammers, Pincers, Nails, and ſuch like things; with ſome few Cutlers.

This is all that can be ſaid of *Iſpahan*, and that great *Piazza*, which ſome perhaps have ſet out in better colours. But I have repreſented all things as they are, as being one that have ſeen them oftner, and beheld them a longer time than ever any *Frank* that Travell'd into *Aſia*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Zulpha, *a little City, ſeparated from* Iſpahan *by the River* Senderou.

Zulpha, which others call *Julpha* and *Giolpha*, is diſtant from *Iſpahan* toward the South half an hours walk, the River *Senderou* running almoſt at an equal diſtance between the two Cities. The way that leads from one City to another is a Walk ſome fifteen hundred Paces long, and ſeventeen broad, almoſt equally divided by the River. It begins from a Pavilion or Tabernacle forty Foot ſquare, which joyns to the hinder part of the King's Houſe, with a double Story, to which ſeveral Windows give light, clos'd with wooden Lattices very artificially wrought. None but the King and his Houſhold paſs that way into the Walk. For they that go from *Iſpahan* to *Zulpha*, find the way into the Walk through a Gate which is cloſe adjoyning to the Tabernacle. This Walk is call'd the Street of *Tchartbag*, or the Street of *Four Gardens*.

A Channel runs all along the Walk from the Tabernacle, where a little Rivulet falls into it, and fills it as far as the great Bridge. The two ſides of the Channel which are pav'd with Stone, and are two or three Foot broad, makes one way which Paſſengers may, and many times do take; for the uſual way both for Horſe and Foot, lyes upon each ſide of the Walk, behind the Trees, which are planted in a ſtreight line to the very Walls of the King's Gardens, which cloſe the Alley on each ſide. It is a kind of a Cauſey of Free-ſtone, ſomewhat rais'd, and four or five Foot broad. There is but one row of Trees on each ſide, ſtraight and high, call'd *Tchinards*, with one tuft at the top. The ſpace between the Channel and the Trees is not pav'd, but lyes common, and is ſometimes ſow'd. About two hundred Paces from the Tabernacle or Banqueting houſe, the River falls into a great Pool, about thirty or thirty-five Foot in diameter; and in that place, as alſo in others ſomewhat beyond it, where there are alſo other Pools, the Walk is croſs'd by a Cauſey pav'd and rais'd, ten or twelve Foot broad, as the reſt are. Upon the left hand of the firſt Pool ſtands another Tabernacle or Banqueting-houſe, much alike in ſtructure and bigneſs to the former; in which place, in a low arch'd Room with a Fountain of Water in the middle, you may go and drink Coffee. From that houſe to the Bridge the Walk deſcends, and the Water makes ſome falls.

All the Gardens on each ſide of the Walk, both on this ſide and beyond the Bridge belong to the King. But you muſt not imagin that theſe Gardens, or that of *Hezardgerib*, which is the faireſt of all *Perſia*, are ſo curiouſly ſet out, nor ſo well kept as ours in *Europe*. For they have no ſuch lovely Borders, nor ſuch cloſe Walks of Honeyſuckles and Jaſmin as are to be ſeen in the Gardens of *Europe*. They ſuffer the Graſs to grow in many places; contented only with a good many great Fruit-trees, tufted a-top, and planted in a line, which is all the grace of the Gardens of *Perſia*.

In each ſide of the Walls between which the Walk runs, at a true diſtance of ſpace, are gates neatly contriv'd, and over each a little Room. Almoſt in the middle of the Walk between the great Banqueting-houſe and the Bridge, upon the left hand, ſtands a Houſe of the *Dervi's*, to whom the King has given one of his Gardens to build upon. There they keep the Relicks of *Haly*, or ſome other Prophet; for you ſhall ſee them ſtanding under a certain Arch, before which the *Perſians* make a moſt profound Reverence. Theſe *Dervi's* come every Afternoon about three or four a Clock into the *Bazars* of *Iſpahan*, every two, an old one and a young one, chooſing his quarter. They go from Shop to Shop, inſtructing the People upon ſome Point or other of the Law: the young *Dervi's* anſwering the old ones at certain times. Their Habit is only two Sheep skins or Goat-skins, the one hanging before, the other behind, with a great leathern Girdle, four or five fingers broad, garniſh'd with ſeveral great Plates of Latten. They throw another Sheep-skin croſs their Shoulders, which they tye before, under their Chins. Upon their Heads they only wear a little Lamb-skin in form of a Bonnet, letting the feet hang down to their Necks,

over their Cheeks. They carry a great Club in their hands, as the Painters repreſent *John the Baptiſt* in the Wilderneſs. Between their Girdles and their waſts they ſtuff a company of pitiful Flowers, or elſe a ſort of Herbs, which after Exhortation, both the young, and the old *Dervi's* beſtow upon the Merchants and Tradeſmen, from whom at the ſame time they receive Alms. Toward the evening they go home again; and I forgot to tell you, that before the door of the houſe, ſtands always a large Veſſel of water, with ſeveral little Cups, and Ice in the Summer, where all paſſengers may drink upon free-coſt.

The River of *Senderon*, which, as well as the reſt of the Rivers of *Perſia*, except the *Aras*, is not able to carry a Boat, is a very great relief to *Iſpahan*. Behind the Mountains of the South beyond *Zulpha* is another River, call'd *Abkuren*, which about five or ſix Leagues above *Iſpahan*, runs within a League and a half of *Senderon*. *Sha-Abas* the firſt attempted to have joyn'd the two Rivers together, to which purpoſe he went about to have remov'd certain Rocks that ſtood in his way; but not being able to compaſs his deſign, his Succeſſors laid aſide all the thoughts of attempting any more. Could it have been done, the Campaign of *Iſpahan* would have been one of the moſt fertile and delicious places in the world; whereas now the River is of no uſe, running through deſart Coutreys and Plains of Salt. As for the River of *Senderon*, in Winter it over-flows, but in Summer it has very little water, being oftner foarded than croſs'd over upon Bridges. About four Leagues above *Iſpahan* they are conſtrain'd to force it into their Lands, to water their Fields and Grounds, which elſe would produce nothing at all. Wells they have a great many in ſeveral places; but beſides that, they are not able to furniſh that great quantity of water which is neceſſary; the River Water is much better to fatten the Land. Now you muſt obſerve, that their Channels never return to the River, being waſted upon the Ground; ſo that the River of *Iſpahan* being very much waſted before it comes to the City, by reaſon that it is ſtill leſſen'd by ſo many Channels, about ten or twelve Leagues from thence, it ends as it were quite ſpent in a few Merſhes. This ſcarcity of water which is ſo general over all *Perſia*, is the reaſon that they are extraordinary Husbands of it, and buy it very dear. Therefore is the Superintendent of the water, which brings the King in a very conſiderable Revenue, one of the moſt contended-for employments in the whole Court. For every Garden is tax'd more or leſs according to its bigneſs, for the water it requires once a week; which water is let go into the quarters which have need of it; every Garden having a particular Channel, whence they have their water by turns. But you muſt have a care of attempting to bring this water in before your turn; for ſhould it come to be known, an eaſie Fine would not excuſe the matter. I knew two *Franks*, who, becauſe they preſum'd to take in water in the night time before it was their turn, had like to have loſt all their Land by Confiſcation, had it not been for the particular Favour of the King to the *Franks*; and yet all that favour did not excuſe them from being ſoundly amere'd.

There are four Bridges a quarter of a Leagues diſtance one from another, that croſs the River of *Senderon* to *Iſpahan*. That which croſſes the walk, bears the name of *Alyverdi-Kan*, who caus'd it to be built, being alſo call'd the Bridge of *Zulfa*. It is built of good Brick, joyn'd together with Free-ſtone, and very level, not being higher in the middle than at either end. It is not above three hundred and fifty paces long, and twenty broad, being ſupported by ſeveral ſmall Arches of Stone, which are very low. Of each ſide there is a Gallery eight or nine foot broad, which runs from one end to the other, ſeveral Arches twenty five or thirty foot high ſupporting the Platform, where, when the heat is not extream, they that pleaſe may walk for the ſake of the freſh Air. But the moſt uſual paſſage is under the Galleries, where there are ſeveral out-lets upon the River, to let in the freſh Air. For the Galleries are very high, from the level of the Bridge, to which you aſcend by eaſie ſteps, the middle of the Bridge not being above twenty five foot broad, ſerving for Wagons and Pack-horſes. There is alſo another way all along by the water ſide, where there are ſeveral Stones laid to ſtep upon, to keep you from being wet-ſhod. It croſſes through all the Arches of the Bridge, through little doors made in every Arch from one end to the other, deſcending from the Bridge by a little pair of Stairs, tak'n out of the thickneſs of the Arches ſupporters. There is another Stair-caſe to aſcend up to the Galleries of about two fathoms broad, with Stays or Rails on both ſides. This Bridge is truly a very neat piece of Architecture, if I may not ſay, the neateſt in all *Perſia*.

There

There are alſo three other Bridges upon the River, one above the Bridge of *Zulfa*, and two below. The firſt but meanly built, but very commodious for the *Armenians*, when they travel Weſtward, who would elſe be forc'd to go a great way about, through the whole City of *Iſpahan*.

The firſt of the other two Bridges below the Bridge of *Zulfa*, was built by *Sha-Abas* the ſecond, Father of the preſent King. It is almoſt equal to it in Structure; but it has one particular beauty, which is a hexagonal place in the middle of the Bridge, which cauſes the Water to fall in that part with a pleaſing noiſe. For that being the deepeſt part of the River, *Sha-Abas* reſolv'd to build a Bridge there; partly for the *Gaurs* ſake, to the end, they might not come through the walk of *Tcharbag*, and that going from *Iſpahan* they might have a ſhorter cut home. The Habitation of the *Gaurs* is only a large Village, the firſt Houſes whereof are but a little way from the River; though the walk that goes from *Iſpahan* to the *King's Bridge* is both longer and broader than that of *Tcharbag*, planted on both ſides with a row of Trees, but no Channel in the middle.

Before each of the Avenues to the Bridge, ſtands a Houſe that belongs to the King for his divertiſement. That upon the left ſide of the River toward *Iſpahan* was by the great *Sha-Abas* giv'n to the *Capuchins*. For as ſoon as they came to *Iſpahan*, upon their Examination, the King was extreamly tak'n with their behaviour. He ask'd them how they liv'd, and whether they took any money? To which the *Capuchins* making anſwer, that they never handled any money, but contented themſelves with Alms; the King believing his Subjects, would give them very little, beſtow'd that Houſe and Garden upon them. But they ſtay'd not long there, becauſe it was too big for them to repair, and too far from the City, ſo that the *Roman-Catholicks* in the Winter could not get to their Chappel. Now they have built themſelves a very handſom Houſe not far from the King's Palace, at the Coſt of Father *Joſeph*, one of their own order.

There is another old Bridge a quarter of a League below the *Gaurs* Bridge, which is upon the Road from *Iſpahan* to *Schiraz*.

But to return to the long-walk of *Tcharbag*, which continues above eight hundred paces beyond the Bridge of *Zulfa* to the Garden of *Hezardgerib*. The Rivulet that paſſes that other part of the walk, comes from the ſame River which they have cut three or four Leagues above *Iſpahan*. When you have walk'd about four hundred paces, you met with a fall of Waters that tumbles into a Pool, from whence there are twelve ſteps to aſcend to the end of the Alley. The walk is fronted by the great Houſe which ſtands before the Garden of *Hezardgerib*, or *the thouſand Acres*. The Houſe conſiſts but only of one great Hall over the Gate, and four ſmall Chambers at the four corners of it.

Hezardgerib is the faireſt Garden in *Aſia*, though it would be acounted nothing in *Europe*. However as it lies upon the deſcent of a Hill, it conſiſts of ſixteen *Teraſſes*, ſuſtain'd by a Wall ſixteen or ſeventeen foot high. There is but little Water in any of the Wells; but that which has moſt is in the fourth *Terraſs*. That is a great Octigonal Pool about a hundred and twenty foot in Diameter, round about which are ſeveral Pipes that throw up the Water about three foot high, and there are three ſteps down to the Water. A Channel pav'd with Stone runs through the principal Alley, which goes no farther than the building. This Channel is as wide as that of the Channel of *Tcharbag*, whence it is ſupply'd as being right oppoſite to it. In the tenth *Terraſs* you meet with another Fountain of the ſame bigneſs and form with that in the fourth; and in the laſt which terminates the Grand Alley and the length of the Garden, there is another Channel which croſſes all the Alleys which, like the great one compoſe the length of the Alley. Beſides this, there are op'n Rooms to take the freſh Air, ſome falls and murmurs of Water, but for borders and cloſe Alleys, and Arbours, you muſt expect no ſuch thing, either in *Hezardgerib*, nor in any other part of *Perſia*.

Having walk'd in the great walk of *Tcharbag*, you meet upon the right hand with a Street between two Walls of the Gardens that belong to the King, which Street leads you to *Zulfa*, not above two or three Muſquet Shots diſtance off.

Zulfa a Colony of *Armenians* which *Sha-Abas* brought from *Zulfa*, a City of *Armenia*, is ſo much encreas'd for ſome years ſince, that it may now paſs for a large

large City, being almoſt a League and a half long, and near upon half as much broad. There are two principal Streets which contain near upon the whole length, one whereof has on each ſide a row of *Tchinars*, the roots whereof are refreſh'd by a ſmall Channel of Water, which by a particular order the *Armenians* bring to the City, to water their Gardens. The moſt part of the other Streets have alſo a row of Trees, and a Channel. And ſo their Houſes, they are generally better built, and more chearful than thoſe of *Iſpahan*.

See the Deſcription of Zulpha.

How they came to be ſetled here, I have already deſcrib'd: And now the number of Inhabitants is ſtrangely increas'd by the acceſſion of ſeveral other Chriſtians of divers Sects, as *Jacobites*, *Cophtes*, and *Neſtorians*, who formerly liv'd in the Suburbs of *Iſpahan*. Neither was *Sha-Abas* ſo cruel in tranſplanting the *Armenians* away out of their own Countrey, for they were all at that ſeaſon poor labouring men, who knew not at all what belong'd to Trade. Since that time they are grown very rich: ſo that the *Armenians* have no cauſe to be covetous of the Habitations of their Anceſtors. And now I will tell you how they came to be ſuch great Proficients in Trade.

Sha-Abas, who was a man of a great Genius, and a perſon of great undertaking, conſidering that *Perſia* was a barren Countrey, where there was little Trade, and by conſequence little Money, reſolv'd to ſend his Subjects into *Europe* with raw Silks, ſo to underſtand whence the beſt profit would ariſe, to bring Money into his Country. To which purpoſe, he reſolv'd to make himſelf Maſter of all the Silk in his own Country, by purchaſing it himſelf at a reaſonable rate, tax'd by himſelf, and to reap the gains by his Factors: and withal, thought it neceſſary to ſeek an Alliance with the great Kings of *Europe*, to engage them on his ſide againſt the *Turk*. He firſt ſent to the King of *France*, *Henry* the Fourth. But he dying before the Ambaſſador arriv'd, anſwer was made the Ambaſſador, That if the King of *Perſia* had any thing to ſay to the King of *France Lewis* the Thirteenth, he muſt ſend a new Ambaſſador, which was never done.

Three or four years after he ſent an Ambaſſador to the King of *Spain*, accompany'd with a *Perſian* Merchant of *Iſpahan*, putting into their hands a conſiderable quantity of Bales of Silk. He alſo ſent along with them a *Portuguez Auſtin-Friar*, to be their Guide and Interpreter. The *Perſian* Merchant would have ſold the Silks, as was the King's order, and have bought a Preſent more becoming. But the Ambaſſador over-rul'd by the Friar, reſolv'd to preſent the King of *Spain* with the Bales of Silk. The Merchant not able to oppoſe the Ambaſſador, returns home forthwith to give an account to the King, who approv'd his management. The Ambaſſador proceeds, and coming to the *Spaniſh* Court, preſents his Bales of Silk to the King, who ask'd the Ambaſſador, whether his Maſter took him for a Woman, that he had ſent him ſo many Bales of Silk to ſpin; and immediately ſent away the Preſent to his Queen, preſenting the Ambaſſador but very meanly: who thereupon ſeeing the Errour he had committed, made haſt home; but upon his return, the *Perſian* King having notice of the ill ſucceſs of his Negotiation, caus'd his Belly to be ript op'n in the publick Market-place.

About fifteen years after, he truſted a conſiderable quantity of Silk with a Merchant's Son of *Iſpahan*, and ſent him to *Venice*: who when he came there, took a ſtately Lodging, and ſpent his Money at a ſtrange rate, eſpecially among the Courtiſans; to maintain which expence, he continually ſold great quantities of Silk. The *Venetians* ſeeing a private man live ſo ſplendidly among them, and not believing ſo great a quantity of Goods could belong to one ſingle Merchant, but rather imagining him to be a Factor for ſome Company who ſuffer'd for his folly, wrote to all the Ports of the *Levant*, and having intelligence who he was, the Senate thought fit to ſeize his Perſon and his Goods, before he had conſum'd all; at the ſame time giving a civil account to the King of *Perſia*, what they had done. To which the *Perſian* King return'd a moſt obliging Anſwer of Thanks, ſending withal an intelligent *Perſian* Merchant to take an account of what was left, to whom the *Venetians* were very punctual. As for the Prodigal *Perſian*, who thought it not his wiſeſt way to return into *Perſia*, what became of him is not material to this Story.

Sha-Abas by theſe Experiments obſerving the little inclination of his Subjects to Trade, who were naturally addicted to Pride and Expence, which is no part of a Merchant's buſineſs, caſt his Eyes upon the *Armenians*, men able to endure the

labour

labour of long Journeys, ſober perſons, and great Husbands, and ſuch who being Chriſtians, might more freely Trade among the Chriſtians; and made choice of them, as being moſt proper and fit for Trade. Whereupon, picking out the moſt Judicious among them, he deliver'd to every one ſo many Bales of Silk, according to their Capacity; for which they were to pay at their return, a reaſonable Rate tax'd by the King, who allow'd them what more they got for their Expences and Gains. Thoſe people in a ſhort time became ſo expert, that there is not any ſort of Trade which they will not now undertake; for now they run as far as *Tunquin*, *Java*, and the *Philippines*, and indeed over all the Eaſt, except *China* and *Japan*. But if they do not thrive, they never return; as being a place where they muſt either give an exact Account, or elſe ſuffer the quick and ſevere Juſtice of Drubbing, which never fails thoſe Factors that are ill Husbands for their Maſters.

And indeed the *Armenians* are ſo much the more fit for Trading, becauſe they are a people very ſparing, and very ſober; though whether it be their virtue or their avarice, I know not. For when they are going a long Journey, they only make proviſion of Bisket, ſmoak'd *Bufalo*'s fleſh, Onions, bak'd Butter, Flowr, Wine, and dry'd Fruits. They never buy freſh Victuals, but when they meet with Lambs or Kids very cheap in the Mountainous Countries; nor is there one of them that does not carry his Angle to fiſh withal, when they come to any Ponds or Rivers. All theſe proviſions coſt them little the Carriage. And when they come to any Town where they are to ſtay, they club five or ſix together, and lye in an empty Chamber which they furniſh themſelves; every one carrying his Mattreſs, his Coverlet, and his Kitchin-Inſtruments, which is a great piece of Thrift. When they travel into Chriſtendom, they carry along with them Saffron, Pepper, Nutmegs, and other Spices; which they exchange in the Country-Towns for Bread, Wine, Butter, Cheeſe, Milk-Meats, and other Proviſions which they buy of the poor Women. When they return out of Chriſtendom, they bring along with them all ſorts of Mercery-ware, and Pedlery-ware of *Noremberg* and *Venice*; as little Looking-glaſſes, trifles of Tin enamel'd, falſe Pearls, and other things of that nature; which pays for the Victuals they call for among the Country-people.

In the beginning of their Trade, there return'd very few *Caravans* into *Perſia* without two hundred thouſand Crowns in Silver, beſide *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Clothes, fine Tiſſues, Looking-glaſſes, *Venice* Pearls, Cochenel, and Watches; which they thought moſt proper for the Sale of *Perſia* and *India*.

At length thoſe *Armenians* became ſo exquiſite in Trade, that ſeveral of them have left Eſtates of two, ſome twenty thouſand *Tomans*. But the richeſt among them was *Cotgia*, or Monſieur *Petrus*, who left forty thouſand *Tomans* in coyn'd Money, beſides his Horſes, Furniture, and Lands in the Country, his Jewels and Plate; all which are never reckon'd a Merchant's Eſtate, but only the ready Caſh with which he trades. *Cotgia Petrus* was very much eſteem'd for his Charity, and the great Church which he built, which is a kind of Covent, with a Biſhop and Monks. Nor is the fair Market-place, all environ'd with Shops, a little beholding to his Generoſity.

The *Armenians* of *Zulpha* have this advantage over all the Chriſtians of the Eaſt, that they enjoy Lands and Priviledges, the King not permitting the leaſt injuſtice to be done them, nor that any *Mahometan* ſhould live at *Zulpha*. They have alſo the priviledge to be as well clad as the *Perſians*, and to make uſe as they do of Bridles of Gold and Silver. Their Wives alſo are very richly habited, in ſtrip'd Sattins purfl'd with Gold, and other rich *European* Silks.

The King names whom he pleaſes among the *Armenians* to be their Chief; whom they call *Kelonter*, who judges all their differences, and taxes them to make up the Sum which they are to pay to the King every year.

The Language of the *Armenians* is either vulgar or learned: the learned is only us'd by the Eccleſiaſticks, in reference to their Religion. They write like us, from the left to the right, having found out peculiar Characters about four years ſince. They have three Languages very natural to them, which however are very different: the *Armenian*, which is their ancient Country-ſpeech, which they have preſerv'd from Father to Son; the *Perſian*, which is the Language of the Country where they live; and the *Turkiſh*, of which they make very much uſe in courſe of Trade. As for their Women, they ſpeak nothing but the *Armenian*, as having no converſe with

ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, and never ſtirring out of their houſes. There are ſome *Armenians* ſpeak *Italian* and *French*, as having learnt it in *Europe*.

There are in *Zulpha* fifteen or ſixteen Churches and Chappels of the *Armenians*, among which you are to count two Nunneries for Women. There are in *Iſpahan* *Auſtin*-Friars, *Carmelites*, and *Capuchins*, and in *Zulpha Jeſuits*. The *Jeſuits* that came laſt have but a little Houſe, but to make them amends they have a large Garden. Though the number of the Religious Teachers is far greater then the number of Hearers: for in all *Iſpahan* and *Zulpha*, take the *Franks* that come out of *Europe*, or born in *Perſia*, as well Men as Women, there are not ſix hundred perſons that profeſs the Catholick Religion. As for the *Armenians*, they are ſo obſtinately fix'd to their own Religion, that they will hear of no other; and nothing but Money has ſometimes caus'd them to feign the embracing of another. Friar *Ambroſe* a *Capuchin* ſtaid a while at *Zulpha*, to whom ſeveral of the principal *Armenians* came to School to learn *French*, in hopes of eſtabliſhing a Trade with *France*. But the *Armenian* Archbiſhop and Biſhops fearing leſt the Children ſhould be infected with ſome other Religion, excommunicated all Fathers that ſent their Children to School. And finding that they little regarded the Excommunication, they ſhut up the Church doors, and ſtir'd up the People againſt the Religious *Franks*; ſo that Father *Ambroſe* was forc'd to leave *Perſia*, and retire to *Surat*.

Moreover there are in *Iſpahan* both *Jews* and *Indian* Idolaters. Nor are the *Jews* ſo miſerable and beggarly, as they ſeem to be: they intrude, according to cuſtom, into all Buſineſs; ſo that if any has a mind to buy or ſell any rich Jewel, he need do no more but ſpeak to them. In the Reign of *Sha-Abas*, the *Athemadoulet* perſecuted them ſo grievouſly, that either by force or by cunning he caus'd them to turn *Mahometans*; but the King underſtanding that only power and fear had conſtrain'd them to turn, ſuffer'd them to reſume their own Religion, and to live in quiet.

There are about ten or twelve thouſand *Banians* in *Iſpahan*, who are known by their yellow Complexions, or rather by a yellow Mark made with Saffron upon the top of their Foreheads. Their Turbants are leſs than uſual, and their Shoes are almoſt like ours, embroider'd with Flowers a-top. They are all Bankers, and very knowing in Money. The greateſt part of the Money of the principal Money'd men of *Iſpahan* is in their hands for improvement ſake. So that if you want a conſiderable Sum, you may have it the next day upon good Security, and paying a ſevere Intereſt, which thoſe *Banians* will ſqueez up ſometimes to 18 *per Cent.* But if it be not very privately exacted and paid, the Law of *Mahomet*, which forbids the taking of Intereſt, lays hold upon the whole Sum, and confiſcates it every Penny.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Religion of the Perſians ; *of the great Feaſt of* Hocen *and* Huſſein, *and the* Camel-Feaſt.

THE difference among the *Mahometans*, doth not conſiſt in the different Explanations which they put upon the *Alcoran*; but in the ſeveral Opinions which they hold concerning the firſt Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, from which have aris'n two particular Sects entirely oppoſite; the Sect of the *Sunnis*, and the Sect of the *Schiais*.

The firſt, who are of the *Turkiſh* belief, maintain that *Abou-baker* ſucceeded immediately to *Mahomet*, as his Vicar or Vicegerent; to him *Omar*; to *Omar Oſman*, to *Oſman Mortuz-Ali*, Nephew and Son-in-law to *Mahomet* by Marriage of his Daughter. That *Oſman* was Secretary to *Mahomet*, a perſon of Courage, as well as the other three: and that they were all valiant Souldiers, and great Captains, who extended their Conqueſts more by force of Arms than by Reaſon. And thence it comes that the *Sunnis* will not allow of Diſputes, but propagate and maintain their Religion altogether by force.

The *Schiais*, who are of the *Perſian* belief, deteſt *Abou-baker*, *Omar*, and *Oſman*, as Uſurpers to the Succeſſion of *Mahomet*, which only belong'd to *Haly*, his Nephew and

and Son-in-law. They hold that this ſucceſſion conſiſts in elev'n High Prieſts deſcendants from *Haly*, who makes the twelfth in this order. 1. *Haly*, Son of *Aboutaleb*. 2. *Hocen*, eldeſt Son of *Haly*. 3. *Huſſein*, his ſecond Son, who ſuffer'd death in defence of his Father's Succeſſion. The place where the *Sunnis* gave him battel and ſlew him, is call'd *Kerbela* near to *Babylon*, and is a holy place in high veneration among the *Perſians*. 4. *Iman-zin-el-Abedin*. 5. *Mahomet-el Baker*. 6. *Iafer-el-Seadek*, who introduc'd the Law into *Perſia*, that if any *Chriſtian*, *Jew*, or *Idolater* turn'd *Mahometan*, he ſhould be declar'd general Heir to his Family to the excluſion of Brothers and Siſters, and that he might allow what he pleas'd to his Father and Mother. Whence aroſe two miſchiefs, that ſome *Armenians*, *Chriſtians*, and *Jews* turn'd *Mahometans*, to get the Eſtate of the Family, and others turn'd *Mahometans*, to keep their poſſeſſions. 7. *Mouſſa-Katzem*. 8. *Hali-el Rezza*, whoſe Tomb at *Miſhed* is ſo highly venerated among the *Perſians*, as *Mahomet*'s among the *Turks*. 9. *Mahammet-el-Ioüad*. 10. *Hali-el-Hadi*. 11. *Hocen-el-Askeri*. 12. *Mouhemmet el-Mouhadi Shaheb-zaman*. The *Perſians* hold the ſame belief as to the laſt *Iman*, as we do of *Enoch* and *Elias*, which is the reaſon that ſeveral people leave them in their Wills Houſes ready furniſh'd, Stables full of ſtately Horſes, and other neceſſaries for them to make uſe of when they return to Earth again. They attribute to this *Iman* the Sirname of *Zaheb-zaman*, or *Lord of Time*.

Theſe two Sects of *Sunnis* and *Schias* over-run the three principal Kingdoms of *India*, *viz.* the Great *Mogul*'s, the King of *Golconda*'s, and the King of *Viſapour*'s. The firſt and laſt being *Sunnis*, that is to ſay, both the Kings and Lords of the Court; for their Subjects are moſt of them Idolaters. Some *Schiais* there are in the Courts of both Kings, in regard the Officers of the Army are for the moſt part *Perſians*, though in outward ſhew they may follow the Religion of the Prince. But the King of *Golconda Koutoub-Sha* is a zealous *Schiais*.

I come now to the Grand Feſtival of the *Perſians*, which is the famous Feaſt of *Hocen* and *Huſſein*.

Eight days before the Feſtival begins, ſome of the more zealous ſort black all their Bodies and their Faces, and go naked in the Streets with only a covering about their ſecret parts. They carry two Flints, one in each hand, which they knock one againſt another, wrything their Bodies, and making a thouſand antick Faces; and all the while crying out, *Huſſein*, *Hocen*; *Hocen*, *Huſſein*; which they act and ſpeak with ſo much Labour, 'till they foam again at the mouth. In the Evening, the devout people admit them into their Houſes, and feed them very well. During thoſe days, as ſoon as the Sun is ſet, you ſhall ſee at the corners where ſeveral Streets meet, Pulpits ſet up for certain Preachers, who prepare the people that flock to hear them to the devotion of the Feaſt. Now in regard all Ages, and Sexes go, there is no time in all the year ſo favourable for the Women to meet their Gallants.

In the year 1667. the third of *July*, I ſaw the Feſtival by the favour of the *Nagar*, who appointed me a place juſt againſt the *Déla* where the King ſate. This *Déla* is a Room built with a jetting upon that ſide of the *Meidan* next the Palace Gate, one ſtory high. Several Pillars ſuſtain the flat bottom or floor of the *Déla*, enrich'd with a *Groteſco* work of Gold and Azure, in the mid'ſt whereof there was a Fountain that was fill'd with Water by the contrivance of a Pipe. The Stage or *Déla* was op'n upon three ſides, the longeſt ſide jetting out upon the *Piazza*. Upon the Wall of the oppoſite ſide, which was cloſe, were to be ſeen ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, both men and women pictur'd with Bottles and Glaſſes in their hands, as if they were drinking to one another. *Sha-abas* the ſecond caus'd this Painting to be drawn by a *Hollander*.

About ſev'n a Clock in the Morning *Sha-Sephi* the ſecond, who ſince has chang'd his name to *Sha-Soliman* the ſecond, came and ſeated himſelf upon his Throne ſet up in the mid'ſt of the *Déla*, all his Nobility ſtanding about him. So ſoon as he was ſate down, the Great *Provoſt* appear'd at the end of the *Piazza* mounted upon a fair Horſe, attended by certain young Lords, who caus'd the People, conſiſting of the Companies of the two quarters of the City, which are twelve in all, to advance to the places which were deſign'd them. For formerly the Companies would ſtrive for the way; and therefore the King to prevent diſorder, order'd there ſhould be a *Provoſt*, or Maſter of the Ceremonies to place them without diſturbance.

As he was about his duty, a Horſe-man entred the *Piazza*, arm'd with a Bow, a Quiver, and a Scimitar, follow'd by ſeven Men that carry'd every one a Pike upright in their hands, with every one a Man's Head at the top. Thoſe were the Heads of certain *Usbeck-Tartars*, the neighbouring and mortal Enemies of the *Perſians*, which thoſe men had cut off from the ſhoulders of their conquer'd Foes. The King caus'd five *Tomans* a piece to be giv'n to them that carry'd the Heads, and ten *Tomans* to their Leader. After them enter'd three hundred *Turks*, which were fled from the Borders of *Turky*, from whence the Country-people were tak'n by force, and ſent to the Warrs of *Candy*. They complain'd, that whereas they were wont to be ſent to their Winter-Quarters about the middle of *October*, the *Turk* kept them to the ſame hard ſervice in Winter as in Summer. All theſe were order'd to advance into the middle of the *Piazza*, where they made their obeyſance to him three times, and then humbly beſought him that they might dwell in his Kingdom, with their Wives, their Children, and their Cattel. The King order'd Money to be diſtributed among them, and that they ſhould have Lands aſſign'd them to manure. Then the *Provoſt* caus'd the Companies to advance, every Company having the Thill of a Wagon carry'd before him; upon every of which Thills was a Bier three or four Foot high, the Wood of the Thill being painted with a *Groteſco* of Gold and Silver, and the Bier cover'd with Sattin. When the firſt Company had order to march, three Horſes were led before, richly harneſs'd; when they were come about a hundred Paces forward into the *Piazza*, in view of the King, they that led the Horſes caus'd them to gallop, and then all the Company fell a running and dancing about with the Bier. Betides that, every one flung up his ſhort Caſſock, his Girdle, and Bonnet, put their fingers in their mouths, to whiſtle as loud as they could. While the naked people, with their Flint-ſtones in their hands, ran knocking their Stones together, crying out, *Huſſein Hocen*, *Hocen Huſſein*, 'till they foam at the mouth again: not omitting to wryth their Bodies, and to make all the ſcurvy Faces as before deſcrib'd. The three Companies ſucceeding one another in the ſame Formalities, by and by came two Companies more with a little Bier upon their Thills, and in each Bier a little Child that lay as if dead. They that accompany'd theſe two Biers wept and ſigh'd moſt ſadly. Theſe two Infants repreſented the Children of *Huſſein*, who when the Prophet was ſlain, were tak'n by *Yerid*, *Caliph* of *Bagdat*, and put to death.

Upon this occaſion you ſhall ſee a great number of Curtiſans that come to the Ceremony fall a weeping, who thereby believe their Sins are forgiv'n.

When all the people were come into the *Piazza*, notwithſtanding all the care and good order that was tak'n, there were ſeveral that went to Sharps, accounting it a great honour to fight ſmartly in the Kings preſence; and farther believing, that if any one be kill'd upon that occaſion, he ſhall be Sainted; as indeed every one gives ſomething toward his Interment. The Grand *Provoſt* ſeeing the Quarrel grow hot, and fearing more miſchief, ſent for five Elephants, which ceas'd the Combat, by drawing the Eyes of the Spectators upon them. The Elephants march'd one before another, according to their Pay that was allow'd them, and their skill in War. Not that the King of *Perſia* makes any uſe of them in the Field, but only for State, keeps ſuch as the *Indian* Princes preſent him withal. Thoſe five Elephants were cover'd with Houſes of Cloth of Gold, with a Fringe of the ſame round about. And upon the firſt, which was the higheſt and the biggeſt, ſate two Men, the one upon the neck, who guides the Elephant; the other upon the crupper, carrying the King's Arm's in a Standard fix'd to a half-Pike. Upon the other four ſate only one Man a-piece, who were the Governours. When they came before the place where the King ſate, they were all rank'd five a-breſt, at what time the biggeſt, which was in the middle, ſtretch'd out his two fore-legs forward, and his two hinder-legs backward, 'till his belly almoſt touch'd the ground; after which manner the Elephant makes his obeyſance. The other four did the ſame. Then laying their Trunks upon the ground, and raiſing them again over their heads three times more, they were made to ſtand with their heads where their tayls ſtood; and their Houſes were turn'd up, to the end the King might ſee in what condition they were, and whether well look'd after or no: which being done, they were led away again.

Upon one ſide of the Room where the King ſtood, a little Scaffold was ſet up, cover'd with Tap'ſtry, ſome five Foot lower than the Kings. In the middle of the Scaffold ſtood a great Elbow-Chair cover'd with black Velvet, where ſate a *Mondlah* with

with six other *Moullah's* round about him. The *Moullah* made a Discourse upon the Death of *Hussein* and *Hocen* of about half an hour long, which being ended, the King caus'd a *Calaat* or Habit of Honour to be giv'n him, as also to the others, though not so rich. When they had all put on the Habit, the same *Moullah* return'd to his Chair, and made a Prayer for the health of the King, and the prosperity of his Kingdom.

All these Ceremonies lasted from seven in the Morning 'till Noon, at what time the King retir'd into his *Haram*. As for the People, they carry their Biers up and down the City, and where-ever two Companies meet, whether it be for the upper hand, or to get formost, they presently fall together by the Ears, and knock one another down: For they are not permitted to carry any other Arms than good big Clubs, almost as big as Levers.

Some time after the Feast of *Hussein* and *Hocen*, the *Persians* celebrate another Festival, which they call the *Feast of the Camel*, in remembrance of *Abraham*'s Sacrifice. They have a great reverence for this Festival, saying that it was a Camel and not a Ram which God sent to reprieve *Ishmael* (affirming that *Ishmael* was to have been sacrific'd, and not *Isaac*.) They choose out for this Ceremony one of the fairest Camels they can meet withal, and adorn and dress him up with several Plates of counterfeit Gold and Silver, and then lead him without the City to a place which is before a Mosque on the other side of the River of *Ispahan*, upon *Zulpha* side; the *Deroga* or *Provost* accompanying the people. The King was formerly wont to be at this Feast, accompany'd with his Nobility, and I have seen him there; but of late years he never goes, the *Deroga* supplying his place.

When the King went thither, several *Moullahs* pray'd for half an hour, after which the King took a kind of a Jav'lin and darted it against the Camel: but now in the absence of the King, the *Deroga* gives the first stroak. At the same time they fling the Camel to the ground, with Ropes ty'd to his legs, and cutting off his head and neck together, they divide the rest of the Body into eleven parts more, to the end all the twelve Companies may have every one their share. Every Company carry their share to the Master of the Companies House, who is generally the ancientest among them. Which part is kept and salted up 'till the next Feast, and the piece the year before, so 'till then preserv'd, is then boyl'd with Rice, and is the foundation of the Feast for the chief of the Company, who take it for an honour to eat of it: For the rest, they boyl Rice with Mutton and Hens, and besides that, distribute large Alms to the Poor.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Religion of the Gaurs, *the Relicks of the ancient* Persians, *adorers of Fire.*

THere are no men in the world so scrupulous of discovering the Mysteries of their Religion, as the *Gaurs*; so that I was forc'd to frequent their company very much in most of my Travels, to pick out what I have here to deliver.

Of the present Condition of the Gaurs.

AFter the *Persians* began to persecute the *Gaurs*, great numbers of them retir'd to *Surat*, and others into the Province of *Guzerat*. Now the King of *Persia* lets them live in quiet; and there are now above 10000 in *Kerman*, where I staid three Months in the year 1654. All that live in *India* are Tradesmen, and for the most part Turners in Ivory; those in *Kerman* deal in Wool. Four days journey from whence stands their principal Temple, where their Chief Priest resides; whither they are once in their lives oblig'd to go in Pilgrimage. There are some of these *Gaurs* live near *Ispahan*.

Of their Original, and their Prophets.

THey say that the Father of their Prophet was a *Frank* by Nation, whose Name was *Azer*, and a Carver by Trade. That he left his own Country to live in theirs, which at that time was the City of *Babylon*; where he took a Wife who call'd her self *Dogbdin*. That one night his Wife dreamt that God had sent an Angel from Paradise to visit her, who brought her very rich Cloaths, which she put on. That a Celestial Light presently over-spread her Face, and render'd her as beautiful as the Sun; and that when she wak'd she found her self with Child, which Child prov'd to be the Prophet *Ebrahim-zer-Atcucht*. That the Astrologers of that time, by their skill in the Stars knew of the Birth of that Infant sent by God, who was to govern Men, and reign in their Hearts. That those Astrologers went and declar'd the same thing to the King, telling him that there was a Child suddenly to be born, that would one day reprive him of his Crown. Whereupon the said King, call'd *Nembrout*, and a great Tyrant, caus'd all the Women with Child to be put to death, through the whole extent of his Dominions.

But by a Miracle the big Belly of the Mother of their Prophet not appearing, she remain'd undiscover'd, and brought forth a Son. Her Husband, who knew nothing of this Mystery, fearing he should lose his head if he did not discover the business to the King, before he found it out another way, went and confess'd that he had a Child born, but that he knew nothing of her being with Child.

Now you must know, that contrary to the custom of other Children, that cry so soon as they come out of the Mothers womb, this Child laugh'd so soon as he was born. For being to triumph over the Hearts of the people, he was to shew signs of joy; so that the people began already to rejoyce in their future felicities. This being signifi'd to the King, he call'd his Astrologers together, to tell him the meaning of so extraordinary a thing, and what would become of the Infant. But the Astrologers not being able to satisfie him, he sent for the Infant, and would have slain him with a Sword with his own hand, but God dry'd up his Arm immediately, so that he could not. However, not terrifi'd with so great a punishment, transported with Choler, he caus'd a great Fire to be kindled, and commanded the Infant to be thrown into it. But by the power of God, the Fire which he had prepar'd to consume the Infant turn'd into a Bed of Roses, where the Child most sweetly repos'd.

They who from that hour began to honour the little Prophet, took away some of that Fire, which has been preserv'd to this time. They keep it, say they, in honour of so great a Miracle; and they have it in great veneration, because it discover'd the merit of their Prophet.

Nevertheless the King stop'd not there, but still obstinate in his impiety, notwithstanding all these Miracles, he prepar'd new torments for the little Infant; but God chastis'd his incredulity and that of his people very severely, by sending such an infinite number of Flies, and that of such a pestiferous nature, that who-ever were stung with them dy'd without remedy, unless they immediately came and worship'd the Prophet, and kiss'd his Feet, in testimony of their repentance. As for the King, who still continu'd in his impenitency, an exemplary fate befel him. For one of those Flies stinging him in one of his Ears, he dy'd a most tormenting death.

His Successor was *Sha-Glochter*. He also at the beginning of his Reign began to persecute the little Infant, who now began to increase in years and vertue. The King imprison'd him: but he was astonish'd when he heard that one of his Horses, which he always confided in when he went to Battel, as being assur'd of Victory when he rode him, had lost his four legs. Thereupon, wiser than his Predecessor, and acknowledging from whence so dire a Correction proceeded, he sent for the Prophet out of Prison, ask'd pardon for his incredulity, and pray'd him by his intercession to restore his Horse his legs again. The Prophet willing to do him that favour, pray'd to God four times, and every time he pray'd one leg return'd to the Horse again. The King beholding such a Miracle, was half converted; but being desirous to be farther convinc'd, he desir'd the Prophet to throw himself into a Bath of melted Silver, which he would provide for him; promising, if he came out safe, that he and all his People would receive him as one sent from God, and be obedient to his Precepts in all things. The Prophet resolutely undertook his offer, and the Bath being ready, cast himself fearlesly

fearlesly into it; and as he went in, so he came out without the least harm. Then the King and all the people that were present ador'd him for a real Propher, and gave him the name of *Zer-Ateucht*, or *Wash'd in Silver*.

The Prophet perceiving that all the people had him in so much veneration, withdrew himself, and would not be seen any more. Nor do they justly know what became of him; which makes the greatest part of the *Gaurs* believe, that he was tak'n up into Paradise both Soul and Body together. Others say, that having found an Iron Coffin upon the Road near *Bagdat*, he put himself into it, and was carry'd into Heav'n by the Angels. They allow their Prophet three Children, who are not yet come into the world, though their names be already giv'n them. They say that this Prophet *Ebrahim* walking one time upon the River without a Boat, three drops of his nature fell from him upon the water, which are still preserv'd there. That their God will send a Virgin, very much belov'd by him, upon the same River, who by the reception of the first drop shall become big of the first Child, whom they call beforehand *Ouchider*. He shall come into the world with authority, and shall cause his Fathers Law to be receiv'd, and confirm it, not only by his eloquent Preaching, but by many miracles. The second, whose name is *Ouchiderma*, shall be conceiv'd after the same fashion; he shall assist his Brother, and by causing the Sun to stand still ten years, shall convince all the world of the Truth of his Doctrine. The third shall be conceiv'd by the same Mother, and shall be call'd *Senoiet-botius*: He shall come with more authority than his two Brothers, and shall perfectly reduce all people to the Religion of their Prophet. After which shall be the universal Resurrection, at what time all the Souls, either in Paradise or Hell, shall return to take possession of their Bodies. Then say they, shall all the Mountains, and all the Minerals in the world be melted, and shall fill up the great Chaos of Hell, whereby the Mansion of the Devils shall be utterly destroy'd? After this the world shall be levell'd, and be made fit to inhabit, and men shall have every one their apartment answerable to the degree and quantity of the good which they did in their life time: but that their chief delight shall be to behold and praise God and *Ebrahim* their Prophet. They add that before the Resurrection, those that are in Paradise do not behold the face of God, no not the Angels themselves, except only one, who is always attendant on him to receive and execute his commands. They also say that God will have pity upon the Damn'd, and that they shall go into Paradise, as having suffer'd enough already for their sins. By which it appears, that the Paradise of the *Gaurs* is less remote from sense than that of *Mahomet*'s invention; and that they have a confus'd knowledge of the mysteries of Christian Religion.

Of the Books of the Gaurs.

Ebrahim-zer-Ateucht being taken up into Paradise, they receiv'd by his means seven Books of Laws, which God of his goodness sent them to instruct them in the way of their Salvation. They also receiv'd seven others, containing an Interpretation of all the Dreams that could be Dream'd. Lastly, seven others, wherein were written all the secrets of Physick, and all the possible means for the long preservation of health. They say that fourteen of these Books, which contain'd the explication of Dreams and secrets of Physick are lost; for that *Alexander* the Great carry'd them away, as esteeming them a vast treasure; and for the Books of their Religion, because they were written in a language that none but the Angels understood, *Alexander* for madness caus'd them to be burnt: for which rashness of his, God punish'd him, and afflicted him with that terrible sickness whereof he Dy'd. Some Doctors and Priests that had hid themselves in the Mountains to save their lives from his Butchery, after *Alexander* was Dead, met again together, and compos'd one Book by the strength of their memories. I saw that Book which is a good large one, and written in a different Character, either from the *Arabian*, *Persian*, or *Indian*. Their Priests themselves that read in that Book hardly understand what they read, but they have other Books that explain what is contain'd therein. When they read in that Book, as also when they pray, they tye a Handkerchief about their mouths, as if they were afraid their words should mix with the Air and receive any impurity.

Of the manner of their Baptiſm.

THe *Gaurs* never uſe Circumciſion, but at the Birth of their Children practiſe ſomething like our Baptiſm. For ſome days after the Child is born, they waſh it with Water wherein certain Flowers are firſt boyl'd; and during that dipping, the Prieſt, who is preſent, makes certain Prayers. If the Child dye without that Waſhing, they do not believe but that it goes to Paradiſe; but they hold that the Parents ſhall give an account for their neglect of the Infant, becauſe that Waſhing increaſes his favour and his merit in the ſight of God.

Of their Marriages.

THe Religion of the *Gaurs* permits them to have five Wives, if they can maintain them; nor is it laudable to repudiate any one but in caſe of an evident Adultery, or that ſhe turn *Mahometan*; beſides, it behoves her Husband to ſtay a whole year, to ſee whether ſhe will repent or no. If ſhe come and acknowledge her fault to the Prieſt, he enjoyns her Penance for three years; after which he remarries them, and they become man and wife again.

As to the Ceremony of Marriage, the Prieſt, when the Couple come to him, asks the Man and the Woman in the preſence of Witneſſes, whether they both conſent; then taking a little Water he ſays a few Prayers over it, and then waſhing both their Foreheads he pronounces certain words, and there's all. But they are not to marry within the third degree; nor do they know what it means to deſire a Diſpenſation.

But you muſt obſerve by the way, that though they are allow'd five Wives, there is but one which can be truly ſaid to be marry'd, with whom they are oblig'd to lye at leaſt two nights in a week, Fryday and Saturday, and ſhe always goes before the reſt. But if ſhe have no Children in ſeven years, the man is allow'd to marry another, but not to repudiate the other, whom he is bound ſtill to maintain according to his quality.

So ſoon as Women or Maids perceive the cuſtom of Nature upon them, they preſently leave their Houſes, and ſtay alone in the Fields in little Hutts made of Hurdles or Watlings, with a Cloth at the entring in, which ſerves for a Door. While they are in that condition, they have Meat and Drink brought them every day; and when they are free, they ſend according to their quality, a Kid, or a Hen, or a Pigeon for an Offering; after which they go to the Bath, and then invite ſome few of their Kindred to ſome ſmall Collation.

Of their Faſts, Feaſts, and principal Ceremonies.

THe *Gaurs* drink Wine both men and women, and eat Swines-fleſh, provided it be of their own breeding and feeding. They are very careful leſt their Hogs eat any ordure; for ſhould they perceive that they had devour'd any thing of naſtineſs, they are ſtrictly forbid'n to eat them. They never pare their Nails; ſo that if by way of diſgrace, or by any misfortune they are conſtrain'd to cut their Nails or their Hair, they carry that which they cut off to ſome place appointed without the City for that purpoſe. Five days in a year they abſtain from Meat, Fiſh, Butter, and Eggs; and three other days they faſt altogether 'till Evening. They have alſo thirty Holy-days in honour of thirty of their Saints, which they keep very ſtrictly, no man daring to work. But the day of the Birth of their Prophet is celebrated with an extraordinary Pomp; beſides, that then they beſtow large Alms.

There is one day in the year when all the Women of every City and Village meet together to kill all the Frogs they can find in the fields; and this is done by the Command of their Prophet, who was one day very much annoy'd by them.

Their Prieſts have ſeveral Books full of ſmall Pictures in Water-Colours, ill done, repreſenting how the ſeveral Sins of Men ſhall be puniſh'd in Hell, eſpecially Sodomy, which they abominate.

Of their Funerals.

WHen the *Gaurs* are ſick they ſend for their Prieſts, to whom they make a kind of Confeſſion; whereupon the Prieſts enjoyn them to give Alms, and other good Works, to gain pardon of their Sins. They

They neither burn nor bury their dead, but carry the Corps without the City, into a wall'd place, where are abundance of Stakes ſeven or eight Foot high, fix'd in the ground, and tye the dead Corps to one of the Stakes, with his Face toward the Eaſt. They that accompany the Corps fall to their Prayers at a diſtance, 'till the Crows come; for thoſe Cemitaries draw the Crows to them. If the Crow chances to faſten upon the right Eye of the deceas'd, then they believe the perſon to be happy, and for joy they give large Alms, and make a Feaſt in the field. But if the Crow fixes upon the left Eye, then they take it for an ill *Omen*, return home ſad, without ſpeaking to one another; give no Alms, nor eat nor drink.

Of their Adoration of Fire.

THe *Gaurs* would not be thought to give Honour to Fire under the title of Adoration. For they do not account themſelves Idolaters, ſaying that they acknowledge but only one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, whom they only adore. As for the Fire, they preſerve it and reverence it, in remembrance of the great Miracle, by which their Prophet was deliver'd from the Flames. One day being at *Kerman*, I deſir'd to ſee that Fire, but they anſwer'd me, they could not permit me. For ſay they, one day the *Kan* of *Kerman* being deſirous to ſee the Fire, not daring to do otherwiſe, they ſhew'd it him. He it ſeems expected to ſee ſome extraordinary Brightneſs; but when he ſaw no more then what he might have ſeen in a Kitchin or a Chamber-fire, fell a ſwearing and ſpitting upon't as if he had been mad. Whereupon the Sacred Fire being thus profan'd, flew away in the form of a white Pigeon. The Prieſts conſidering then their misfortune, which had happen'd through their own indiſcretion, fell to their Prayers with the People, and gave Alms; upon which, at the ſame time, and in the ſame form the Sacred Fire return'd to its place: which makes them ſo ſhy to ſhew it again. When they put any perſons to their Oaths, they Swear them before this Fire; for they think no perſon ſo impious, as to ſwear falſe before that Sacred Fire, which they take for the Witneſs of their Oath. Their Prieſts put them in dread of very great puniſhments, and threat'n them that the heavenly Fire will forſake them, if they prove ſo wicked as to ſwear falſely before it.

Of their Manners and Cuſtoms.

THe Language of the *Gaurs* is different from the *Perſians*, as is their Character and manner of Writing. They love to feaſt, and to eat and drink well, being very profuſe of their Wine and Strong-water. They never eat Hares, becauſe they have their monthly Purgations, like Women: for the ſame reaſon they never eat Mulberries, believing that they partake of the nature of Women and Hares.

If, when they comb their Hair or their Beards, any one hair happ'ns to fall upon their cloaths, thoſe cloaths muſt be waſh'd in the ſtale of a Cow or an Ox to purifie them again. If by chance they happ'n to touch any ordure or naſtineſs, when they come home they muſt waſh themſelves in the ſame Urin. If one of their Prieſts meet a dead Corps in the High-way, and chances to ſee it, he is oblig'd to waſh himſelf in Cows-Piſs, which they hold to be a good Purification: an Opinion held in ſome parts of *India* alſo. I ask'd one of their Prieſts how they came to underſtand the virtue of this Urin; who anſwer'd me, that a certain perſon who was contemporary with the firſt Man, having his Arm bruis'd and very black, by reaſon of ſome accident that befel him through the malice of the Devil, fell aſleep in the fields, and as he lay, an Ox ſtaling, a drop of the Urin flew upon his Arm, and preſently heal'd that part which it wet, and reſtor'd it to its former whiteneſs: which the man perceiving when he wak'd, preſently follow'd the Ox, and ſtaid by him 'till he ſtal'd again, and then receiving the Piſs upon the whole wound, was perfectly cur'd. They alſo preſerve it, and compound it with a Water, which they cauſe them to drink who have committed any Sin, after they have been at Confeſſion for it. They call that Water the *Cazi*'s Water; which Urin ought to be preſerv'd forty days, with an infuſion of Willow-Bark, and certain Herbs. When any perſon is confeſs'd of his Sin, if it be a crying Sin, the party is bound to ſtay ten days in the *Cazi*'s Houſe, and not to eat or drink but what the Prieſt gives them. And in order to Abſolution, the Prieſt ſtrips him naked, and tyes a little Dog to his right great Toe, which he leads with him about the *Cazi*'s

Houſe

House wherever he goes, sometimes a whole day, sometimes longer, according to the hainousness of the crime. In that posture he desires the *Cazi* to purifie him, telling him that for his part he believes himself to be purifi'd. The Priest makes answer that it is the Dog that must purifie him, and not he. After that he powrs the compounded water seven times upon his head, then gives him a draught to drink, and so he is absolv'd. This Penitence costs the criminal Sawee, who is afterwards bound to feast all his friends at the *Cazi*'s House. Being surpriz'd at this superstition, I ask'd whether the women were shrifted thus by the *Cazi*; but I found that the *Cazi*'s Wives confess and absolve the women and maids.

One more strange custom they have, that when a man is upon the point of death, they take a little Dog and set it upon the expiring parties breast. When he is just breathing his last, they put the mouth of the Dog to the mouth of the person dying, and cause him to bark twice in that posture, that the Soul of the deceas'd may enter into the Dog, who they say will deliver it into the hands of the Angel appointed to receive it. Moreover when any Dog happ'ns to dye, they carry him out of the City, and pray to God for the Carrion, as if the Beast receiv'd any kindness after death by their Prayers.

Of the Beasts, *which they love or hate.*

THere are some Beasts which the *Gaurs* do mightily respect, and to which they give a great deal of Honour. There are others which they as much abhor, and which they endeavour'd to destroy as much as in them lies, believing that they were not created by God, but that they came out of the body of the Devil, whose ill nature they retain.

The Beasts which they principally admire are the Cow, the Oxe, and the Dog. They are expresly forbid to eat of the flesh of a Cow or an Oxe, or to kill them. The reason why they so esteem these Creatures is, because the Oxe labours for man, and Ploughs the Ground that produces his food. As for the Cow they more dearly affect her for the Milk she gives, but especially for the purifying quality of her Urine.

The Creatures which they abhor are Adders, Serpents, Lizards, Toads, Frogs, Creyfish, Rats, Mice, but above all the rest Cats; which they say are the resemblance of the Devil, who gave them so much strength that a man can hardly kill them; so that they rather suffer the inconveniency of Rats and Mice, than ever to keep a Cat in their Houses.

As for the other Animals before-mention'd, if any of the *Gaurs* fall sick, they hire poor people to go and find those Creatures out and kill them; which they reck'n in the number of those good works that comfort the Souls of the deceas'd. The reason why they hate them so, is, because they believe the Devils make use of them to torment the Damn'd; and therefore they do a work of charity that destroy them, whereby they mitigate the pains and torments of Souls in Hell.

The last King of these *Gaurs* was *Sha-Iesherd*, who was driv'n out of his Country by *Omar* the second, successor to *Mahomet*.

Of the RELIGION of the *ARMENIANS*, and of their Principal CEREMONIES.

CHAP. IX.

How the Armenians *Conſecrate and Adminiſter the Sacrament.*

SInce the *Armenians* Traded into *Europe* and began to be Travellers, their Churches are better ſet out then they were heretofore. They ſpare no coſt to adorn the Choir and the Altar; you tread upon rich Carpets, and for the ſtructure and embelliſhments of it, they employ the beſt Workmen and the choiceſt Materials they can meet with. From the body of the Church to the Choir there is uſually an aſcent of five or ſix Steps. Nor is there above one Altar in any Church, upon which they ſet the Conſecrated Bread, before they ſet the Chalice where the Wine is. When the Maſs for the Ceremony is ſaid by an Arch-biſhop, at the reading of the Goſpel they light an abundance of Wax Tapers, which Tapers are like Torches. After the Goſpel is read, ſeveral of the *Noviciates* take ſticks in their Hands about five foot long, at the end whereof are Latten Plates with little Bells hanging about them, which when they are ſhak'd, imitate the ſound of Cymbals. Other *Noviciates* there are which hold a Copper Plate in their Hands hung about with Bells, which they ſtrike one againſt another: and at the ſame time the *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Laity* ſing together indifferent Harmoniouſly. All this while the Arch-biſhop has two Biſhops of each ſide of him, who are in the room of a Dean and a Sub-dean; and when it is time, he goes and unlocks a Window in the Wall on the Goſpel ſide, and takes out the Chalice where the Wine is. Then with all his Muſick he takes a turn about the Altar, upon which he at length ſets down the Chalice, ſaying certain Prayers. After that, with the Chalice in his hand, and the Bread upon the Chalice, he turns toward the People, who preſently proſtrate themſelves upon the Ground, beat their Breſts, and kiſs the Earth, while the Arch-biſhop pronounces theſe words; *This is the Lord who gave his Body and Blood for you.* Then he turns toward the Altar, and eats the Bread dip'd in the Wine; for they never drink the Wine, but only dip the Bread in it. That done, the Arch-biſhop turns once more toward the people with the Bread and Chalice in his hand, and they that will receive, come one after another to the bottom of the Choir, whither it is not lawful for any Lay-perſon whatſoever to aſcend; to whom the Arch-biſhop gives the Bread dip'd in Wine that is in the Chalice, which Bread is without leven, flat, and round, about as thick as a Crown, and as big as the Hoſt of the Maſs, being Conſecrated the day before by the Prieſt, whoſe Office it is. They never put Water in their Communion-Wine; affirming that Water is for Baptiſm, and that Chriſt when he inſtituted the Holy Supper drank it pure, without any mixture of Water.

When the *Armenians* come to the Communion, the Arch-biſhop or the Prieſt ſays theſe words: *I confeſs and believe that this is the Body and Blood of the Son of God, who takes away the ſins of the World, who is not only ours, but the Salvation of all Mankind.* The Prieſt repeats theſe words three times to the people, to inſtruct them and to teach them to what end they receive the Sacrament. Every time the Prieſt ſays the words, the people ſay after him word for word; and when the Prieſt ſerves the people, he breaks the Hoſt into little bits which he dips in the Wine, and gives to every one of the Communicants. That which I moſt wonder at is, that they give the Communion to Children of two or three months old, which their Mothers bring in their Arms; though many times, the Children put it out of their mouths again. They never adminiſter the Sacrament all the time of their Lent, for then they never ſay Maſs but upon *Sunday* noon, which they call Low-Maſs, at which time they never ſee the Prieſt, who has a Curtain drawn before the Altar, and only reads the Goſpel and Creed aloud. Sometimes upon *Thurſday* in the Paſſion week

they say Low-Mass about noon,and then they Confess and administer the Sacrament: But generally they stay 'till Saturday, and then the Communicants, after they have receiv'd, are permitted to eat Fish, Eggs, Butter, Oyl, or any thing else except Flesh. Upon *Easter day*, by break of day, the Priest says Low-Mass, Confesses, and Administers, after which it is lawful to eat Flesh. But the Beasts must be kill'd upon *Easter-day*, and not so much as upon *Easter-eve*. They have four other Feasts in the year, wherein they observe the same Ceremony, eating neither Flesh, Fish, Eggs, Butter nor Oyl for eight days: which four Feasts are *Christmas*, the *Ascension*, the *Annunciation*, and St. *George*'s. Before this last Feast they stretch their devotion to the utmost, for some will fast three days, some five, one after another.

CHAP. X.

Of the ordination of their Priesthood; and their Austerites.

WHen a Father designs his Son to the Priesthood,he carries him to the Priest,who puts the Cope,op'n on both sides,about his Shoulders, after which the Father and Mother take him home again. This Ceremony is repeated seven times in several years, according to the years of the young Child, 'till he come to be of age to say Mass. If he be not design'd for a Monk, but for the Priesthood, after the fourth time of putting on the *Chasuble* or op'n Cope,they marry him; for their Priests marry once,but if that Wife dye, if they intend to marry again, they must give over saying Mass. The six first Ceremonies being over, when the Youth comes to the age of 18 years,at what time they are capable of saying Mass, as well those who are design'd for Monks, as those who are marry'd Priests, they proceed to the seventh and last Ceremony, which must be perform'd by an Archbishop or a Bishop; who invests the young Priest with all the Habits which the Priests wear that say Mass. That being done, he goes into the Church, out of which he is not to depart for a whole year; during all which time he is altogether employ'd in the service of the Church. The Priest who is marry'd,must be five days after he has said Mass before he returns home to eat or drink, or lye with his Wife. And as well the Monks as Priests, when they intend to say Mass again, must remain five days in the Church, without either going to bed or touching any thing with their hands,unless it be the Spoon where-with they eat their meat: not daring all the while to spit or blow their noses. The next five days after they have said Mass, though such days upon which they might otherwise eat Flesh and Fish, they are oblig'd to feed upon nothing else but Eggs without Butter, and Rice boyl'd with Water and Salt.The morning before they celebrate Mass,if the Priest have by chance swallow'd a drop of Water, he must not say Mass.

Their Austerities are such,that many of their Bishops never eat Flesh or Fish above four times a year; but more then that, when they come to be Archbishops,they only live upon Pulse. They have six months and three days in a year wherein they keep *Lent*, or particular Fasts, which you please to call them; and during all that time, as well the Ecclesiastical persons as the Laity, feed only upon Bread, and some few Herbs which grow in their Gardens. There was an *Armenian* of *Zulpha* whose superstition was so great, that he made his Horse to fast with him, allowing him but very little either to eat or drink for a whole week together. As for the poor labouring people, they only feed upon Pulse, boyl'd in Water and Salt: for during their chief *Lent*, they are permitted no more then others, to eat either Butter or Oyl; nay though they lay a dying,it is not lawful for them to eat Flesh upon those days wherein that diet is forbidd'n. They may only eat Wall-nuts or Small-nuts, Almonds or Pistaches, or some such other Fruit that affords no Oyl; and they have this farther liberty, to pound them, and put them among their Pulse or their Herbs, and boyl them with Rice.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Baptiſm.

'TIS the cuſtom of the *Armenians* to Baptize their Infants upon Sunday; or if they Baptize any upon the week days, it is only in caſe of neceſſity when they think they will not live. The Midwife carries the Infant to Church, and holds it in her arms, 'till either the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop, or the Prieſt has ſaid ſome part of the Form of Baptiſm. Then he that baptizes takes the Infant which is naked, and plunges it in the Water, and then taking it out again, puts it into the hands of the God-father, and goes on with the Prayers. While he reads them, with the Cotton which he has in his hand he twiſts a ſtring about half an Ell long. He makes another alſo of red Silk, which is flat; then twiſting thoſe two ſtrings together, he puts them about the Child's neck. They ſay, that theſe two ſtrings, one of white Cotton, and the other of red Silk, ſignifies the Blood and Water which flow'd from the Body of CHRIST, when he was wounded with the Lance upon the Croſs. Having ty'd the cord about the neck of the Child, he takes the holy Oyl and anoints the Child in ſeveral parts of the body, making the ſign of the Croſs in every place where he drops the Oyl; every time pronouncing theſe words, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.* He firſt anoints the Forehead, then the Chin, then the Stomach, the Arm-holes, the Hands and Feet.

As to the making this Oyl, you muſt know, that every ſeven years, upon the Eve of our *Lady* in *September*, againſt which day they obſervé a ſmall *Lent* of eight days, the Patriarch makes this holy Oyl; there being no perſon but he who has power to make it. He uſes all ſorts of fragrant Flowers, and Aromatical Drugs; but the principal Flower is that which the *Armenians* call in their Language *Balaſſan-Jaguè*, we in ours, the *Flower of Paradiſe*. When the Oyl is made, the Patriarch ſends two Bottles to all the Covents of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*, without which they cannot baptize.

The Ceremony of Baptiſm being over, the God-father goes out of the Church with the Infant in his arms, and a Taper of white Wax in each hand. According to the quality of the perſon, when the Child is carry'd out of the Church, the Trumpets, Drums, Hautboys, and other Inſtruments of the Country make a hideous noiſe and go before the Infant to the Parents Houſe, where being arriv'd, the God-father delivers the Child to the Mother. She proſtrates her ſelf at the ſame time before the God-father, kiſſing his feet; and while ſhe continues in that poſture, the God-father kiſſes her head. Neither the Father nor the God-father names the Child, but he that baptizes gives him the Name of the Saint whoſe Feſtival falls upon the Sunday on which the Child is baptiz'd. If there be no Saint's day that Sunday in the Almanack, they take the next Name whoſe Feſtival ſucceeds the Sunday of Baptiſm; ſo that they have no affected Names among them. Upon the return of the God-father with the Child home, there is a Feaſt prepar'd for all the Kindred and Friends, and him that baptiz'd the Infant, with whom all the Prieſts and Monks of the Covent, at leaſt of the Pariſh, go along. The poor people were wont to be ſo prodigal at theſe Feaſts, as alſo upon their Marriages and Burials, that the next day they had not wherewithal to buy Victuals, much leſs to pay what they have borrow'd for ſo needleſs an expence. But now the poor *Armenians* are grown ſo cunning to avoid the Baſtinado's which are gi'vn to Debtors upon the ſoles of the Feet, when they cannot pay, according to the cuſtom of *Perſia*; that they carry the Child to Church upon the week-days; without any Ceremony, with tears in their eyes, pretending it to be ſickly and like to dye, and to make no Feaſts at all.

If the Women lye in fifteen or twenty days, or two months before *Chriſtmas*, they defer the baptizing the Infant 'till the Feſtival, provided the Infant be healthy. Then in all the Cities and Villages where the *Armenians* live, if there be any River or Pond, they make ready two or three flat-bottom'd Boats, ſpread with Carpets to walk upon, in one of which upon *Chriſtmas-day* they ſet up a kind of an Altar. In the morning by Sun-riſing all the *Armenian* Clergy, as well of that place as of the parts adjoyning, get into the Boats in their Habits, with the Croſs and Banner. Then

they dip the Cross in the Water three times, and every time they drop the Holy Oyl upon it. After that they use the ordinary form of Baptism, which being done, the Arch-bishop or the Minister plunges the Infant in the River or Pond three times, saying the usual words, *I Baptise, &c.* and the same anointings as before: though it seems a wonder to me that the extremity of the weather does not kill the Child. The King of *Persia* is many times present at this ceremony when it is perform'd at *Ispahan*, riding on Horse-back to the side of the River with all his Nobility. The Ceremony being over he goes to *Zulpha* to the *Kelonter*'s House, where there is an entertainment prepar'd for him. Neither is there any place in the World where a King may be entertain'd with less charge than in *Persia*. For if any private person invite the King, and that His Majesty pleases to do him that Honour, 'tis but for the inviter to go to the chief of the Officers, and to carry him twenty *Tomans*, or three hundred Crowns, and to tell him withall, that the King has promis'd to accept of a small Collation with his Slave. For then the Governour is oblig'd to send to the House of him that treats the King all things necessary for the entertainment. Else it were impossible to be done, in regard the King eats in nothing but in Gold Plate. At the end of the Feast the King is always presented with some *European* Rarity, not less worth than four or five thousand Crowns. Or if the person have no Rarity to present, it suffices to offer in a Bason the value in *Venetian Ducats* of Gold, with all the submission imaginable. Besides all this, some Presents must be giv'n to some of the Lords and principal Eunuchs of his train; and others sent to the Queen Mother, if living, and to the *Sultaness*, his Wives and Sisters. Thus though the entertainment may be made with little trouble, yet otherwise it proves somewhat expensive; though the *Armenians* of *Zulpha* are well enough able to bear the charge. I was twice at this Ceremony upon *Christmas* day in *Ispahan*. The first time I saw *Sha-Sefi*, and the second time *Sha-Abas* the second, who drank both so hard, that in their Drink they committed those crimes that very much stain'd their memories: For *Sha-Sefi* returning home stab'd his Wife, the Mother of *Sha-Abas*. *Sha-Abas* another time returning home in drink, would needs drink on, and force three women to drink with him; who finding he would not give over, stole out of his Company. The King perceiving them gone without taking leave, in a mad humour sent his Eunuchs for them, and caus'd them to be thrown into the Fire, where the poor women were burnt; for there is no resisting nor examining the Kings command.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Marriages of the Armenians.

THE *Armenians* Marry their Children before either party have seen each other, nay before the Fathers or Brothers know any thing of it. And they whom they intend to Marry must agree to what their Fathers or Parents command them. When the Mothers have agreed among themselves, they tell their Husbands, who approve what they have done. Upon this Approbation, the Mother of the Boy, with two old Women and a Priest come to the House where the Mother of the Daughter lives, and present her a Ring from him whom they intend to betroth. The Boy appears afterwards, and the Priest reads something out of the Gospel as a blessing upon both parties; after which they give him a sum of Money according to the quality of the Father of the Girl. That done, they present the company with drink, and this is call'd a betrothing or affiancing. Sometimes they agree a Marriage when the Children are not above two or three years old; sometimes two women that are friends being both with Child at one time together, will make a match between the two Children before they are born, if the one be a Boy and the other a Girl. So soon as they are born the Contract is made; and when once the Boy has giv'n the Ring, though it be twenty years after before they are Marry'd, he is bound every year upon *Easter*-day to send his Mistriss a new Habit with all the trimming belonging to it according to her quality. Three

days before the Celebration of Marriage, the Father and Mother of the Boy prepare a Feaſt, which is carry'd to the houſe of the Father and Mother of the Girl, where the kindred of both parties meet. The Men are in one place by themſelves, and the Women in another; for they never eat together at publick Feaſts. The Evening before the Nuptials the Bridegroom ſends a Habit to the Bride; and ſome time after he comes to receive what the Mother of the Bride has provided for him, on her part. If the Bride has no Mother, ſome ancient Woman next a-kin dreſſes the Bride. At length the Bride gets upon one Horſe, and the Bridegroom upon another, each Horſe being ſumptuouſly harneſs'd, with Bridles and Saddles of Gold and Silver, if the perſons be rich: thoſe that are poor, and have not Horſes of their own, repair to the Great men, who willingly lend theirs upon ſuch an occaſion. As they ſet out from the Virgins habitation, the Bridegroom goes before with a Veil of Carnation-Tiffany upon his Head, or elſe of Gold and Silver Net-work, the Meſhes whereof are very cloſe, that reaches below the Stomach. He holds in his Hand one end of a Girdle ſome three or four Ells long, and the Bride that rides behind holds the other. She is alſo cover'd with a large white Veil from head to foot, that ſpreads alſo a good way over the Horſe. Under which Veil, that rather ſeems a large white Sheet, the Bride is hid in ſuch a manner, that there is nothing to be ſeen of her but her Eyes. Two Men walk on either ſide of each Horſe; and if they be Children of three or four years old (for ſo young they marry) there are three or four Men to hold them in the Saddle, according to the quality of their Parents. A great Train of young Men, the kindred and acquaintance of both parties, follow after, ſome a horſe-back, ſome a-foot, with Tapers in their hands, as if they were going in Proceſſion: and beſides all theſe, the Drums, Trumpets, Hautboys and other Inſtruments of the Country, all attending to the Church-door. When they are alighted, every one makes way for the Bridegroom and Bride, who advance up to the foot of the Altar, ſtill holding the Girdle in their hands. Then the Bridegroom and the Bride meet, and lean forehead to forehead. Then comes the Prieſt, and turning his back to the Altar, lays his Bible upon their Heads, inſtead of a Desk, a weight ſufficiently heavy, as being a thick ponderous Folio. There he lets it lye while he reads the form of Matrimony, which Office is moſt uſually perform'd by a Biſhop or an Archbiſhop. The Form is very much like ours. The Biſhop demands the Bridegroom, *Wilt thou have ſuch a one to thy Wife?* then to the Bride he ſays, *Wilt thou have ſuch a one for thy Husband?* to which they both anſwer with a nod of the Head. The Matrimonial Benediction being giv'n, they hear Maſs; which being ended, they return both together to the Daughters habitation, in the ſame order as they ſet out. Theſe Nuptials laſt three days: where the Women drink more than the Men. The Man goes to Bed firſt, the Woman pulling off the man's Breeches, though ſhe does not lay aſide her Veil 'till the Candle be put out. Let it be what time in the year it will, the Woman riſes before day. So that there be ſome *Armenians* that in ten years after they are marry'd never ſaw their Wives faces, nor ever heard them ſpeak. For though her Husband may ſpeak to her, and all the reſt of her kindred, yet ſhe never anſwers but with a Nod. The Women never eat with their Husbands; but if the Men feaſt their Friends to day, the Women feaſt theirs the next Day.

CHAP. XIII.

How the Armenians *Bury their Dead.*

SO ſoon as any perſon dyes, one appointed for the Services of the Dead runs immediately to the Church to fetch a Pot of Holy-Water, which he preſently pours into a great Veſſel full of Water, into which they put the dead Corps. This man is call'd *Mordichou*, or the perſon that waſhes the Dead; which *Mordichou's* are ſo much deteſted among the people, that it is an ignominy to eat or drink with thoſe ſort of people. Whatever the party deceas'd has about him at the time of his death belongs to them, though it be any excellent Jewel; for it is the cuſtom of the Eaſt to lye in their Breeches, Shirt, and Waſtcoat, in regard they never

never make use of Bed-cloaths. So soon as the Corps is wash'd, they dress it with a clean white Shirt, a pair of Breeches, a Wastcoat, and a Bonnet, all new, never having been worn before. Then they put the Body in a linnen Sack, and sow up the mouth of it. That being done, the Priests come and take up the Body to carry it to Church, which is attended by all the kindred and friends of the deceas'd, with every one a Taper in his hand. Being come to Church, they set down the Corps before the Altar where the Priest says certain Prayers; and then setting up lighted Tapers round about the Corps, they leave it so all night. The next day in the morning a Bishop or an ordinary Priest says Mass, at the end whereof they carry the Body before the door of the Bishop's house, attended as before; at what time the Bishop comes forth and says a prayer for the Soul of the deceas'd. Then eight or ten of the poorer sort that are next at hand, carry the Body to the Church-yard. All the way they sing certain Dirges, which the Priests continue, while the Body is let down into the Grave. Then the Bishop takes three handfuls of Earth, and throws them one after another into the Grave, pronouncing these words; *From Earth thou cam'st, to Earth thou shalt return, and stay there 'till our Lord comes.* These words being said, they fill up the Grave. Those of the kindred and friends that will go back find a Collation ready; and if any other persons will go along, they are not refus'd. For seven days also they allow Dinners and Suppers to certain Priests and poor people, if they are persons of ability: believing no Soul departed can be sav'd, unless the survivors are at that expence. Whence it comes to pass, that so many of the poor people are so miserable, and Slaves to the *Mahometans*, by borrowing Money to defray those expences, which they are not able to pay again.

When an Archbishop or a Bishop dyes, they add this farther Ceremony, that an Archbishop or a Bishop writes a little Note, and cutting op'n the Sack puts the Note into the Hand of the deceas'd, wherein are these words; *Remember thy self, that from Earth thou cam'st, and to Earth thou shalt return.*

If a Slave dye before enfranchiz'd, when the Body is brought into the Church, the Master writes a Note, wherein are these words; *Let him not grieve, I make him free, and give him his liberty.* For they believe that he would be reproach'd in the other World for being a Slave, for which his Soul might suffer tribulation. If the Master be dead, the Mistress does the same. If an *Armenian* makes away himself, they never carry the Body out of the door of the house, but make a hole in the wall, where they can most conveniently, and carry him to his Grave without any Ceremony.

The night preceding the Feast of the *Holy Cross*, Men, Women, and Children go to the Church-yard, whither they carry good store of Food, not forgetting their Wine. Immediately they fall a weeping over the Graves of the dead, and after they have spent some time in that doleful Exercise, they all fall to eating and drinking; thus passing the whole night by turns, in blub'ring, eating, and bubbing.

As for the poor people, they would think themselves undone, and the most unfortunate in the world, should they want Provision and Wine to go to the Church-yards, the night before the Feast of St. *George*, where they go to frolick it, rather then to pray for the Dead.

There may be some few *Armenians* that embrace *Mahometanism* for worldly Interest, but they are generally the most obstinate persons in the world, and most firm to their superstitious Principles.

CHAP. XIV.

Examples of the Constancy of the Armenians, *in maintaining their Religion against the Persecutions of the* Mahometans.

IT is the custom of the *Armenians*, that when any one of them apostatizes, and desires to return again to the Church, he cannot have Absolution but at the same City or Village where he first abjur'd his Religion.

Now it happen'd that a young *Armenian* being sent to *Smyrna* with a very considerable quantity of Goods, and falling to debauchery, turn'd *Mahometan*, to the

the end he might defraud his Father and his Brethren of their Estate, according to *Haly*'s Law, already mention'd. But after he had spent good part of the Goods in Debauchery, he return'd to the *Three Churches*, where the Grand Patriarch liv'd, to be absolv'd from his Fault; but the Patriarch telling him he must go to the Bishop of *Smyrna*, he went accordingly; and in some few days after he had undergone the Penance enjoyn'd him, he went to the *Cadi*, and with a great Resolution, *Sir*, said he, *you know that some years since I turn'd* Mahometan; *now I come to declare before ye that I have repented, and do repent of the foul Crime I committed, when I deny'd the Saviour of the World, and embrac'd your wicked Law.* The *Cadi*, who thought it had been at first only some evaporation of Extravagance, endeavour'd to reclaim him by fair words and promises; but when he heard him persist in his resolution, when he heard him curse and blaspheme *Mahomet*, he caus'd him to be carry'd to the *Piazza*, where he was cut to pieces immediately. For no persons go with more courage and joy to suffer for their Faith, then the *Armenians*.

In the year 1651 there happen'd to be a Wedding between a young *Turk* and a Virgin of the same Nation. To this Wedding was invited an *Armenian* Lady, who was a great friend of the Bridegroom's Mother. The *Armenian* had an only Son of about twelve years of age, that earnestly desir'd to go along with her; at first she refus'd him, knowing that after the age of five or six years no Youth is permitted to be in company with the *Turkish* Women or Maids. But the Boy still pressing his Mother, and being seconded by an Aunt, who to please her Nephew, told her she might let him go in Girls Apparel; at last the indulgent Mother, over rul'd by the importunity of the Child, took him along with her in a female dress. Three days the solemnity of the *Turkish* Weddings last: but the very first day, an old *Gipsie Turk* casting her Eye upon the young *Armenian*, and finding him too sparkish and too nimble for a Girl, suspected his Sex; and calling his Mother aside, told her, that by all the gestures and actions of the Child, she could be no Girl, but a Boy in disguise. The Mother not only deny'd the matter, but also seem'd highly offended at the old Womans suspition; who as much incens'd to have her judgment questionn'd, decoy'd the Child among the Eunuchs of the Family, and caus'd him to be search'd; and finding herself in the right, spred it presently about the house. Immediately the people cry'd that the Chambers were defil'd, that the *Armenian* Lady had done it in derision of their Law; and seizing Mother, Aunt, and Youth, carry'd them all before the *Bassa*, demanding Justice. The *Bassa* dismiss'd the Mother and the Aunt, but kept the Youth six or sev'n days, hoping the rage of the people would be over. But in vain he strove to plead for the Child, though the Father offer'd them half the weight of him in Gold, for the *Bassa* was forc'd to deliver him up into the hands of the marry'd Womans kindred; who carry'd the Child to the Market-place of the City, where they stript him stark naked; and first they flea'd him from his Neck behind down to the Waist, and so left him with a Guard upon him all night. The *Cadi* and *Moullah's* exhorted the Child to turn *Mahometan*, and they would preserve him from further mischief. His Mother beg'd him to have pity upon her and himself, and to turn *Mahometan* to save his life. But neither tears, nor all the tender words that grief and affection could inspire, could shake the constancy of the Infant, who with a resolute utterance answer'd, that he had hitherto suffer'd, and still would suffer patiently; and that nothing griev'd him, but that his Mother should exhort him to deny his Saviour. Next day the pitiless *Turks* came and flea'd all his Breast and his Stomach, and so left him all night under a Guard, intending to have flea'd him part by part every day. But the *Bassa* abhorring their Cruelty, came the next day with his Guards, and caus'd his Head to be cut off.

Van is a City peopl'd as well with *Armenians* as *Turks*; so that it is a usual thing for the *Armenian* and *Turkish* Boys to play together. One day it unfortunately fell out, that the Boys playing one among another, and flinging Stones at each other, an *Armenian* Boy hit a young *Turk* full upon the Temples, and strook him dead. Presently the other *Turkish* Boys and the Rabble seiz'd him, and carry'd him to the *Bassa*; the Father and Mother of the Child slain follow'd with hideous outcrys, bawling for justice, or that the Boy should turn *Mahometan* to expiate his fault. The *Armenian* Parents offer'd a large sum of Money to redeem their Child; but the adverse party obstinate against all accommodation, the *Bassa* was constrain'd

to

to deliver the Child, giving sentence that the young *Armenian* should endure the same death the *Turk* had suffer'd, and no other. Immediately the *Turks* hurry'd the poor Child to the place where he had unfortunately slain his play-fellow; and after the Parents of the young *Turk* had had the two first hits, he was presently brain'd by a show'r of Stones from the Rabble. Yet as near death as he knew himself to be, without any disturbance at all, he exhorted his weeping play-fellows to stand firm to the Faith of Jesus Christ, for which he was going to dye.

Another time an *Armenian* Merchant coming from the *Indies* to Grand *Cairo*, went to the Coffee-house according to custom, being a rendezvous of all the Merchants in the Town. There falling into discourse, by reason of the heat of the weather, he took off his Bonnet made after the *Armenian* fashion of divers Colours, and laid it behind him, keeping his black Cap only upon his head. When the *Moullah* came about to hasten the people to go away according to the custom, which I have already declar'd, the *Armenian* hastily rising up, a *Turk*, concealing the Merchant's Bonnet, clap'd his own Bonnet upon his head. Upon that all the *Turkish* Merchants that were there came and congratulated the *Armenian* Merchant, telling him, how glad they were to see that he had embrac'd the good Law. At which words the *Armenian* surpriz'd, takes off the Turbant, throws it to the Ground before all the Company, and stamp'd it under foot. This action of contempt so enrag'd the *Turks*, that they carry'd him before the *Bassha*, before whom it was in vain to justifie himself, or to affirm that the Turbant was malitiously put upon his head; for the *Turks* swore the contrary, and that he took it of his own accord, and therefore he must either turn *Turk* or dye for it. Upon his refusal they put him in Prison, and in a few days the sentence was brought him from the *Mufti* and *Cadi*, that he must either turn or be burnt alive. The severity of the sentence overpowr'd him at first to embrace the *Mahumetan* Law. But four or five years after returning from the *Indies* to *Cairo*, he came where the *Bassha* was sitting in Council with the Grandees of the Country, and getting as near the *Mufti* as he could, and throwing his Turbant in his face; *There Dog*, said he, *Thou wert the cause that I have worn it so long, of which I have repented, and do repent from the bottom of my heart; for I know that neither thou nor thy Law are worth a Straw.* At the same time the croud laid hold of him, and drag'd him to the *Piazza*, where he dy'd in the midst of the flames with an admirable constancy.

A rich Merchant of *Zulpha*, call'd *Cotgia Soultenon*, was so well belov'd by *Sha-Sefi*, that he often went to Dine at his house. But one day it fell out that the King having eat and drank to excess, upon his return home fell crop-sick, upon which the report ran that the *Armenian* had poyson'd him. Which report coming to his ears, fearing lest the King should dye, and himself be put to cruel Torments, he took a dose of Poyson and dy'd. Which when the King, who was well again the next day, understood, he was very much troubl'd for his death.

The same *Cotgia Soultenon* had a *Cafer* sent him from *Melinda* for a Slave; who being young and very apprehensive, soon learnt the *Persian* and *Turkish* Languages, and was instructed in the Christian Religion, and Christen'd by the name of *Huzed* or *Joseph*. After his Master's death he turn'd *Mahumetan*, and so continu'd twenty years. At the end whereof returning to *Zulpha*, he beg'd pardon of the Church; and all the rest of his days so crucify'd himself with Fasting, that every one pitty'd him; and when the *Armenian* Bishops told him he had done well, he made no other answer, but that he was not worthy to live upon the Earth who had deny'd his Saviour, only he hop'd that he would have mercy upon him; and so continu'd his austere penance 'till he dy'd.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Author's reception at the Court of Perſia *in his ſixth and laſt Voyage, and what he did there during his ſtay at* Iſpahan.

I Arriv'd at *Iſpahan* the 20*th* of *December*, 1664. So ſoon as the *Nazar* was inform'd of my arrival, he ſent the *Kelonter* or chief of the *Armenians* with ſeven or eight more to congratulate my arrival, and to aſſure me of all the kind Offices he could do me. The next day he ſent the ſame *Armenians* with four Horſes; and to tell me that the King had a deſire to ſee what I had brought; for which purpoſe the *Kelonter* had order to furniſh me with men. Thereupon I took Horſe, accompany'd by all the *Franks* that were at *Zulpha*. When I came to Court, I was brought into the place where all the great Ambaſſadours had audience, where I found attending the *Nazar*, and Father *Raphael* ſuperior of the order of the *Capuchins*, ready to deliver me my Box of Jewels which I had left with him in the Covent for more ſecurity. After I had expos'd my Goods upon a fair Table cover'd with a Carpet of Gold and Silver, and that the *Nazar* had diſpos'd every thing in order with his own hand, the King enter'd, attended only by three Eunuchs for his Guard, and two old men, whoſe office it was to pull off his Shoes when he goes into any Room ſpread with Gold and Silk Carpets, and to put them on again when he goes forth. The King had nothing on but a ſingle pair of Drawers of Taffata, chequer'd red and white, which came half way the Leg, his feet being bare; a ſhort Caſſock that came but half way his body, with a large Cloak of Cloth of Gold with hanging-ſleeves down to the Ground, furr'd with Sable Martin. The firſt thing I ſhew'd was a large Candleſtick of Chryſtal of the Rock, the richeſt piece of that nature that ever was ſeen. The next was a ſuit of Tapeſtry hangings held up by ſeveral men, as I had appointed. The *Nazar* then caus'd me to advance and do my obeyſance to the King, who preſently knowing my Face again; *Oh*, ſaid he to the *Nazar*, *This is the* Fringui Aga *who ſold me ſo many Rarities about ſix years ago, when* Mahomet Beg *was Athemadoulet*. After that the *Nazar* ſhew'd him all my Rarities as they lay in order. Among the reſt I beſought His Majeſty by Frier *Raphael*, to accept of a great Steel Mirror, which when he look'd in, he wonder'd to ſee his Face ſo big. But when Frier *Raphael* had told him the nature of it, he caus'd it to be held to one of his Eunuchs, which had a monſtrous Hawk Noſe, the ſight whereof held him in laughter and divertiſement for above a quarter of an hour. After that the King retir'd, leaving me alone with the *Nazar* and Friar *Raphael*. As for my Jewels I put them up my ſelf, and had a place aſſign'd me to Lock them up and keep the Key, but for my large pieces of Goldſmiths work, the *Nazar* committed them to the truſt of one of the principal Officers of the Houſe.

The next day early in the morning the *Nazar* ſent for me and Father *Raphael*, and made his Secretary write down the price of every thing, according to his demands. He had alſo his own Artiſts to prize them; but that I did not value, in regard I knew the price much better then they. After he had ſhew'd the Jewels, price and all to the King, we were ſeveral times before we could agree; but at length he told me, that the King would give me Twenty-five in the Hundred profit for all the Stones; leaving me the Pearls, which he thought I might put off at a better price in the *Indies*; which was an offer I could not refuſe, and therefore I ſign'd the Agreement according to the *Nazar*'s deſire: Which when his Majeſty had ſeen, he bid the *Nazar* tell me I ſhould be his Jeweller in Ordinary, and that for my ſake all the *Franks* ſhould be the better us'd within his Territories, and that I ſhould have any favour of him that I deſir'd. I beſought his Majeſty to give me his Patent with his Seal affix'd, whereby I might be priviledg'd to Trade in his Dominions, without paying Cuſtom for ſuch and ſuch Merchandize, and in ſuch manner as I ſhould think fitting. I alſo beſought him graciouſly to grant his Protection to a Nephew of mine, whom I had left at *Tauris* to learn the Language, that he might be ſerviceable to his Majeſty when I was dead and gone.

Thereupon he caus'd my Nephew to be enrol'd presently as one of his Domestick Servants, and order'd the *Nazar* to take particular care of him.

The next day after my agreement with the *Nazar*, the King gave audience in the great Hall of the Palace to the Ambassador of the *Usbeck-Tartars*. All the Lords and Officers of the Crown stood in the Court where the Ambassador was to pass: there were also nine stately Horses, whose Furniture was very rich, and all different. Two Harnesses were cover'd with Diamonds, two with Rubies, two with Emralds, two with Turquoises, and one embroider'd with fair Pearls. Had he been an Ambassador from a Monarch for whom the King of *Persia* had had a greater esteem than he had for the *Cham* of *Tartary*, there had been thirty Horses: for according to the value which the King puts upon the Prince that sends to him, he either augments or abates of the number of his Horses of State. Every Horse is ty'd by the Reins to a Nail of Gold fasten'd in the Ground, with a Hammer of Gold lying by. There was another Nail of Gold behind, with a Cord ty'd to it, that held their hinder legs. They set also before every Horse a Caldron of Gold, out of which they draw up Water into a great Manger; though all this be only for State, for they never water their Horses in that place.

Out of the first Court the Ambassador enter'd into a large Gallery, between a long File of Musqueteers on each side. Thence he enter'd into a Garden through an Alley about eight Fathom broad, all pav'd with great Marble Stones, in the middle of which runs a Channel of Water four Foot wide, with several Water-works that spurted out of the Channel at equal distances. On each side of the Walk to the Hall where the King sat, there is a Pond almost as long as the Walk, and in the middle of the Pond another sort of Water-works. Several Officers of the Army were rang'd all along the Alley; and at the end of one of the Ponds were four Lions ty'd; and at the end of the other, three Tigers couchant upon Carpets of Silk, having Men to guard them with Half-pikes in their hands. The Hall took up more ground in length then in bredth, being op'n every way; the Cieling was sustain'd by sixteen wooden Pillars, of eight pannels every one, and of a prodigious thickness and height. As well the Cieling as the Pillars were all painted with Foliage-work in Gold and Azure, with certain other Colours mix'd therewith. In the middle of the Hall was a Vase of excellent Marble, with a Fountain throwing out Water after several manners. The Floor was spread with Gold and Silk Carpets, made on purpose for the Place: and near to the Vase was a low Scaffold one Foot high, twelve Foot long, and eight wide, cover'd with a magnificent Carpet. Upon this Scaffold sate the King upon a four-square Cushion of Cloth of Gold, with another Cushion behind him cover'd with the same, set up against a great Tap'stry-Hanging, wrought with *Persian* Characters, containing the Mysteries of the Law. On each side of the King stood several Eunuchs with Musquets in their hands. The King commanded the *Athemadoulet* and four others to sit down by him, and the *Athemadulet* made me a sign to sit down; but the King knowing how little the *Franks* care for sitting cross-leg'd, order'd me to be told that I might stand upright, if I thought good. The King was clad in a Silk streak'd with Gold: His Cloak was a Gold-ground with Flower of Silk and Silver, Furr'd with a Martin Sable, the blackest and most glist'ring that ever was seen. His Girdle was very rich, and upon his Bonnet he wore a Plume of Herons Feathers fasten'd with a transparent Jewel; in the middle of the Jewel was a Pear-fashion'd Pearl, set with great Topaze's and Rubies.

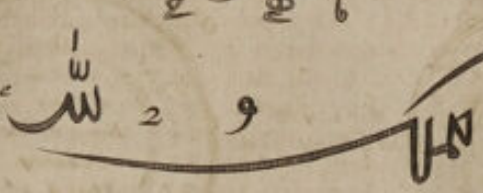
About half and hour after the King was sat, the *Nazar* and the Master of the Ceremonies brought the Ambassador, who neither himself nor any of his Train were very well clad, and caus'd him to stay at the foot of the steps into the Hall from the Garden. When the Ambassador had ascended the steps, he prostrated himself before the King, then advancing nine or ten paces he did the same again; after which the Master of the Ceremonies caus'd him to sit down, leaving between him and the King space enough for eight men. After that I observ'd that the *Nazar* went often between the King and the Ambassador, and between the Ambassadour and the King; but I could not tell what they said. So that I being by that time quite tyr'd, made my obeysance to the King, and went home to my Lodging.

The next day the *Nazar* signify'd to me that it was the King's pleasure to favour me with a compleat *Caloat*, or Habit of Honour; and to pay me my money.

The

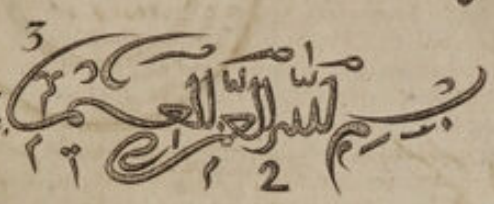
This is ꝺ God worthy to be praisd.

The Kingdome belongs to God



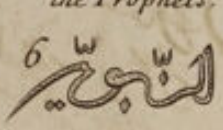
ꝺ God most high

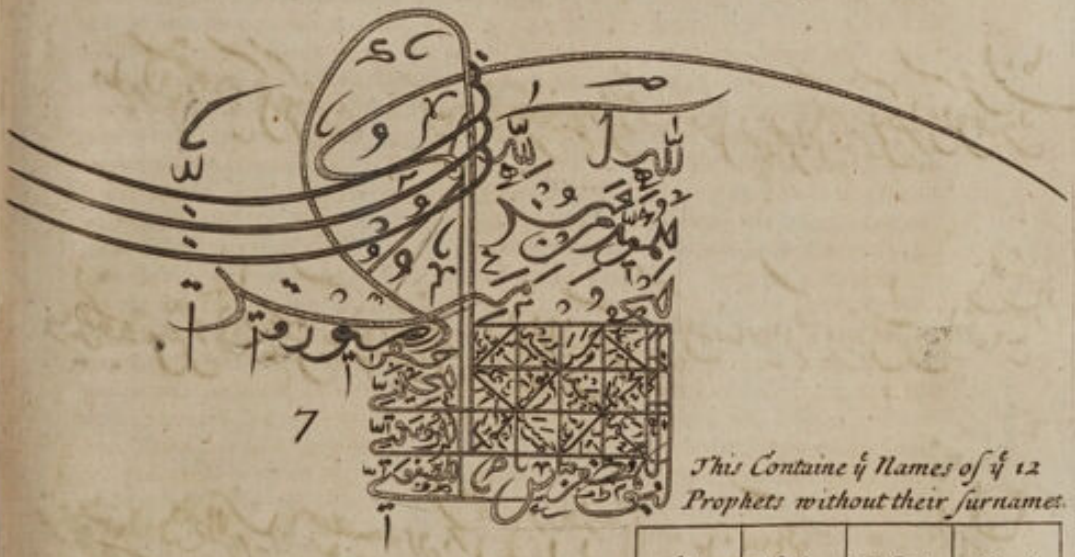
The God of Mercy & Compassion.



O Mahomet O: Haly:

the Prophets.





This Containe ꝺ Names of ꝺ 12 Prophets without their surnames.

Aly	Haſsen	Hoſsein	Alizein
Maham	Jafar	Mouſsa	Aly
Mahomet	Haly	Haſsen	Mahomet

That which is under the Names of the 12 Prophets ſignifies as follows

He who at this time enjoyes ꝺ Kingdome The Victorious Abas the ſecond.

7 These great Caracters with thoſe ꝺ are upon the ſide of the names of the 12 Prophets ſignifie.

To the Name of God.
God who is the aid of Mahomet.
The King who has all power.
Severat. Jafar. Elfeteseni. Elmouſsi.

These are the names of the four Prophets that haue followed the Doctrine of Haly.

this is ye 10th is on ye Kings seale

C

Mahomet Methi son of Haki Bala of the race of Sophi.

C

This is ye 9th is conteinit in ye seale of the Æmadoulet or first Minister of State & ye seale in the Originall is sett behind, noe man dareing to fix his seale on ye side of ye Kings.

The next day in the Morning being sent for to the Court, I found the *Nazar*, the Grand Treasurer, and several other great Officers expecting me in the Treasury, where the Money lay ready in seal'd Bags. My Sum amounted to three thousand four hundred and sixty *Tomans*, of which the Treasurer would have abated me a hundred and sixty for Fees. After a long contest, I gave him half, and carry'd away my Money; having first weigh'd two Bags *Toman* by *Toman*, and then weigh'd the rest of the Bags, Bag by Bag.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Honours and Presents which the Author receiv'd from the King of Persia.

THE day following one of the *Nazar*'s principal Officers brought me the compleat *Calaat*, consisting of Vest, Tunick or Super-Vest, Girdle, and Bonnet. He also deliver'd me three Patents, seal'd by his Majesty and the *Athemadoulet*, which exempted me from paying any Customs within his Kingdom. Another to the *Kan* of *Schiras*, with a little Seal or Signet, commanding him to let me have three Loads of good Wine when I travell'd that way. A third with his Signet, in favour of my Nephew at *Tauris*; wherein the King declar'd that he own'd him as his Domestick Servant, and that he was under his Protection.

The First PATENT ran thus.

THE *Command of him whom all the Universe obeys has been made, That the* Beglerbegs *of High Nature, the victorious and great Lords, Ornaments of the Kingdom, Possessors of Honour, the Judges in high place, practisers of Justice, the* Visiers *who preserve Reason, and have in their thoughts the removal of Vice, and the Commissioners who act in affairs and difficulties of the Palace, the Overseers of the Roads, and the Conservators of the good Customs of the well-order'd Kingdoms of* Kragon (*which God preserve from all misfortune*) *MAY KNOW, That whereas the choicest of his Resemblers and Companions,* *Aga TAVERNIER, French *Merchant has brought so many Rarities of all sorts to the presence and view of the* Lieutenant of the Eagles, *who has all things according to his wish, has found the degree of favour and good will. And whereas We have commanded him to perfect some Business for Us, which so soon as he has finish'd, he is to bring to the holy and pure view. Therefore through whatsoever Road or Coast of Our Thrice-spacious Kingdom the above-nam'd, shall have a desire or occasion to pass, Let not the Receivers of the Palace, out of any seeming expectancy from the above-nam'd, give him any trouble or molestation. But let them know, that it is necessary for them to give him all honour, and to make much of him, that he may go where he pleases. And whereas the Seal of High Nature, the Light of the Universe of* Kragon, *of thrice-noble extraction, the Master of the Age, has illuminated and adorn'd this Writing, Let them rest there, and give Credence to it. By the thrice-high Command.* &c.

Kragon: A King of *China*, so renown'd for his Justice, Victory, and Magnanimity that sometimes the Kings of *Persia* assume that Title in their Patents, and sometimes, in honour of him, stile themselves his Lieutenants.

Receivers of the Palace, are Farmers of the Customs and other Subsidies.

The Second PATENT.

To the Governour of *Schiras*,

THE Command of Him whom all the World ought to obey, is such, That the Illustrious and High Lord, whose Office ought to be honour'd, the Governour and Prototype of Visiers *and Grandees,* Mirza-Mahomet-Sadée, *the* Visier *of* Fars *may be assur'd of Royal Favours when he understands the Contents of this Command. He shall give three Loads of Wine, of that which he has in his custody, to the Cream of his Equals,* Aga TAVERNIER, French *Merchant, and you shall take an Acquittance. All the Grand* Visiers, *and Officers of Customs, and Guarders of Passes also let them not molest him at all, let them take nothing from him, let them permit him to go and come as he pleases, and let them obey him. Given the Month of* Jamady-Elaker, *in the* Hegyra *of* Mahomet 1075.

January,
1665.

The *Cream*, is the Character of an honest man among the Eastern people.

But to return to the *Calaat*. You must take notice, that the *Persians* call a *Calaat*, any Present which one person makes to another inferior to him in dignity; sometimes a Vest alone, sometimes a Tunick with the Girdle only, sometimes a Turbant, or a Horse, with Bridle and Saddle; to those in the Army the King sends a Sword or a Dagger, and all these go by the name of *Calaat's*. Secondly, you must take notice, that when the King sends a *Calaat* to a Governour of a Province, he names himself the person, that is to carry it. For both in *Turkie* and *Persia*, the Receiver of the King's Present is oblig'd to pay the Messenger, in so much that sometimes they hardly scape for a thousand *Tomans*. But when the *Calaat* is sent to any private person, the *Nazar* chooses out of his Domestick Servants one to carry it. I gave twenty-five *Tomans* into Father *Raphael's* hand, who order'd his business with so good a grace, and so advantageously for my Purse, that he complemented away the Messenger very well satisfi'd with half.

The next day the *Nazar* sent to me to put on my *Calaat*, and to come and do my obeysance to the King, who was that day to go abroad. Thereupon I summon'd together all the *Franks*, and order'd the Trumpets and Drums to be made ready as I rode from the Palace home. For then the people come out to see who the King has honour'd that day, who is always known by his Habit, which is still the newest and gayest of all the rest.

It happen'd, that the King being indispos'd did not go away that day; however I apply'd my self to the *Nazar*, and told him how much I was oblig'd to the King for the honour he had done me, and that I was resolv'd to shew my self before the greatest Monarchs in *Europe* in the Habit he had bestow'd upon me; that they might behold the beauty and richness of my *Calaat*. The *Nazar* fail'd not to repeat my Compliment to his Majesty; who thereupon order'd me the *Persian* Cloak, with hanging-sleeves, and fac'd with sable Martins.

Two or three days after the *Nazar* sent for me again to Court, whither I went, accompany'd by the *Zulphian Franks*, as before. I was no sooner come to the Palace, but the *Nazar* met me in the great Hall, attended by two Officers, who carry'd the Cloak which the King had appointed for me, and presently taking the Cloak out of their hands, he put it about my shoulders, saying these words, *It is the King's pleasure to honour thee entirely.* It was a most magnificent piece of Silk, and very richly furr'd, having been valu'd at eight hundred Crowns. In this I was particularly beholding to the *Nazar*, who might have sent me my Cloak home to my Lodging as well as the *Calaat*; but he was pleas'd to put it upon my back in the Palace with his own hands, to spare me the charges of a new Present. After this the *Nazar* took me by the hand, and led me to the Hall, where the King was sitting upon a

large

large Cuſhion, having no more than twelve Eunuchs for his Guard; ſome with Bows and Arrows, and ſome with Muſquets. By that time I had advanc'd two or three paces in the Hall, the *Nazar* order'd me to fall upon my knees, and touch the Ground with my forehead; then taking me by the hand, he led me within two or three paces of the place where the King was ſitting, where I was order'd to make the ſame obeiſance as before; after that he caus'd me to retire ſeven or eight paces, and there to ſtand. And then it was that His Majeſty was pleas'd to tell me, that he had contriv'd the Models of ſeveral pieces, which he would have made in *France*; and ask'd me whether I would carry them along with me, or whether I would preſently ſend them into *France* to be made up while I diſpatch'd my buſineſs in the *Indies*? I told His Majeſty, that ſo ſoon as he would be pleas'd to deliver them to me, I would ſend them for *France*. After this and ſome other diſcourſe I made my obeiſance, and retir'd toward the door of the Hall. Having thus done my duty to the King, I went and kiſs'd the *Nazar*'s hand; and then taking Horſe at the Palace-Gate, with the reſt of the *Franks* that accompany'd me, we rode home with the Trumpets and Drums of the Country before us. When we came to *Zulpha* with our Torches before us, for it was three hours after Sun-ſet, the Men and old Women came out of their Houſes to ſee us paſs along, and ſeveral preſented us with Fruits, Sweet-meats, and Wine, obliging us to drink almoſt at every Houſe 'till we got home.

CHAP. XVII.

How the King was pleas'd to divertiſe himſelf in the Author's Company.

ABout two days after betimes in the Morning I was ſent for to the Court in that haſt, that I had ſcarce time to make me ready. When I came to Court, I found the *Nazar*, Father *Raphel*, and two *Hollanders*, upon whom the *Nazar* had began to caſt a particular eye of favour all together. After we had ſtay'd a while, the *Nazar* brought us to the Room where the King was, ſitting upon a low Pallet, with two Mattreſſes cover'd with a rich Carpet. He lean'd his back againſt a large Cuſhion four foot long, having before him eight or ten Plates of Fruits and Sweet-meats. Before him alſo ſtood two Bottles, with long round necks of Venice Cryſtal ſtop'd with Pitch, full of *Schiras* Wine, with a Cup of pure Gold; upon one ſide a kind of a very ſmall Fat and with a handle, within three or four Fingers full of the ſame Wine, with a Gold Ladle that held a good *Chopine* of *Paris*. The Bottles were for the King's drinking; that in the Fat for thoſe that the King did the Honour to drink with him. After we came in and had made our ſeveral obeyſances; ſaid the King to Father *Raphael*, *Raphael*, *hia*, *hia*, that is, *come hither*, *come hither*, who thereupon riſing, and falling upon his knees when he came near the King; *Raphael*, continu'd the King, *if thou wilt drink Wine, ſtay here, if not, be gone.* The Fryar unaccuſtom'd to drink Wine, reply'd that ſince His Majeſty did him ſo great an Honour, he was willing to drink a little. *'Tis very well*, anſwer'd the King ſmiling, *go then and take thy ſeat.* Thereupon the King commanded one of the *Dutch-men* to fill ſome Wine, which he did, but with a trembling hand Heav'n, knows, as never having been at ſuch a Feſtival before. And I obſerv'd that having laid his Hat upon the Carpet, the King commanded him to put it on, it being a very ignominious thing in *Perſia* to be bare-headed. Thus the great Ladle went about very ſmartly, conſidering it was but early in the Forenoon: But at length the King bethinking himſelf that the *Franks* were not uſed to drink without eating, gave ſuch order, that immediately they ſpread before us a *Sofra* of Cloth of Gold inſtad of a Table-Cloth; and over that a Leather Covering of the ſame length and breadth, and over that a ſort of Bread as long as the *Sofra*; for had the *Sofra* been ten Ells long, the Bread muſt have been as long. This Bread is no thicker then a piece of Paper, and folds like a Napkin. It is made with a Rolling-

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Wax-Candle in my hand, I went and view'd them all. The King laugh'd, and being very glad to ſee my face among theirs, *Bring hither*, ſaith he, *her to whom thou haſt moſt a fancy*. In obedience to which, I pick'd out the eldeſt, as I thought, and led her to his Majeſty, who caus'd us to ſit down by him. Then the King pointing to another, *And why*, ſaith he, *did you not chooſe yonder Girl, which is younger and handſomer*; commanding them both to kiſs me one after another, that I might underſtand the difference between the Careſſes of one and the other. But I reply'd, that were I to chooſe again, I would make the ſame choice, believing prudence to accompany age. However I beſought his Majeſty to conſider, that it was not for me to look upon elder or younger, and that though he had giv'n me the liberty to ſend the elder home to my Lodging, yet it was not in my pow'r to accept of his favour, in regard I had a Wife, to whom I never had been unfaithful.

We had thus drell'd together 'till eleven a Clock at night, when the King ſtarted another Queſtion, Whether any one preſent knew how to Sing? It happen'd that there was one Monſieur *Daulier* there, that Play'd upon the Virginals, and pretended to Sing, who immediately began a Court-Air. But his Voice being a high-pitch'd Voice, and for that the *Perſians* are altogether for Baſes, the King did not like him. When I perceiv'd that, being in a merry vein, though I knew not a Note, yet having a good deep voice, and clear, I ſung an old Air that came into my head, which begins,

Fill all the Bowls then, fill 'em high,
Fill all the Glaſſes there, for why
Should every Creature drink but I?

The King was ſo pleas'd, that he cry'd out, *Baricala, Baricala*, as much as to ſay, *Oh the works of God!* an expreſſion of admiration uſual among the *Perſians*.

By this time it was very late, and the King growing ſleepy, gave us leave to depart; which we did very willingly, having had hard labour for ſeventeen hours together.

The next night the King fell a drinking again, and there was in his preſence an *Agi* or Pilgrim newly return'd from *Mecca*, and conſequently oblig'd never to drink Wine after that. While the *Agi* ſtaid, there was one of the *Perſian* Lords got ſo impertinently fuddl'd, that he twice ſtruck the *Agi*'s Turbant from his head, refus'd to drink when the King commanded him, play'd the fool with the Curtiſans when they were dancing, and committed ſo many other acts of folly, that the King incens'd at ſuch a continuation of Buffoonry, in a great fury, *This Raſcal*, ſaid he, *has loſt all his reſpect, and thinks he is no more my Slave; drag him out by the feet, and throw him to the Dogs to eat*. Immediately four or five of the King's Officers came and drag'd him out of the Hall by the feet, and every body wonder'd he was not thrown to the Dogs, according to the King's Command; but 'tis thought that ſome of the King's Woman beg'd for him, ſo that his puniſhment was chang'd.

There was one of the Curtiſans that gave one of her Companions a box on the ear, not in the King's preſence, but in the Gallery where they were drinking together. However ſhe did not ſtrike ſo ſoftly, but that the King heard the noiſe of the blow. Whereupon he commanded her that had giv'n the blow to be had before the *Deroga* or Judge of the Town, whom he order'd to expunge her out of the number of Curtiſans, and to put another in her place; that ſhe ſhould have a hundred *Tomans* giv'n her, and that the *Deroga* ſhould cauſe her to be marry'd.

The next day I waited on the King, and receiv'd thoſe Models which he had beſpoke me to ſend into *France*. They were the Patterns of certain Drinking-Cups and Trenchers, with the Model of a Dagger drawn with his own hand: for he had learnt to draw of a couple of *Dutch-men* that were in his Service. The Dagger

Dagger was to be Goldſmith work enamel'd. When I had receiv'd his Inſtructions, I took my leave of his Majeſty: and then going to wait upon the *Nazar* at his Country-houſe, I took leave of him alſo, who aſſur'd me of his affection upon all occaſions, and did me ſeveral kindneſſes at my departure.

The End of the Fourth BOOK.

THE

THE FIFTH BOOK
OF THE
PERSIAN TRAVELS
OF
MONSIEUR *TAVERNIER*:
BEING
A Politick and Historical Description of *PERSIA*:
With the
ROADS
FROM
ISPAHAN to *ORMUS*.

CHAP. I.

The Genealogy of the Kings of Persia, *of the last Race.*

AFter that *Tamerlane* had extended his Conquests into *Asia*, and defeated the Army of *Bajazet*, whom he took Prisoner, together with his Wife, he return'd into *Persia*, where at that time liv'd a *Cheik*, whose name was *Aidar*, a Person in high reputation for his Holiness. He was a Person of great wit, and the first in the dignities of the Law, which gain'd him great authority and belief among the People. He gave great honour to *Tamerlane*, and shew'd Eminent kindnesses to all the Officers of his Army; in recompense whereof, *Tamerlane*, who was a generous Prince, and full of gratitude, made a Present to the *Cheik* of a great number of Captives, which he brought along with him out of *Turky*. The *Cheik* planted one part of these Slaves about *Ardevile*, and seated the other near his own residence. Now in regard he assum'd to himself to be descended in a direct line from *Mahomet*, he cover'd his head after another manner then all the rest of the *Persians*, wearing a kind of flat Bonnet, growing broader and Broader to the top, and so pleighted, as to make twelve pleights of a Ruff, in honour of the twelve Prophets. In the middle, a kind of a Pyramid about a fingers length seem'd to rise out of the Bonnet, but was indeed sow'd to it. Such a Bonnet as this the *Cheik* appointed all the Slaves to wear that *Tamerlane* had giv'n him, and this is that which at this day distinguishes their Successors from the other *Persians*. And it is the custom, where *Kans* or Governours of Provinces reside, that all the *Sophies* both in the City and the neighbouring parts, meet in the *Piazza* every Friday in the afternoon, where they pray to God for the health of the King and the *Kan*, and for the prosperity of the Kingdom; after which the *Kan* sends

them Victuals to eat, not without some other effects of his Liberality.

The *Cheiks* Sons considering of what a number of Slaves they were Masters; and that the greatest part of the people, prepossess'd in favour of their Father, out of the opinion they had of his Sanctity, took their part; the more powerfully to engage them, shew'd themselves liberal to all, and when they found themselves strong enough, revolted against *Alamout* King of *Persia*, their lawful Soveraign. After many Skirmishes, at length they gave him Battel near to *Tauris*, wherein *Azimout* was defeated, and slain by the hand of *Ismael Sophi*, the *Cheiks* third Son, who is properly to be accounted the first King of that Race: I mean of the Race of them that did not embrace the *Alcoran*, but according to the Interpretation of *Haly*, *Mahomets* Son-in-Law.

To *Ismael Sophi* succeeded *Sha-Tammas* his Son, and to *Sha-Tammas Sha-Ismael* the second, who reign'd but a short while; for his cruelties constrain'd the Nobility of the Country to set up in his room *Mahomet-Coda bendé* his Brother; though little skill'd in the affairs of Government or War, Many thought he was blind, but he was only dim-sighted, through the application of a hot Iron to his eyes, by the Command of his unnatural Brother in the beginning of his reign. He was the Father of *Sha-Abbas*, that succeeded him, who setl'd the affairs of *Persia* in a very good condition.

Sha-Abbas the first, by his Valour and good Conduct gain'd the name of Great. When he came to his Throne, upon the North and West side he found nothing in his power but the City of *Casbin*; but afterwards, as he was a personage of great wit as well as courage, partly by policy, and partly by force, he recover'd several Provinces to the West, and conquer'd the Kingdoms of *Lar*, *Ormus*, and *Candahar*.

Of many Sons that *Sha-Abbas* had, not one surviv'd but only *Sophi-Mirza*, a Prince of great wit, and dextrous at his Arms. All the people lov'd him, which made his Father jealous of him, that he waited for his death to ascend the Throne. And that which augmented his jealousie was, for that one day being a hunting, *Sophi-Mirza* drew the first arrow at a Boar; it being a capital crime in *Persia* to shoot before the King. However *Sha-Abbas* for the time conceal'd his displeasure, unwilling to fly out in fury against the Prince, in regard he had no more Sons. But *Sophi-Mirza* having had a Son by a Slave, which pleas'd him, *Sha-Abbas's* joy encreasing as the Child grew, his jealousie also daily encreas'd against the Father of the young Prince; so that being no longer able to dissemble his fear, he caus'd his eyes to be put out. Nay his jealousie went a great way farther; for he now fear'd the blind Prince, and having therefore resolv'd his death, he commanded a Lord of the Court to bring him his head. The Lord in an astonishment refus'd to obey the King, and besought him rather to take away his life, than to constrain him to embrue his hands in the blood of his Prince. The King offended at him for his refusal, banish'd him his Court; and the next day gave the same command to another Lord, who without any scruple put it in execution, and brought him the head of his Son in a Bason of Gold. That object of pity brought him to himself; so that not being able to look upon so sad a spectacle without tears in his eyes, upbraiding the villany of the Lord, he expell'd him from his sight, forbad him his presence for ever, and sequester'd all his estate, only allowing him a Mamoudi, or nine *French* Sous aday. The other Lord, who had so generously refus'd to aid him in so bloody an act, the King recall'd from Exile, and bestow'd upon him one of the best Governments of the Empire.

Ever since that time all the Male Children of the Blood Royal are shut up in the Womens *Haram*, where they are bred up in ignorance, having only two or three Eunuchs to teach them to write and read, and to keep them company in their recreations, whether it be in shooting with a Bow, or riding about the Gardens upon an Ass; for they never allow 'em a Horse: besides that all that time they are never permitted to see the people. In this manner it was that *Sha-Abbas* bred up his little Grandson, many days causing him to take Opium to render him more stupid. So that when he came to the Throne, after his Grandfathers death, the Physicians thought it convenient that he should drink Wine, to restore his natural heat, and renew his vigor. *Sha-Abbas* reign'd forty years,

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plaint to the King; who having heard it, immediately sent him to be Governour of *Guilan*, in the place of *Mirza Take*, and order'd him to send him his head by one of the Officers, which he dispatch'd along with him. The King also, in regard the Page was very young, appointed him a person able to advise him in his affairs. In the mean while *Mirza Take* missing his Page, and making no question but he was gone to make his complaint to the King, which would of necessity prove his ruin, if not prevented; he resolv'd to divert the storm by punishing himself, and caus'd that part to be cut clean off that committed the crime. At the same time, and in that bad condition wherein he then was, he caus'd himself to be put into a Litter, and taking his Chirurgeon along with him, he gets to *Ispahan* by another way which was not usually travell'd, for fear of meeting the Page, and causing himself to be carry'd into the Palace in that pitiful and languishing estate, desir'd to speak with the King, who was surpriz'd at his arrival. But the *Kan* having presented him in a plate of Gold with the undoubted marks of his repentance, besought his Majesties pardon. Whereupon the King considering the rigor and extraordinary punishment which he had inflicted upon himself, sent him back to his Government, and recall'd the Page, whom he otherways gratifi'd. And this was the man whom *Sha-Abbas* upon his Death-bed order'd that *Sha-Sefi* should make *Athmadoulet*, as being the fittest for the employment of any person in his Kingdom.

Sha-Sefi not content to have rid himself of the Lords that had presum'd to invade his Authority, was resolv'd to have the head of *Ali-merdan-Kan*, Governour of *Candahar*; of whom he was jealous, by reason of his vast riches, his Plate being all Gold, and his House as magnificently furnish'd as the Kings. But the King could not bring about his design; for the *Kan* being press't to come to Court, and believing it was only to take away his head, to free himself from the danger, deliver'd *Candahar* to the Great *Mogul*, by whom he was kindly entertain'd, and highly caress'd. Neither was *Ali-merdan-Kan*'s wealth of his own getting, but left him by inheritance, as being descended from the ancient Kings of *Candahar*, who were originally *Tartars*. Now whatever favours or advancement the Great *Mogul* bestow'd upon *Ali-merdan-Kan*, the same did the *Persian* King bestow upon his two Sons: whereas all the world believ'd, that after such a piece of Treason committed by their Father, the King would have ript up their bellies. This piece of policy of *Sha-Sefi* was very advantageous to *Sha-Abbas* the second, when he besieg'd *Candahar* with fifty thousand men. For the greatest part of the *Mogul*'s Army being compos'd of *Persians*, they remembring how kindly *Sha-Sefi* had us'd the two Sons of *Ali-merdan-Kan*, made little resistance against the King of *Persia*, who enter'd *Candahar* in a small time. The Great *Mogul* troubl'd at the loss, ask'd *Ali-merdan-Kan*, by what means he might retake *Candahar*; who presently made answer, that it would be very easie, if he could find such another Traytor as he had been.

But to return to *Sha-Sefi*; his Reign was very violent, of which I will give you this Example:

One day the King returning from the *Kelonters* House in *Zulpha*, having drank to excess, commanded that the *Sultaness* should come to him; who understanding that he was in drink, made no great haste, so that the King in the mean time fell asleep. But waking again soon after, and not seeing the Queen, he call'd for her a second time; of which when she had notice, she came immediately: When she came into the Chamber, she perceiv'd the King asleep, and in expectation of his waking, hid her self in a Nick behind the Hangings; where generally the Mattresses and Coverlets are laid by. The King waking, and not yet perceiving the *Sultaness*, in a great chase demanded why she was not yet come. The Queen-Mother, who was a *Georgian* Slave, and mortally hated the young *Sultaness*, who was the Daughter of the King of *Georgia*, and therefore disdain'd by her, took an occasion to put her out of the Kings favour; and having first spoken ill of her, made a sign to the King to let him understand that the young Queen was hid in such a Nich. Upon that the King rising in a great fury, stab'd the poor Princess with his Dagger four or five times in the belly, and hardly knowing what he had done, went to bed again. The

next,

next day, forgetful of the Fact, he call'd for the Queen; but when they told him what had happen'd, he began to be deeply sensible of his error, and sorrow'd exceedingly: and at the same time sent an express order through his Territories, that none should drink Wine, and that the Governours should break all the Wine-Vessels wherever they found any, and spill the Wine. But this order did not last above a year.

During the Reign of *Sha-Sefi*, the Son of *Erivan* sent him a Colt, which I saw, which was begot by a Mule. Not long after the King dy'd of a Surfeit, with excess of drinking, after he had reign'd fourteen years.

Sha-Abbas the second was set upon the Throne at *Cashin*, with the usual Ceremonies, at the end of the year 1642, and made his entry into *Ispahan* in the beginning of the year following. Upon the day of Solemnity all the Citizens were order'd to be in Arms, and to march out of the City, where they were rul'd off upon each side of the Road. In the same manner were all the standing Infantry and Cavalry rang'd for five Leagues together. All the Road for two Leagues together without the City was cover'd with Tissues of Gold and Silver, with Carpets of Silk, and other rich Stuffs; all which costs the King nothing. For the *Sha-Bander*, who is like our Mayor, takes care to tax every one what he is to furnish toward that Solemnity. The *English* and *Hollanders* went also forth to meet the King; among whom I was one. When we came near the King, *Jami-Kan*, General of the Cavalry, gave the King notice who we were. Whereupon we all alighted, and the King holding his Leg stretcht out of his Stirrup, we all kiss'd his Boot. When he came where the way began to be spread with rich Carpets, he found the Grand *Mufti* and the Grand *Cadi*, attended by a great number of *Mouallahs*, who made a Prayer after their manner. Prayers being ended, the King rode on, the *Athemadoulet* being on the left hand, which is the most honourable, and the General of the Cavalry on the right, yet not even with him, but so as that their Horses heads reach'd to the Crupper of his. There was no person but the King that rode over the Tissue, that Honour belonging to him alone; nor is the way spread above the breadth of the Stuff; and as soon as the King is pass'd over it, the people fall to scrambling, and carry away every one what they can get for themselves.

About a quarter of a League from *Ispahan* is a Garden, with a Great Room over the Gate, where the King made a halt, thinking to have made his Entry into the City. But an Astrologer came to him, and told him, that the hour was past, and that he must tarry three days before the hour would prove propitious again. So that he was constrain'd to betake himself to the Garden of *Hezardgerib* till the time came; whither the Nobility also were all forc'd to come betimes in the morning, and to stay till the evening. The day that the King made his Entry, the way from the Garden to the City was also spread with Carpets. For three days together the Fire-works play'd in the *Meydan*, and round the *Piazza* from top to bottom were lights hung out; and in the principal Inns, the richest Merchants had adorn'd the Doors and Windows of their Chambers, according to the Mode of the Country; and I believe it cost the Chief of the *Holland* Company, above nine hundred Tomans.

In the year 1643, came the Prince of the *Usbecks* in person to desire aid of *Sha Abbas* against his Children, who had caus'd his own Subjects to rebel and make war against him. His eldest Son first took Arms, and getting the advantage of a Battel, the other Brother treacherously took part with him; which nothing dismay'd the Father, to whom the chief of the Nobility still adher'd. Toward the end of the year 1642, the Prince lost another Battel and his left eye, which was shot thorough with an Arrow; which constrain'd him, so soon as he was cur'd of his wound, to come and crave succour from the King of *Persia*, which he easily obtain'd. *Sha-Abbas* designing to receive him honourably sent above ten thousand Horse as far as *Cashan*, which is four days journey from *Ispahan*, and five or six thousand Foot two days journey from thence to meet him. Every day he was attended by different Officers. Every day they set him up a new Tent, and spread new Carpets; and every day chang'd the twelve Horses that were led before him, whose furniture was all over cover'd with Jewels. For a League and a half from the City the way was spread with

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all sorts of Silk Stuffs to the very Palace; and the King of *Persia* went himself to meet him, as far as where the Stuffs were begun to be laid. Though *Sha-Abbas* was very young, yet he was resolv'd to shew, that he look'd upon himself as a potent King in the peaceable possession of his own Dominions, and that he went to meet a dethron'd Prince, that came to desire his Aid. For so soon as he perceiv'd the King of the *Tartars*, he made a shew of spurring on his Horse; and being come up to his Horses head, he put his foot out of the Stirrup, as if he intended to have alighted, but did not. The *Tartarian* Prince, as old as he was, presently leap't to the ground from his Saddle to salute the *Persian* King, who return'd him some slight Compliments about his having alighted; at which time the *Athemadoulet* and other Lords remounting him, the two Kings rode together upon the Silks, the King of *Persia* giving the left hand to the *Tartar*. The King of *Persia* very generously lent him a considerable assistance of 15000 Horse, and 8000 Foot, and sixty thousand Tomans in Money. The *Tartar* in Exchange gave him one of his Provinces bordering upon *Persia*, which yeilded him a very good Revenue, in regard the Inhabitants were all Shepherds, or *Turcomans*, that breed an infinite number of Cattel, wherein the wealth of that Province consists.

While he reign'd, he had a Present made him from the Governour of *Schiras*, of a wild Ass, whose Skin was as red as Scarlet, having a Horn growing out of his forehead about a foot long.

Sha-Abbas reign'd about twenty-four years, and dy'd at *Tebzon*, of an inflammation in his throat, which came by excessive drinking. His body by his own order was buri'd at *Kour*. So soon as he was dead, the Lords that were about him, sent advice of his death to the Prince that now reigns, by the *Topigi-Basha*, who is General of the Musqueteers, and *Mirza Bayad* the Chief of the Astrologers. So soon as they came to the door of the *Haram*, they desir'd to speak with the Mother and the Son; who believ'd them come upon some dismal design. But they presently confirm'd them to the contrary. For as soon as the Prince came forth of the *Haram*, they fell at his feet, and saluted him King, declaring the death of his Father. Whereupon the Prince immediately tore his Garment according to the custom. And indeed they have another custom, that as soon as the new Prince comes after much entreaty out of the *Haram*, he throws himself to the ground, at the door of the *Haram*, and then rising and sitting upon his heels, one of the Lords that are sent, girds the Scimiter about his waste, saying these words, *May it please your Majesty to remember your Slave, that had the Honour to gird you with this Scimiter.* Which done, he goes and sets the Trumpets a sounding, and the Drums beating, whereupon all the people in the morning come running to the Gate of the Palace, crying out, *Patsha Salamalek, I salute thee Emperour.* Which is all the Ceremony us'd when any King of *Persia* ascends the Throne. For I never saw any Crown set upon the head either of *Sha-Abbas* or *Sha-Sefi*. Only in *Persia* they gird on the Scimiter, as in *Turky* they put on the Bonnet of the *Sophi's*, which is very richly set with Jewels, but has not the least resemblance of a Crown. The same Ceremony of girding on the Scimiter, is us'd to the *Mogul*, the Kings of *Visapour* and *Golconda*; and they also put the Bonnet upon their heads, which is set with the richest Jewels in the possession of those great Monarchs.

Sha Sefi the second, some time after his coming to the Throne, fell dangerously sick, not having ever enjoy'd a perfect health before. Now it is the custom in those Countries, that upon such an occasion all the Lords of the Court, and Governors of Provinces, give a sum of money, according to their willingness and liberality. This sum is usually in Gold, which they put into a Bason very richly set with precious Stones, and bear it three times over the King's head, pronouncing these words, *Patsha Bashena Olson, This money is sacrific'd for the health of the Kings head.* If the King recover all that money is giv'n to the poor, to which the King and his *Haram* add very liberally. But if the King dies, the money is put into the Treasury, and the poor have nothing. The twentieth of *August* 1667, was the critical day of his distemper, and every one thought he would have dy'd. Upon which all the Grandees of the Court seeing him in that condition, went to the *Mosquee* call'd *Babaron*, which is without the City, to

pray

pray for his health, and altogether gave near a thouſand Tomans to the poor. The next day they commanded the Chriſtian *Armenians* to pray for the recovery of the King. Whereupon as well the Eccleſiaſticks as the Laity went to their prayers upon the ſide of the River which is between *Iſpahan* and *Zulpha*. They alſo ſent their *Kelonter*, with fifty Tomans in Gold, to bear over the Kings head; though the *Armenians* pronounce not the ſame words as the *Perſians*, ſaying only, *Benai te Sadduk*, *deſtin'd for Alms*.

Thus the danger being over in a few days, they made it their buſineſs to recover him to a perfect habit of health; but in regard the King continu'd in a languiſhing condition, and for that the Phyſicians could not diſcover the cauſe of the diſtemper, the King began to believe that it proceeded from the ignorance of the Phyſicians; for which reaſon ſome of them had receiv'd none of the beſt entertainment already. At length it came into the thoughts of ſome others of the Phyſicians, who were afraid for themſelves, that in regard *Perſia* was thus doubly afflicted, with Famine and Sickneſs of the King, both at one time, it muſt of neceſſity be the Aſtrologers fault, that miſs'd the favourable hour when the King ſhould have aſcended the Throne. Thus being troubl'd at their diſgrace, pretending to have no leſs skill in future knowledg than the Aſtrologers, who had not chos'n a true time for the King to aſcend the Throne, they concluded that for the perfect recovery of his health, and the reſtoring of plenty to the Nation, it was neceſſary to renew the Ceremony at a lucky hour, and to change his name. This propoſition pleas'd the King and his Council. The Phyſitians and Aſtrologers joining together, obſerv'd the firſt unlucky day, which would certainly be follow'd by another that would prove fortunate. Now there being among the *Gaures*, ſome that pretend themſelves deſcended from the *Ruſtans*, who were ancient Kings of *Perſia* and *Parthia*, that very morning one of thoſe *Gaures* ſetting himſelf upon the Throne, with his back againſt a wooden Figure which repreſented him to the life, all the Grandees of the Court came and did him homage as their King, as he had order'd them to do. This action laſted till the favourable hour was come, which happen'd a little before Sun-ſet. Then it was that an Officer of the Court came behind and cut off the head of the wooden Figure, while the *Gaure* immediately took his heels and fled. Preſently upon that the King appear'd in the Hall, upon whoſe head when they had put the Bonnet of *Sophi*, and re-girt him with the Scimitar, he aſcended the Throne, and took the name of *Soliman*. He was forc'd to act this Comedy to ſatisfie the Law, which contriv'd that he ſhould change his Name, and take a new poſſeſſion of his Throne, by ejecting a Uſurper that had wrongfully clam'd it. For which reaſon the *Gaure* was ſet up as Pretender, as laying claim to the ancient Lineage of the *Perſian* Kings, and being of a different Religion. From that time the King recovering, and the Famine decreaſing, the Phyſicians were in great repute, and the Aſtrologers were caſt out of favour, except two or three of the moſt skilful.

Sha-Soliman before his coming to the Crown, had convers'd with none but Women and black Eunuchs; from whom he could not learn the art of Ruling. At preſent he only divertizes himſelf with his Wives in going a hunting, very rarely troubling himſelf with buſineſs but relying wholly upon his Miniſters of State. He will not be ſeen for ten or twelve days together; all which time there are no Petitions to be preſer'd, nor Complaints to be made.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of certain particular Actions which denote the Vertues and Vices of the Kings of Persia, *from* Sha-Abbas *the first to* Sha-Soliman *the present King. And first of* Sha-Abbas *the Great.*

Sha-Abbas, who was a passionate Lover of Honour, sought all ways imaginable to furnish his Empire with the supports of wealth and good Government. He would not suffer any *Indian* or *Banian* to live as a Tradder in his Dominions; they having crept in since under the Reigns of *Sha-Sefi* the first, and *Sha-Abbas* the second, who came very young to the Throne. Neither had *Sha-Abbas* any reason to permit them to trade in his Kingdom; for they are worse Usurers than the *Jews*, and seldom it happens, but that they have all the Money in the Nation, which they take up at nine or ten in the hundred, and let out again upon pawns at two and a half *per Cent.* a month. From such devouring Pests and Vipers as these, *Sha-Abbas* thought it but reasonable to preserve his people; so that before these Vermin crept into *Persia*, the Money was all in the hands of the *Armenians* of *Zulpha*. And indeed those *Banians* have been the ruin of many poor people, of which I will only bring one example among many.

I was at *Ispahan* in the year 1662, when one of those *Banians* lent six or seven Tomans *per Cent.* a month to a poor *Persian*, who had utter'd several pieces of Linnen upon the place. Those *Banians* will have their Interest paid every month; but the *Persian* had slipt three or four, having no Money to pay, in regard his Debtor could not pay him. Thereupon the *Banian* dunn'd him perpetually, and threaten'd to have him drub'd till he pay'd it, according to the *Persian* custom. The Mother of the *Persian* troubl'd to see her Son haunted in that manner, one morning as he was going to the *Meydan*, bid him, if he met the *Banian*, that he should be sure to bring him home, and she would pay him his Interest, and some of the principal, with some Money that she had sav'd of her one. Toward evening the *Banian* met his Debtor, whom he readily follow'd home upon promise of payment. The Mother desir'd him to set upon the *Caursi*, which is the place where they make their fires, it being cold snowy weather, and set fruits before him to eat. While he thus eat and warm'd himself, night came on apace, and the woman putting him in hopes of payment, spun out the time so long, that the *Banian* not being unaccustom'd to cold weather and late hours, was easily perswaded to stay all night at the *Persians* House. When 'twas time to go to Bed, the *Banian* threw himself upon one Quilt, and the *Persian* upon another. About two houres after midnight, the Mother comes softly into the Chamber, with a sharp Razor in her hand, intending to have cut off the *Banians* head; but unfortunately mistaking, kill'd her own Son instead of the *Banian*. The *Banian* having had such an escape, stole cunningly out of the House, and declaring the murther to the *Divan-beque*, or the Chief Justice, He caus'd the woman to be apprehended, and brought before him; who confessing the fact, he commanded her to be ty'd to the tail of a young Mule, and to be dragg'd about the City till the Mule had kick'd her to death.

In the year 1667, eight or ten days before I departed from *Ispahan*, there was a *Banian* found buri'd in a Street near the *Capuchins* house; they had cut off his arms and legs, and so put him into the hole; but buri'd him so shallow that the Dogs scrap'd away the Earth, and discover'd him; but who committed the fact, was not then known.

Sha-Abbas was not only willing that all the trade should be in the hands of his Subjects, to make profit thereby, and to draw the Money into his Kingdom, but he would not suffer it to be transported when it was brought in. He saw that the Pilgrimages of his Subjects to *Mecca*, their Expences and Presents carry'd out abundance of his Ducats of Gold; therefore more politick than religious, he strove to hinder those Pilgrimages as much as in him lay; and going

going himſelf in perſon to *Meſhed* in Pilgrimage to the Tomb of *Iman-rez* already ſpoken of, over which one of the Legs of *Mahomets* Camel hangs as a great Relict; and upon his return relating and giving out ſtrange Miracles of *Iman-rez*, on purpoſe to divert his Subjects from going to *Meeca*.

Among the reſt of the cunning knacks that *Sha-Abbas* made uſe of, to know how ſquares went in his Kingdom, without truſting too much to his Miniſters, he oft'n diſguis'd himſelf, and went about the City like an ordinary inhabitant, under pretence of buying and ſelling, making it his buſineſs to diſcover whether Merchants us'd falſe weights or meaſures or no. To this intent one evening going out of his Palace in the habit of a Countryman, he went to a Bakers to buy a *Man* of Bread, and thence to a Cook to buy a *Man* of Roſt-meat, (a *Man* is ſix Pound, ſixteen Ounces to the Pound.) The King having bought his Bargains return'd to Court, where he caus'd the *Athemadoulet* to weigh both the Bread and the Meat exactly. He found the Bread to want fifty-ſeven Drams, and the Meat forty-three. The King ſeeing that, fell into a great chafe againſt three or four of them that were about him, whoſe buſineſs it was to look after thoſe things; but eſpecially againſt the Governour of the City, whoſe Belly he had caus'd to have been ript up, but for the intercеſſion of certain Lords. Beſides the reproaches that he threw upon them for being ſo negligent in their Employments; and for their little affection to the publick good, he laid before them the injuſtice of falſe weights; and how ſadly the cheat fell upon poor men, who having great Families, and thinking to give them eight hundred Drams of Bread, by that fraud depriv'd them of a hundred and forty three. Then turning to the Lords that were preſent, he demanded of them, what ſort of juſtice ought to be done thoſe people? When none of them daring to open their mouths, while he was in that paſſion, he commanded a great Oven to be made in the *Piazza*, together with a Spit long enough to roaſt a man; and that the Oven ſhould be heated all Night, and that they ſhould make another fire to be kindl'd hard by the Oven. The next morning the King caus'd the Baker and the Cook to be apprehended, and to be led quite through the City, with two men going before them, who cry'd to the people, We are going to put the Baker into a red hot Oven made in the *Piazza*, where he is to be bak'd alive, for having utter'd Bread by falſe weights; and the Cook is to be roaſted a live, for having ſold meat byfalſe weights. Thus thoſe two men ſerv'd for an example not only to *Iſpahan*, but to all the Kingdom, where every one dreaded the ſevere juſtice of *Sha-Abbas*.

CHAP. III.

Of what fell out moſt memorable in the Reign of Sha-Sefi *the firſt; and particularly of the death of* Iman-Kouli-Kan, *and his three Sons.*

IMan-Kouli-Kan was the laſt *Kan* of *Schiras*, whoſe Government extended over the Province of *Lar*, to the Golf of *Perſia*, under the Reign of *Sha-Abbas* theſe *Kans* being the moſt potent in all *Perſia*. *Iman-Kouli-Kan* was he who in the Reign of *Sha-Abbas* conquer'd the greateſt part of the Kingdom of *Lar*, and the Kingdom of *Ormus*, with all the Coaſt of the *Perſian* Golf, from *Cape Joſques* to *Balſara*.

This *Iman-Kouli-Kan* was prodigiouſly rich, belov'd and reſpected by all the world; beſides he was wonderfully magnificent, his expences almoſt equalling the Kings; which occaſion'd *Sha-Abbas*, who diſcours'd with him one day particularly upon that Subject, to tell him, that he deſir'd him to ſpend every day one *Mamoudy* leſs than he, that there might be ſome difference between the expences of a *King* and a *Kan*.

The noble qualities of this *Iman-Kouli-Kan* had gain'd the affections of the people; for he was magnificent and liberal; highly recompenc'd brave Soldiers and Students; he lov'd Strangers, and had a particular care to cheriſh Arts and Sciences. To which purpoſe he built a fair Colledg at *Schiras*, for the inſtruction of Youth; and ſeveral Inns, as well in the City as upon the Roads; for the Travellers. He caus'd Mountains to be cut thorough to ſhorten the way; and join'd others by Bridges, of ſuch an advanturous Structure, that it is hard to conjecture how ſuch prodigious Arches could be made over ſuch vaſt Precipices and Torrents.

Now in regard *Iman-Kouli-Kan* was ſtrick'n in years, he ſeldom went to Court, chuſing rather to continue in his Government, where he was belov'd and reſpected by all men. But the King being young, and the Government of the Kingdom in the hands of the Queen-Mother and the *Athemadoulet*, who were extreamly jealous of the *Kan*, thoſe two perſons link'd together in Intereſt for the maintenance of the Kings Authority and their own, fretted to ſee the *Kan*'s Court almoſt as ſplendid as the Kings; and that nothing of the Revenue of *Schiras*, *Lar*, *Ormus*, or any part of the *Perſian* Golf came to the Kings Coffers, as being ſolely at the diſpoſal of the *Kan*; but that on the contrary, the King was oblig'd to ſend him Money to pay the Army. But that which troubled the Queen-Mother moſt of all, was the pretention of the *Kan*'s eldeſt Son to the Crown, who was alſo a perſon of a daring and ambitious courage. For the Kings of *Perſia* eſteem it a great Honour to beſtow upon any *Kan* or great Lord, one of their Wives out of their Royal *Haram*; and *Sha-Abbas* had given to *Iman-Kouli-Kan* one of his own proper Wives, whom he lov'd extreamly. 'Tis thought that when ſhe left the *Haram* ſhe was three months gone with Child by *Sha-Abbas*, for ſomewhat above ſix months after ſhe was bedded by the *Kan*, ſhe lay-in of a Son, of which the King was the reputed Father, and who being born before *Sha-Sefi*, pretended a right before him to the Throne. By vertue of this claim, contrary to the will of *Sha-Abbas* in favour of *Sha-Sefi*, this ambitious Lord, who only paſs'd for the *Kan*'s eldeſt Son, vehemently ſollicited his Father to ſeize upon *Sha-Sefi*, and to make himſelf King, or at leaſt to op'n a way for him to the Throne. Now it happen'd, that one day being a hunting with the young King near *Schiras*, the impatient young Lord coming to his Father; Sir, ſaid he, ſee now the opportunity that offers you the Throne; for I will go preſently and bring you *Sha-Sefi*'s head. But the *Kan* holding his Son by the Arm, told him, that he would never conſent to the death of his King; proteſting to him, rather to dye a thouſand deaths; adding withall, that it was the Kings will to appoint *Sha-Sefi* to ſucceed him, as being the Son of his Son, and conſequently his lawful Heir: that

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the young Prince was recommended to his care, and in regard he had promis'd and ſworn, he was ſo far from falſifying his truſt, that he would maintain his poſſeſſion to the laſt gaſp.

This generous reſolution of the *Kan* broke the young Lords deſign upon the Kings perſon. However the *Sultaneſs* being not ignorant of the train that was laid for the young King, and againſt the repoſe of the Kingdom, thought it her wiſeſt way to prevent the blow, and to rid her ſelf of ſuch perſons as had conſpir'd the death of the King. The *Kan*'s two other Sons took part with him they call'd their elder Brother. And as for the *Kan* himſelf, though he were upright in his Loyalty, yet his power, his wealth, his reputation among the Souldiery, and the affection that the people bare him, concurr'd together not only to render him ſuſpected, but guilty. The *Sultaneſs* and the *Athemadoulet* took counſel together, which way to divert the ſtorm that threaten'd the Kings head, to whom they repreſented, that he was not ſafe in his own perſon ſo long as *Iman-Kouli Kan* and his three eldeſt Sons liv'd. The King eaſily believ'd them, and reſolv'd to be rid both of Father and Sons together, but the difficulty was to get 'em to Court, wherein opportunity it ſelf aſſiſted them. For at that time *Amurath* the Great *Turk* at the head of a vaſt Army, was already advanc'd within the Confines of *Perſia*, had tak'n *Erivan*, and had ruin'd *Tauris*. Upon the firſt news of this march, the King ſends for all the *Kans* and Governours to attend his perſon, with all the Forces under their command. Among the reſt, the *Kan* of *Sebiras* receiv'd the ſame orders; who thereupon aſſembl'd all his Troops, both Horſe and Foot, who were not only the moſt numerous, but the beſt diſciplin'd and ſtouteſt Souldiers of all *Perſia*. As he was upon his march to *Casbin* with his three Sons, the eldeſt having well conſider'd of affairs; Sir, ſaid he, *We are making haſt to the King, to the end our heads may the ſooner fall at our feet. Perhaps my Son*, reply'd the *Kan*, *thou maiſt ſpeak the truth; but to this day I never was a Rebel againſt the King, I have done whatever he commanded, and whatever may happ'n I will obey him till death.* The *Kan* arriving at *Casbin*, was by the King welcom'd with great demonſtration of joy. Some days after, he took a general Muſter, and then made a great Feaſt which laſted three day, to which all the great Lords and *Kans* that were at *Casbin* were call'd. The three Sons of *Iman-Kouli-Kan* were of the number; but the Father excus'd himſelf, as well by reaſon of his age, as alſo repreſenting to his Majeſty, that it better befitted him to employ his time in taking care of his affairs, and in praying for his Majeſty; however if it were his Majeſties expreſs command, he would not fail to obey; to which the King return'd for anſwer, that the *Kan* of *Sebiras* was at his liberty to do as he thought fit. The third day of the Feaſt the King roſe from his Seat, and going out of the Hall, without ſpeaking a word to any perſon, went into a Room hard by. Half an hour after, three ſturdy reſolute Fellows with ſome other Ragamuffin attendants entring the Hall with their Scimeters drawn, ſeiz'd upon the *Kans* three Sons, and cut off their heads. They were put into a Gold Baſon, and preſented to the King; who commanded the Fellows to carry them to their Father, and as ſoon as he had ſeen them, to take off his head to make the fourth. The Aſſaſſinates found him at his prayers; but being interrupted to ſee the heads of his three Sons, he deſir'd leave only to conclude, which having done, with a countenance undiſturb'd, and without any other words or expreſſions in his mouth than what is uſually ſaid among the *Perſians*, *Let the Kings will be done*, he ſubmitted to a death which he might have eaſily avoided. The four heads were brought back to the King, to be ſent into the *Haram* to his Mother. So ſoon as he had taken off the heads of the Father and the three Sons, the King diſpatch'd away certain *Chappars* or Courriers, with order to the Lieutenant of the *Kan*, to put to death all the reſt of the Children. The command was obey'd, and they were all put to death, but only two that were at Nurſe whom their Nurſes ſo well conceal'd, that never any tidings could be heard either of the Nurſes or of the Children.

After the death of *Iman-Kouli-Kan*, the Province of *Sebiras*, with its dependances, has been govern'd by a *Vizir*, who agrees with the King what Rent to pay him yearly. In the years 1665 and 1666, the *Vizir* gave him fifty

thousand Tomans a year. But in the year 1667, the King abated him eight thousand Tomans, in regard he had taken from him a small part of his Government to pleasure a Favourite.

Besides what the Government of *Schiras* pays to the King in ready Money, he is oblig'd every year to send him a present of all the rarities that grow or are bred in the Province. These Presents consist in Horses, of which there is the best breed of any Province of *Persia*. In Granates, Oranges, and Lemons, sweet Oils and Waters of several sorts, especially Oil of Roses, with which the women rub their bodies and heads; and the water of a certain Flower that grows upon a tree not much unlike our Willows, which water is call'd *Arak-Bilmitshe*, which is a great refreshment to those that use it; besides other Oils and Essences which the Governour is oblig'd to present. Yet were he only oblig'd to present the King, the expence might be born well enough; but for fear of being displac'd by any other Favourite, he is constrain'd to make Friends of all the other great Lords and Favourites at Court; which there is no way to do, but by continual presents. Whereas the ancient *Kans*, who were a kind of petty Soveraigns in their Governments, were only wont to send a few Baskets of new Fruits in their season for the service of the Kings Table. To defray this expence, the Governours are forc'd to tyrannize over the people; who when they come, as many times they do, two or three Villages together, to complain to the King, are forc'd after long waiting, to return with empty Purses home again, by reason that they who should give them admission, are the only persons that debar them from it; and patiently to submit to the Extortions of the *Vizar*; which is a piece of policy practis'd likewise by all the other *Kans* and *Governours* of the *Persian* Provinces. As for *Sha-Sefi* himself, he was very severe, and one whose punishments oft'n amounted to acts of cruelty. One day being a hunting, a poor Country man appear'd from behind a Rock, with a Paper in his hand, being deputed by the Village to make some complaint to the King. But while the poor man cry'd for justice, the King without making any answer, shot two arrows into his body and slew him. That which mov'd *Sha-Sefi* to this act of cruelty, was because he had some of his Wives with him in company. For then there is no mercy to those poor people that happ'n to be in the way where the King chances to pass by: no not for them that are in the Country round about, where the Eunuchs have order to kill all men they meet. When the King gives notice of his intention to carry his Wives into the Country, this is call'd *Courouk*; and there is nothing more troublesome nor more inconvenient in the world to the poor people that live in the Villages through which these women are to pass; for upon notice giv'n them, they must leave their Houses for a League or two of either side. When there is a *Courouk* at *Ispahan*, let the weather be never so bad, the people must leave their Houses, and if they have no Friends in some distant quarter to retire to, they have no way but to repair to the Mountains. Such is the excess of the jealousie of the Kings of *Persia*; which indeed derives it self to all his Subjects, who will not permit their women to be seen by any but their own Husbands.

The *Persians* both men and women are so addicted to take Tobacco, that to take Tobacco from them, is to take away their lives. So that if the King should prohibit Tobacco for any time, he would lose a good part of his revenue. However *Sha-Sefi* in a humor having once forbidd'n Tobacco to be taken in any part of his Dominion, his Spies (that are in every City) found in the *Indian* Inn two rich Merchants of that Nation smoaking their noses. Immediately they were seiz'd, bound, and carry'd to the King, who commanded forthwith that Justice should be done upon them in the *Meidan*, which was, that they should pour melted lead down their throats till they were dead.

The people thought the King had only intended to have fear'd them, and would have repriev'd them upon the place. Insomuch that four *Banians* went to the *Athemadoulet*, and offer'd to pay two thousand Tomans into the Kings Treasury, so that he would be pleas'd to spare the two Merchants lives. The chief Minister made the proposal, but the King falling into a passion, and asking the *Athemadoulet*, *whether those Indian Dogs thought that a King of* Persia *would*

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ſell Juſtice, ſent a ſecond order for the execution of the Merchants without delay.

The ſame *Sha-Sefi* having giv'n command that the Eyes of a young Lord of the Court ſhould be put out, one of the principal Officers of the Houſe being preſent, and ſeeing the Executioner prick the eyes of the unfortunate young man with the point of a ſmall knife, ſhut his own eyes and turn'd away his head, as abhorring ſuch a ſpectacle. The King perceiving it, and vex'd to ſee thoſe ſigns of pity, and a diſlike of an act that he approv'd; *What*, ſaid he in a fury, *art thou afraid to puniſh the wicked?* And at the ſame time commanded his eyes to be pull'd out of his head.

It is a cuſtom, that if any man points at the King as he paſſes along in the Street, or upon the Road, he muſt loſe his hand. One day *Sha-Sefi* being in the Country, two Merchants of *Conſtantinople* were upon the Road, where the King and his Train were to paſs. They ſtopp'd to ſee the King, and when he came near, one of the Merchants pray'd his Friend that oft'n had ſeen him, to ſhew him which was he. The other knowing that only the King wears the Heron tops in his Bonnet, innocently lifted up his hand to diſtinguiſh him, by pointing, from the reſt of the Lords that follow'd him. For which act two Horſe-men came preſently to him, and cut off his hand with a Scimiter.

CHAP. IV.

The tragical and memorable Story of Ralph Sadler, *Native of* Zurich, *in the Reign of* Sha-Sefi, *who had retain'd him in his Service.*

RALPH *Sadler*, born in *Zurich*, was a Watch-maker by Profeſſion, who put himſelf into the ſervice of the Emperors Reſident at the *Ottoman* Court, with whom he went to *Conſtantinople*. This man I deſir'd to take along with me into *Perſia*; and coming to *Iſpahan*, he ſet himſelf to work, and made a ſmall Watch about the bigneſs of half a Crown; which being a neat piece of work, the *Engliſh* would needs buy, to preſent it to *Iman-Couli-Kan*, paying the price demanded, which was two hundred Crowns. *Iman-Couli-Kan* preſented it to the King; who was mightily pleas'd with it, in regard it was the leaſt ſtriking Watch that ever had been ſeen by the King, who therefore carry'd it hanging about his Neck under his Cloathes, in a Gold Chain. One day the King happening to wind up his Watch, and turning the Key the wrong way, broke the Fuſil, for which he was ſo much troubl'd, that he ſent for the Watch-maker from *Iſpahan* to *Casbin*; whither when *Ralph* came, he preſently made the Watch as good as ever. The King thus ſatisfy'd in his work and in his perſon, order'd him a Penſion of thirty Tomans, and Diet for him and a man, and proviſion for two Horſes: commanding him withall to make ſome new pieces of work. Now a skilful workman in the ſervice of the *Perſian* King, has this advantage, that if he pleaſes the King, beſides his Wages that are duly paid, the King out of his liberality beſtows on him a preſent, which uſually amounts to a third part or half his Wages; or elſe his Wages are rais'd, which is more advantageous than a preſent.

Ralph was oblig'd every morning to wait upon the King at his riſing, to wind up his Watch; and was ſo much in the Kings favour, that every morning when he came out of the Kings Chamber, he had a Glaſs of Wine preſented him, as a mark of eſteem. And indeed the King had ſuch an affection for him, that to retain him in his ſervice he often ſollicited him to turn *Mahometan*.

The Embaſſador of *Holſtein* coming to *Iſpahan*, and ſeeing *Ralph* ſo much in favour with the King, endeavour'd to gain his Friendſhip.

Thus *Ralph* oft'n keeping company with the Embaſſadors, and having one time tarry'd till late at night upon the debauch with them, returning home to his

his Lodging, where he kept a young *Nestorian* girl, in the Court of the House met a young *Persian*, Brother to one of the Kings Porters. The *Persian* knowing himself guilty, and surpriz'd to see *Ralph* so soon return'd, skip't over the Wall into the Garden and fled. The next day *Ralph* (who knew who he was) told his Brother of it, and desir'd him to speak to the young *Persian* not to come any more to his House; for if he did, he must expect what follow'd.

Some days after, the Embassadors treated all the *Franks*; when *Ralph* beginning to be warm, call'd the young *Persian* to mind, and slipping home without taking his leave, open'd the door softly, and found the young *Persian* again with his Mistriss. Thereupon *Ralph* calling his Slaves to help him, bound his arms, and ty'd him to a Tree in the Court; and so leaving him there, went to bed. By and by one of *Ralph*'s Servants, who knew the *Persian*, fell a jeering him; which so incens'd the *Persian*, that he having his feet at liberty, and the fellow within his reach, gave him such a kick upon the bottom of his Belly, that he first swooned away, and then dy'd. The other Slaves seeing him fall, waken'd *Ralph* with cries, who thereupon snatching up a Pistol that was charg'd with a brace of Bullets, shot the *Persian* into the head. The *Persian* being thus slain, *Ralph* went in the morning to wind up the Kings Watch; and being ask'd by the King, as he was wont to do, what news in *Ispahan*, told him plainly what he had done, and the reason why. The King upon his report told him, he had done well according to the strictness of the Country.

The *Athemadoulet* at that time was *Mirza Také*, who hated *Ralph*. For the *Armenian* Merchants having presented the *Athemadoulet* with several Watches at a time, it happen'd that once he sent to *Ralph* about thirty Watches together to be mended. For which the *Athemadoulet*, to gratifie him, and knowing that he kept four or five Servants, and seven or eight Horses, sent him fifteen or twenty Camels load of Straw and Barley for his Horses. But *Ralph* slighting such a present as that, *Go* (said he to the *Athemadoulets* Servant) *tell thy Master, that I am neither a Horse nor an Ass, and therefore let him eat his Present himself.* Which message so provok'd the *Athemadoulet*, that he study'd nothing but revenge.

Thereupon the *Athemadoulet*, whose business it is to attend the King when he rises, and to report to him the news of the Town, told him among the rest, what *Ralph* had done. The King reply'd, that *Ralph* had confess'd it to him already, and that he had pardon'd him, in regard he had reason to do as he did. But the *Athemadoulet* made answer, that *Ralph* had mince'd the matter; and represented the story to the King far otherwise than it was, making the worst of it he could upon *Ralph*'s side; and the more to incite the King, he put him in mind of the fair occasion he had to force him to turn *Mussulman*, there being no way to expiate his crime, but by turning *Mahometan*, or suffering the Law. The King thus over-rul'd, sent for *Ralph*, told him, he was now better inform'd of the crime he had committed, and that he must either turn *Mahometan* or dye. Thereupon the King sent him to Prison. Eight days after, the King (who had a great love for him, and therefore troubl'd that he must be constrain'd to put him to death, unless he would turn *Mahumetan*,) sent for him again, and offer'd him two thousand Tomans, after a powerful perswasion by words, but all signify'd nothing. Upon that he sent him back again to Prison. But yet remembring that he had once approv'd the fact, he sent for *Ralph* a second time, and offer'd him ten thousand Tomans, and a Wife out of his *Haram*, with all her Jewels; which *Ralph* refus'd, with the same resolution as before. The King incens'd at the fierceness of his resolution, deliver'd him to the Brother of the party slain, to execute the Law upon him. The *Holstein* Embassadors were resolv'd to have beg'd his life; but the *Athemadoulet*, smelling their design, would not permit them Audience. However, the King commanded all the *Franks*, and all the *Armenian* Clergy to be present at the Execution, to save all his blood, and put him in a Coffin; he commanded also, that he should be buried at *Zulpha* in the *Armenian* Church-yard, and have a Tomb made over him.

Thereupon *Ralph* was led to the *Meidan*, with that triangular Instrument of Wood which the *Persians* call a *Palenk*, about his neck. This *Palenk* was the cause

cauſe that the Brother of the deceas'd, who was to be the Executioner, not only miſs'd his firſt blow, but wounded himſelf in the Leg, while his Skain being born off by one of the ſides of the triangular Inſtrument, by the force of the blow lighted upon himſelf. Whereupon the people making a great ſhout hinder'd farther execution for that time. The King being advertis'd thereof, remanded him to Priſon, and after a few days ſent for him a third time into his preſence; but though the King offer'd him a thouſand Tomans, and that the Lords urg'd him to turn, though it were but for a while, and in outward appearance; yet neither threats nor promiſes could move the *Zurickian*, who was thereupon executed at the end of *October*, 1637.

All the *Franks* willingly contributed to raiſe him a Tomb; which was cover'd with a ſmall *Duomo*, ſupported with four Pillars, ten or twelve foot high. The *Armenians* have made him a Saint; ſo that when they are ſick of a Feaver, they come and make their devotions at this Tomb; and every time they come they carry away a piece of a Stone; ſo that the Tomb wants repairing every year.

The *Athemadoulet*, to the end the King might be the leſs ſenſible of the want of him, had told the King, that his Majeſty would find no great miſs of him, in regard he had a Servant who was almoſt as good as himſelf. But ſome few days after, the Kings Watch that he always carry'd about him, being out of order, and *Ralphs* Apprentice not being able to remedy the fault; the King for madneſs that he had been the Watchmakers death, threw the Watch at the *Athemadoulets* head. *There*, cry'd he, *Dog as thou art, by thy advice I put* Ralph *to death, the moſt skilful man of his Profeſſion that ever will come into my Kingdom. Thou deſerveſt for thy counſel, to have thy belly ript up. But I ſwear by my Throne, that from this time forward I will never put a Chriſtian to death for his Religion. And I queſtion whether any of you would have had the ſame courage to have dy'd for the Law of* Haly. And indeed they have been very cautious ever ſince; nor has any of the *Franks* been put to death, though they have flown out before the King in words and actions raſh enough.

CHAP. V.

Of ſome particulars under the Reign of Sha-Abbas *the ſecond.*

Sha-Abbas the ſecond, Son of *Sha-Sefi*, was no leſs cruel then his Father; and would be no leſs punctually obey'd.

He had two Siſters, which he marri'd to two of the richeſt Lords of his Kingdom, though of a very mean extraction. Some time after, the King underſtanding that they were both with-Child, order'd Phyſick to be given them to deſtroy the fruit of their Wombs. About three months after, he was told that they were big again; then he ſuffer'd 'em to be brought to bed; but commanded that they ſhould not give the Children any nouriſhment, but let 'em ſtarve to death.

The ſame *Sha-Abbas* caus'd the tongue of one that fill'd him Tobacco to be cut out for a word ſpok'n idly. For the King calling for Tobacco, one of the Pages ran haſtily for it to him that had it in charge, and bid him diſpatch; who anſwer'd him briskly, *Gebennemé ſabreïjlé*, that is, *to Hell, have a little patience.* The King being inform'd of it, commanded his tongue to be cut out. The poor man deſir'd him that was the Executioner, to cut it as deep as he could in his throat, and to leave it very ſhort; by which means he ſpoke ſome words muffling.

The people cry'd out againſt the *Nazar*, who being a perſon of low extraction, and advanc'd to that high dignity in a ſhort time, grew ſo proud that he contemn'd all the Lords of the Court. There was no dealing with him about

about any buſineſs, unleſs he were firſt preſented; and he paid no body without making ſome advantage of it. Every body had reaſon to complain; yet no perſon knew how to come at the King to make their complaints. At length they bethought themſelves of making their application to two black Eunuchs, who had the Kings ear in the night. One was call'd *Aga-Saron*, who was the *Meter* or Maſter of the Wardrobe; and the other *Aga-Kafour*, or high Treaſurer. Theſe two Eunuchs ſeeing the King in a good humour one night, let fall certain words concerning the *Nazar*, and his management of affairs and thence ſlid into a diſcourſe of his injuſtice, that caus'd the people to cry out againſt him, and ſpeak evil of his Government. Now it happen'd one morning that the King intending to go a hunting, the Grand Maſter, who had always a large train attending him, coming to the Kings Tent, the *Meter* deny'd him entrance. About the ſame time the King came forth, and ſeeing the *Nazar*, commanded his Officers to take off the Bonnet from the dead of that Dog that took Gifts from his people; and that he ſhould ſit three days bareheaded in the heat of the Sun, and as many nights in the Air. Afterwards he caus'd him to be chain'd about the neck and arms, and condemn'd him to perpetual impriſonment, with a Mamoudy a day for his maintenance; but he dy'd for grief within eight days after he was put in priſon.

Jafer-Kan, being a generous Lord, and one that kept a magnificent train, was Governour of *Afterabat*. At firſt he was very mild, but at laſt he began to exact ſuch ſums from the people, that his oppreſſions were very heavy; nor were theſe violences of his conceal'd from the Kings ear, who being one day drinking with ſome of his Lords, and ſeeing the Maſter of his Muſick in the Room, who was a merry droll, and had always ſome pleaſant news or other to tell the King; his Majeſty was pleas'd to ask him, what the people ſaid of *Jafer-Kan*; adding withall, that he had made him Governour of ſeveral Provinces, and had never heard any complaint of him before, but that now he was accus'd of ſtrangely tyrannizing over the people. The Muſick Maſter being a meer flatterer, and knowing that *Jafer-Kan* was extreamly belov'd by the King, confidently aver'd, that the Governour was falſly accus'd, and that he had always known him apter to give then to receive. There was at the ſame time in the Room, an *Agis* call'd *Manouchar-Kan*, lately return'd from a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*; him the King alſo ask'd, what was his opinion of *Jafer-Kan*, and his Government, being a perſon that had been long acquainted with him; to whom the *Agis*, thinking to pleaſe the King, return'd the ſame anſwer, that the Muſick Maſter had giv'n. Whereupon the King, who had been well inform'd of the *Kans* behaviour, turning toward the Lords that were preſent, *what think you, ſaid he, of theſe two Flatterers, that abſolutely know the contrary to what they ſpeak?* And at the ſame time commanded two of the Muſick Maſters teeth to be pull'd out of his mouth, and to be driv'n into the head of the *Agis*; which had like to have coſt him his life, being a very old man. As for *Jafer-Kan*, he was diſgrac'd for a time, but being a Perſon endow'd with noble qualities, valiant, generous and pleaſing in converſation, he was recall'd to Court, and knew ſo well how to make his tale good, that his Majeſty gave him the Government of *Shemelouhoſtan*, of which *Semeran* is the Capital City. *Shemelouhoſtan* ſignifies a Country manur'd to bear fruit. Nor is there any Province in *Perſia* that ſo abounds in Paſtures and Caſtles, that daily fall to ruine.

Jafer-Kan being reſtor'd to favour, the King ſent for ſeveral Lords of the Court to come and drink with them. He alſo commanded five *French* Artificers which he had in his ſervice to wait upon him, a Goldſmith nam'd *Sain*, two Watchmakers *Lagis* and *Varin*, and two Musket-makers *Marais* and *Bernard*. After they had heated themſelves a little with Wine, the King drew a Ruby out from off his finger, which I ſold him for a hundred Tomans, and a Diamond Jewel worth thirteen or fourteen hundred Tomans, which he gave to *Jafer-Kan*, with whom he was whiſpering at the ſame time. Now though the *Nazar* were at a diſtance, yet without doubt ſomewhat of the diſcourſe was heard; inſomuch that the Wine emboldning him, he told the King aloud, that if he would let him have but four thouſand Horſe, he would cut all that Rabble to pieces. The King bid him hold his tongue and go to ſleep; teſtifying

his

his diſpleaſure at his diſcourſe. For the *Nazar* conjectur'd that the King was talking to *Jafer-Kan* about the incurſions which the *Usbeck Tartars* often made from *Meſhed* ſide. As for the *Franks* three of the five were gone home to ſleep, *Sain*, *Lagis*, and *Bernard*: *Maras* and *Varin* ſtay'd behind in the Room. But *Marais* being of a humor that when he was drunk he could not hold his tongue, and having heard what the *Nazar* ſaid, he likewiſe took upon him to tell the King, that if the King wanted a General, there was none fitter to make a General then *Jafer-Kan*, and preſently began a long repetition of his praiſes. The King commanded him to hold his tongue, which he did for a while, but then falling again into his former impertinencies, the King commanded him to be dragg'd out of the Room by the feet, and that they ſhould rip up his belly. Thereupon *Marais* was ſeiz'd upon by the *Meter*, who having a great kindneſs for the *Franks*, and knowing that the King had a ſingular love for *Marais*, delay'd the execution of the Kings command, pulling his Cloathes off very ſlowly; and finding that the King did not riſe to go into his *Haram*, which is the ſign of no pardon to be given, he caus'd him to be dragg'd as near the perſon of the King as he could, thereby to try whether the King would have compaſſion on him or no; while certain Lords took the boldneſs to implore the Kings mercy in his behalf. At laſt when the King ſaw him dragg'd along, he commanded the Officers to let him go, and withall order'd him to put on his Cloaths again, and reſume his place.

The King of *Perſia*'s eldeſt Son comes very raw to the Throne; and his firſt divertiſement is to make ſhort journeys into the Provinces, thereby by little and little to gain the knowledg of ſuch things as concern him. Above all things he never fails to viſit the principal Church of the *Armenians* at *Zulpha*. That which makes him ſo curious, is his deſire to ſee the *Armenian* women, who are very handſom; being alſo further incited thereto by the *Sultaneſſes*, who are glad of any recreation. And then he has a *Courouk* through all *Zulpha*, at what time all the men muſt retire to *Iſpahan*, or to their Friends at a diſtance. *Sha-Abbas* the ſecond went ſeveral times in that manner to *Zulpha*; and one day among the reſt, upon the report of the beauty of the Wife of the Kelonter *Gorgia Safras*, Son of Kelonter *Gorgia Nazar*, the King having ſeen her, lik'd her very well, and deſir'd her to go along with the *Sultaneſſes*, who carry'd her into the *Haram*, where ſhe continu'd fifteen days, and then return'd home with a fair Neck-Lace of Pearls, which the King gave her when ſhe went away.

To ſay the truth of *Sha-Abbas* the ſecond, he was a man too much given to drink, and too much govern'd by his paſſion, otherwiſe he was a lover of juſtice, and very magnificent and generous to Strangers.

CHAP. VI.

Of the misfortune of Mahomet Beg *in the reign of* Sha-Abbas *the second.*

MAhomet Beg was born at *Tauris*, the Son of a Taylor, who bred him a Scholar. He had a quick apprehenſion, and was naturally enclin'd to vertue; and being deſirous to advance himſelf in the world, he had the good luck to obtain the employment of *Major-Baſhi*, or chief of the Eſſayers and Refiners of Money, who has a power to viſit all places where money is coyn'd. After that, he became acquainted with the *Aila Verdi Beg*, or Mr. *Godſgift*, the Kings chief Huntſman, by the title of *Mert-Shekar-Baſhi*, who gladly preſented him to the King, to whom the King was very thankful, ſo ſoon as he had found the noble Qualities of the perſon he had preſented. Thereupon ſo ſoon as *Mahomet Ali-Beg*, grand Maſter of the Kings Houſe dy'd, the King beſtow'd that Employment upon *Mahomet Beg*, who not only gain'd the favour of his Majeſty, but the good will of all the Lords of the Court. He had a great reſpect for them all, without medling with any of their employments, and ſuppreſt his revengeful ſpirit, not finding it ſeaſonable as yet to diſcloſe his paſſions.

Kalifa Sultan at that time *Athemadoulet* hapning to dye, the King conferr'd that place upon *Mahomet Beg*, who at firſt behav'd himſelf in that employment to the ſatisfaction of all men. He apply'd himſelf particularly to the ſearching out of Mines; for there had a report ran among the people for many years, that if certain mountains nine or ten miles from *Iſpahan* toward the Weſt were well digg'd into, there might be found ſtore of Gold, Silver and Copper. To which purpoſe he made uſe of a *Norman*, whoſe name was *La Chapelle de Han*, who vanted at that time to have great skill in Chymiſtry, Mines and Minerals, for which reaſon he was recommended by the Governor of *Iſpahan* to the *Athemadoulet* then at *Caſbin* with the King, who preſently ſent him back again to the Governour to furniſh him with all things neceſſary for his Expences, and for the work which he undertook in the Mountains. Thither went *La Chapelle*, and after fifteen days toyl return'd to *Iſpahan* with two or three hunder'd weight of earth, and ſet up furnaces to draw out the metal. The *Athemadoulet* was ſo wiſe as to give order to the Governour of *Iſpahan*, and three or four more perſons of Quality to overview the Norman, to ſee that he play'd no foul play. But though there was not ſo much as a half peny worth of ſilver in all the earth from the bottom to the top, though the *Perſians* watch'd him ſo narrowly as they did, he made a ſhift to ſhuffle in an *Abaſſi* among the earth, as it was in the furnace without being perceiv'd. Nevertheleſs the *Athemadoulet*, to whom it was carry'd, preſently found out the cheat, though he took no notice of it, hoping to make better uſe of the Norman in other things; only he forbad him to dig any more in that place, in regard the expence would exceed the profit.

La Chapelle, who was very skilful at putting off his merchandize, and one who knew to make the beſt uſe of the leaſt ſmackering that he might perhaps have in Mechanicks, and the power of Motion, had the cunning to amuſe the *Athemadoulet* for ten years together, being a paſſionate Lover of new Inventions; and the better to inſinuate himſelf into the Kings favour aſſum'd to himſelf the Invention of ſeveral Rarities which he ſhew'd the King, who thereupon allow'd him a very handſome penſion. Thus encourag'd, he undertook to caſt Canons, bring the water to the top of the Kings houſe, and ſeveral other things, yet when all his deſigns fail'd for want of Art, and that he found he could do no more good in *Perſia*, reſolving for *India*, he dy'd at *Ormus*.

The *Athemadoulet* miſſing of Gold and Silver Mines, applg'd himſelf to the diſcovery of Copper Mines, wherein he was more fortunate; for in thoſe Mines he alſo found veins of Azure, of which there is a great quantity conſum'd in painting the *Groteſco Flouriſhes* upon the Ceilings and Arches of their Houſes. He alſo found out a Mine of Lead near *Terde*: and being ſtill upon new diſcoveries, he found out

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Neither did this fright'n others from bearing up againſt the Power of Mahomet *Beg*, though every one had not the ſame ſucceſs. For ill it far'd with the Governour of *Schiras*, who was call'd *Mirza Haddi*. He was a perſon of great wealth and knowledge, and one day in Council took upon him to tell *Mahomed Beg*, that he was not of his opinion, and withall to lay before him his defects, and ill conduct. But the Prime Miniſter ſo deeply lay'd to heart the boldneſs of *Mirza Haddi*, that he reſolv'd to revenge himſelf by all means imaginable. He ſuborn'd falſe witneſſes, and other perſons to make complaints before him of the Governour of *Schiras*. There was a neceſſity for the party accus'd to appear before *Mahomet Beg* as his Judge, but the Governor truſting to his Innocence, here minded the rage of his adverſary, not believing he could receive any injury from him. In the mean time *Mahomet Beg* inform'd the King what he pleas'd himſelf, and overpow'ring him by his authority, confiſcated all *Mirza Haddi's* Eſtate, and ſent him to priſon to the Houſe of the *Nazar*, who was call'd *Iſmael Beg*. When he came there they hung him upon Tenter-hooks by the feet againſt the wall, and drub'd him ſo long, that he was forc'd to be carri'd into another Room upon a Slaves back. His Lieutenant and an Eunuch, that had bin his Treaſurer, were ſerv'd in the ſame fawce, and all three put into a high Chamber that ſerv'd inſtead of a priſon. His Vizier or Lieutenant was releas'd in a ſhort while, but *Mirza Haddi* and his Eunuch were ſtill kept cloſe.

Nor is the manner of his revenging himſelf upon *Mir-Kaſſem-Beg*, the *Deroga*, or Provoſt of *Iſpahan* leſs remarkable. While *Mahomet Beg* was only *Majer-Baſhi*, there was ſome gold Plate ſtoll'n out of the Kings Kitchin. Thereupon the *Deroga* ſent his Officers to ſeize upon all the Goldſmiths in *Iſpahan*, that knew nothing of the matter, as being utterly innocent of the Robbery. In the mean time he put them all in priſon, and lockt them cloſe up, intimating to them that he was reſolv'd not to releaſe them without a good ſum of money. The poor Goldſmiths thus ill us'd, apply'd themſelves to the *Majer-Baſhi*, who ſent his Officers to intreat the *Deroga* to conſider that the Gold-ſmiths were innocent of the Robbery, and that being in ſome manner under the Juriſdiction of the *Mayer-Baſhi*, as being Artificers in Gold and Silver, he ought not to refuſe to diſcharge them at his requeſt. But the *Deroga* not ſeeing the money come, bid the Officers of Mahomet *Beg* tell their Maſter that he knew what belong'd to his employment, and further, ſaid he, *Let the Taylors Son meddle with his own buſineſs; tell him withall*, added he, *that if he pleaſes I will ſhew him his Siſter's drawers*. For a little before the *Deroga* had by his Spies ſurpriz'd her toying in a Garden with two young Lords, from whom he ſqueez'd a conſiderable ſum of money. *Mahomet Beg* not powerful enough then to proſecute his revenge, let it ſleep, but when he came to the height of preferment, he remember'd the *Deroga*, and bethought himſelf which way to ruin him. Nor was it long ere an opportunity offer'd it ſelf. For there being a report that the Enemy appear'd about *Candahar*, a Frontier Town of *Perſia* upon the *Moguls* Territories, the *Athemadoulet* advis'd the King to raiſe a good number of Souldiers about *Iſpahan*, as being luſty nimble fellows and us'd to labour, and to ſend them to *Candahar*, to be ready againſt all accidents. The King having an entire confidence in the *Athemadoulet*, order'd him to loſe no time, but to commit the management of the Levies to ſuch perſons as had perfect knowledge of the plain Country. Then *Mahomet Beg*, ſtudying his revenge, told the King that there was no perſon fitter for the employment than the *Deroga*, *Mir Kaſſembeg*, who according to his cruel and covetous humor, ſoon abus'd his Commiſſion, the thing which he, who had procur'd it, chiefly deſir'd. For whereas the King intended that none ſhould be enroll'd but thoſe that were willing, the *Deroga* forc'd every body, eſpecially the Sons of the richeſt Farmers, who rather than part with their Sons gave the *Deroga* his own demands to ſpare them. When *Mahomet Beg* had got matter enough againſt the *Deroga*, he underhand ſtirr'd up the Country people to make their complaint, giving them to underſtand that it was contrary to the Kings intention to have them tormented in that manner; that his Commiſſion was only to liſt thoſe that would go of their own accord. The Villages eaſily encourag'd, ſent their Deputies to *Iſpahan*, whom he kindly receiv'd and preſented the ſame hour to the King. His Majeſty having heard them, and *Mahomet Beg* having ſeconded their complaint, the King order'd that they

ſhould

ſhould make an exact liſt of what the Commiſſioners of the *Deroga* had robb'd them of. *Mahomet Beg* loſt no time, but by vertue of his Authority and the Kings command, ſent his Officers into all the Villages to take the Oath of every Country-man to the end they ſhould declare the truth, under the penalty of a Fine and Corporal puniſhment, of what had been exacted from them to the utmoſt *Shayet*. This Oath was to be put in Paper, ſign'd by every one that made it, in theſe words, *Let my head be confiſcated to the King, and my goods to his* Divan, *if I do not punctually the Order of his Majeſty*. The accompt being made of all the money for which they had compounded with the *Deroga*, it was preſented by *Mahomet Beg*, who aggravated the Tyranny of the *Deroga*, and repreſented to his Majeſty that for thirty years he had thus devour'd the Territories of *Iſpahan*. Thereupon by the command of the King, who was then at *Iſpahan*, the *Deroga* was to be carry'd into the *Meydan*, and being ty'd up by the heels to receive a certain number of Baſtinado's upon the ſoles for ſo many Fridays one after another; and moreover the nerves of his heels were to be cut, and his ankles to be boar'd thorough. The Kings command being thus ſeal'd, Mahomet *Beg* committed the execution thereof to his truſty Inſtrument *Negef-Couli-Beg*, who coming to *Iſpahan* aſſembl'd the chief of the City, together with the *Vizir* or Governour, and the *Deroga* or Provoſt, who thought of nothing; being met, before they broak open the Kings Seal they made a publick Prayer for the proſperity of the King; which being ended, the *Vizir* open'd the Letter and read it with a loud voice. When the *Vizir* came to read the Sentence againſt the *Deroga*, he was ſeiz'd with aſtoniſhment, at what time *Negef-Coult-Beg* coming to the *Deroga*, and ſtriking him upon the Neck with his fiſt, threw him down under his Horſes feet, and caus'd him to be bound according to cuſtom. Immediately he was hurri'd to the *Piazza*, where he receiv'd ſo many Baſtinado's upon the ſoles of his feet that his nayls fell off. The next Friday they brought him to the ſame place, where they repeated the ſame Execution, and boar'd his ankles. The *Deroga* being very ancient, his pains put him into ſuch a condition as mov'd *Negef-Couli-Beg* himſelf to compaſſion, who wrote preſently to Court, that the continuance of ſo much torment, would infallibly be the death of the old man. Upon that the King order'd that there ſhould no more be done to him; only that he ſhould be ſhut up in the inner part of his Houſe with his Wives, depriving him of his employment, but leaving him his Eſtate.

But *Mahomet Beg*, not having yet compleated the revenge he ſought, was reſolv'd after he had thus tormented him to deprive him, alſo of his Eſtate. To which purpoſe he advanc'd to the Office of *Deroga*, a *Georgian* Renegado who was call'd *Padada-Beg*, whom he taught all the tricks imaginable to pick the peoples-pockets. The deſign of *Mahomet Beg* in this, was to let the King underſtand, that if the new *Deroga* could heap up ſuch a ſum of money in five or ſix months, what a prodigious ſum muſt *Mir-Kaſſembeg* have heap'd up in ſo many years. In ſhort, the new *Deroga* inſtructed and encourag'd by *Mahomet Beg*, levy'd unjuſtly ſuch a vaſt number of fines, committed ſo many extortions and rapines upon the people, that at the end of ſix months the people began to tumult at the Palace gate. The *Divan-Begui*, who is the firſt Miniſter of Juſtice, took the peoples part; whereupon *Mahomet Beg* perceiving he had been too haſty in his deſign to be reveng'd upon the *Divan Bequi*, who had croſs'd his deſigns, one morning caus'd ſeveral files of Muſqueteers to be drawn up at the Kings *Haram*. The King ſurpriz'd at the ſight, *Mahomet Beg* told him that his Majeſty was not ſafe ſo long as the *Divan Bequi* ſtirr'd up the people to Rebellion: which ſo incens'd the King, that he caus'd the Groom Porter to go immediately and pull out the *Divan Bequi's* eyes, which was immediately done; nor did the old man ſay any more, but with his face all beſmear'd with his own goar, deſir'd the ſervant upon whoſe arms he lean'd, to turn him toward *Mecca* that he might pray for the proſperity of the King. All his goods were confiſcated and brought into the Treaſury; but *Mer Kaſſem-beg* ſtill enjoy'd his, though he was forc'd to ſpend the remainder of his days in his own houſe.

Thus *Mahomet Beg* preſerv'd himſelf ſtill in the Kings favour, and had remov'd all thoſe perſons from the Court that had no kindneſs for him, and was indifferently ſafe, till *Mir-Tchekar-Baſhi* another favourite, whom the King highly lov'd, began

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CHAP. VII.

Of the Rebellion of the Prince of Jaſque, *a Vaſſal to the King of* Perſia, *in the reigns of* Sha-Sefi *I. and* Sha-Abbas *II.*

BEtween *Cape Jaſque*, and *Cape Guadel* which are the two moſt Southern points of *Perſia*, there lies a mountainous and merſhie Country, which extends it ſelf from the Ocean toward the Province of *Kerman*, and in ſeveral places is inacceſſible. It is poſſeſs'd by three petty Princes, the one a Mahumetan, the other two toward the Eaſt both Idolaters. The firſt is the moſt potent of the three, and neareſt to the Province of *Ormus*. He alſo aſſumes the title of Prince of *Jaſque*, as his Anceſtors did before him. Now after *Sha-Abbas* the firſt had conquer'd *Ormus*, he went about to have made himſelf maſter of all the coaſt that extends it ſelf beyond *Cape Jaſque*; but meeting with reſiſtance, he only obtain'd that the Prince of the Country ſhould acknowledge the King of *Perſia* for his Lord, and that as his Vaſſal he ſhould pay him an annual tribute. And indeed during the reign of *Sha-Abbas*, who knew how to make himſelf fear'd, the Prince of *Jaſque* pay'd his tribute very orderly. But *Sha-Sefi* ſucceeding his Grandfather very young, this tributary Prince ſhook off his yoak, and refus'd to pay. Which not being regarded in the reign of *Sha-Sefi*, the Prince of *Jaſque* thought to do the ſame in the reign of *Sha-Abbas* the ſecond. But at length after he had refus'd to pay for ſome years, the *Kan* of *Ormus* pretending the Country to be under his Juriſdiction, and that the Kings honour was concern'd in the Princes refuſal, incited *Sha-Abbas* to ſend forces againſt him to reduce him to obedience. The King granted the Commiſſion to him that had undertaken the buſineſs: who preſently gathering together an Army of 20000 men, the moſt part Horſe, thought to have ſurpriz'd his Enemy. To which purpoſe that he might take the neareſt way, he march'd directly toward *Cape Jaſque*. But as it was the ſhorteſt cut, it was the moſt dangerous; inſomuch that the *Kan*, who hunted all the way he march'd, according to the cuſtom of *Perſia*, had the misfortune to fall into a bogg, where he was ſtifl'd, together with 20 or 30 horſemen more. The death of the *Kan* being divulg'd, the Army retreated back again: but as ſoon as the King receiv'd the news, he ſent the Brother of the deceas'd *Kan* to ſucceed him. In the mean while the Rebel Prince believing within himſelf, that he was not to be thus at quiet, and expecting to be attack'd by the new *Kan*, ſtood upon his guard. And indeed the new *Kan* march'd with all the ſpeed he could, and enter'd the territories of the rebellious Prince, but being beat'n was forc'd to make more haſte back again to *Ormus*, with the loſs of an abundance of men.

The Prince of *Jaſque* puft up with this ſucceſs, did not believe that the *Perſians* would be ſo haſty to come again: and thereupon he reſolv'd upon a Voyage for *Mecca* to give the Prophet thanks for his Victory. To which end he embarqu'd at the neareſt place he could to *Cape Jaſque*, thence to make ſail toward *Arabia*. But the Governor of *Kan* underſtanding his deſign by his ſpies, way-laid him by Sea, took him and brought him to *Ormus*. At that time the heats being exceſſive, the Governour was retir'd, according to cuſtome, to the Mountains ſome ten or twelve Leagues from the City, whither the Prince was carry'd and brought to the *Kans* tent. But while the *Kan* was expecting the return of the Meſſenger which he had ſent to the King for orders what to do with the Priſoner, the Princes wife hearing of her husbands misfortune, and being a woman of a manlike courage, taking along with her about five or ſix hundred horſe, with little noiſe and by long marches ſhe at length fell unawares upon the *Kan* about midnight, kill'd him with her own hand, cut in pieces the greateſt part of his men, whom ſhe found aſleep, carry'd away ten or twelve of his wives, and ſet her husband at liberty in ſpite of the *Perſians*, who had not time to rally themſelves.

The news of this defeat coming to Court, the King being highly incens'd, ſent away the third Brother to be governour of *Ormus*, with ſpecial command to the Gover-

Governours of *Schiras*, *Lar* and *Kerman* forthwith to raiſe 30000 horſe to revenge the affront and reduce the Rebel. The *Kan* of *Ormus* march'd at the head of that Army, and gave Battel, but the Prince being ſuccour'd by the other two Idolatrous Princes his neighbours, the *Perſians* were again beaten. Only the Prince of *Jaſque* loſt his Lieutenant General, a valiant Captain, and a very good Souldier.

The King underſtanding that the Lieutenant General was the *Kans* Priſoner, gave him leave to do with him what he would, in revenge of his Brothers death: who thereupon deviſ'd the moſt cruel torments that ever were heard of. For he firſt caus'd the body of the Lieutenant General to be larded with lighted Candles, and then ſetting him upon a Camel order'd him to be led ſoftly about the ſtreets every day in the very heat of noon. A torment almoſt inſufferable, which the heroic Indian nevertheleſs endur'd with an invincible courage. After the *Kan* had tormented him in this manner three days together, the chief of the *Holland* Company and other ſtrange Merchants abhorring ſo much cruelty, begg'd of the *Kan* to ſurceaſe his rigour, who readily granted them their requeſt.

CHAP. VIII.

Obſervations upon the reign of Sha-Soliman *the preſent King.*

Ali-Couli-Kan had bin three or four times exil'd from the Court, for ſpeaking with two much liberty. For he was bold and could not keep his tongue between his teeth. For which reaſon he was call'd the Kings Lyon, who was wont to chain him up when he had no occaſion for him, and to let him looſe when he had any buſineſs for him to do. The laſt time he was exil'd, he was kept five or ſix years in a Fortreſs out of which he had never ſtirr'd: But one day, having a ſmooth tongue, he over-perſwaded the Commander to give him leave to go a hunting with him. When he return'd, with the help of ſome of his ſervants, he fell upon the Commander, and gave him ſo many Baſtinadoe's upon the feet, that he had like to have kill'd him: telling him withall, that it was to teach him his duty, not to let a man go that the King had committed to his charge. *Sha-Sephi*, though very young, hearing of this, and deſirous to ſee *Ali-Couli-Kan*, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Grandees to hinder his return, commanded him to be ſet at liberty, and that he ſhould have a better allowance to live upon. Two or three days after, the King ſitting in Council, the whole Aſſembly was amaz'd to ſee *Ali-Couli-Kan* enter, who approaching his Majeſty with a profound reverence, told him, that the Lyon being now let looſe was humbly come to kiſs his hands. Thereupon the King fell a laughing, and caſting a favourable glance upon him told him he had done well. Nor was it long ere the King finding him no leſs pleaſant in converſation, then a valiant and expert Captain, made him Generaliſſimo of his Armies, as he had bin in the reign of *Sha-Abbas*.

When the Court ſaw *Ali-Couli-Kan* ſo well receiv'd, every one then labour'd to teſtifie their joy for his return. They ſent him Horſes, Mules, Camels, rich Carpets, and every thing fit to furniſh a Lords houſe. But all this while he wanted money, which becauſe he could not meet with among the *Perſians*, he was forc'd to have recourſe to the *Armenians*, of whom he deſir'd to borrow five or ſix hunder'd Tomans. As for the *Kalenter* he would have had the ſum lent, but the reſt would not. Thereupon the King taking a walk to *Zulpha*, *Ali-Couli-Kan* put it into his head to go and ſee the great Cathedral belonging to the *Armenians*, where ſeveral Biſhops with ſeveral Monks reſide. The King entring into the Church, where the Biſhop ſtood ready at the head of the Clergy to receive him, and ſeeing all things new and ſtrange, as coming but lately out of the womens *Haram*, aſk'd his favourite what ſort of people thoſe were clad in ſuch an extraordinary manner. *Ali-Couli-Kan* told him they were Devils, *Devils!* ſaid the King, *What!* added he, *doſt bring me into a houſe of Devils?* The King thus incens'd againſt the *Armenians*, re-

resolv'd to force 'em to turn *Mahometans*. But *Ali-Couli-Kan*, being a *Georgian*, repenting that he had rais'd the Kings indignation to so high a pitch, and not believing it would be any advantage to him for the *Armenians* to turn *Mahometans*, contented himself only with frighting them, which was enough to bring the *Armenians* upon their knees, and to make them come and beg the intercession of his authority. Which favour, as he order'd it, cost the *Armenians* ten thousand Tomans to the King, and four or five thousand Tomans to his Favourite.

The 23. of *September* 1677. the King made a Cavalcade, then which there could be nothing imagin'd more magnificent. All the richest Furniture was brought out of the Exchequer into the *Meydan*. The golded buckets to water the Horses. The golden Fat out of which they take the water, together with buckles, harness and nails of gold, to which the Horses are ty'd. After the King had play'd at Mall, as I have already describ'd, and had also shot at the Goblet upon the top of the Mall in the middle of the *Meydan*, he went and sate in the *Divan*, which is over the Gate call'd *Ali Capi*, where he had the pastime to see Lyons, Bulls, Bears, Tygers and Rams fight. But that which was most admirable, was to see a man stand upright upon the Saddle while the horse ran full speed, which he did three times the whole length of the *Meydan*. The first time, 'tis true, he fell but the two last times he stood firm.

One day the same *Ali-Couli-Kan* presented two handsom Youths to the King, which had both delicate voices. The King hearing them sing, was very much troubl'd that he could not make use of them in his *Haram*, which *Alli-Couli-Kan* observing, sent for a *French* Chirurgeon, and promis'd him a great reward if he could cut the youths and save their lives. The Chirurgeon for lucre of a large recompence, cut them both and cur'd 'em very well. Which done, *Ali-Couli-Kan*, presented the two youths to the King, who was surpris'd to see them, but was well pleas'd that he had got two such new attendants in his *Haram*. But see the reward of such a wicked action. *Ali-Couli-Kan* dy'd soon after. The Chirurgeon never was pay'd: and being advis'd to present a Petition to the King by the Meter, the Meter ask'd him whether he would turn *Mahometan*: which when the Chirurgeon deny'd to do, the Meter bid him be gone like a Rascal, telling him withall that he did not think the Religion of the Christians had permitted such acts of villany. The two youths were born at *Cassan*, and had both Fathers and Mothers, and were promis'd in Marriage. When their Parents heard of it, they came to *Ispahan*, to weep over their Children. Which the King observing, to appease their sorrow, gave them a Pension during life.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Government of Persia.

THE Government of *Persia* is purely Despotick or Tyrannical. For the King has the sole power of life and death over all his Subjects, independent from his Council, and without any Trials or Law-proceedings. He can put to what death he pleases the chief Lords of the Kingdom, no man daring to dispute the reason, nor is there any Soveraign in the world more absolute then the King of *Persia*.

The King deceasing and leaving Male Issue behind him, the Eldest ascends the Throne, while his Brothers are kept in the *Haram*, and their eyes are put out: and if there be the least suspicion of any contrivance against the King, they are forthwith put to death without any farther examination. And not only they, but the Children also of the Kings Brothers and Sisters. I remember when I first travell'd into *Persia*, they were not so rigorous, but were contented to move a red hot iron to and fro before their eyes. But *Sha-Sefi* perceiving his command had been negligently executed, and that the poor unhappy Princes had some sight left them

he order'd their eyes to be digg'd out of their heads. *Sha-Sefi*'s cruelty went yet farther, for he spar'd not his Eldest Son *Sha-Abbas*, the lawful Heir to his Throne, ordering one of his Eunuchs to move an Iron before his eyes, no man being able to tell the reason. But the Eunuch compassionating the young Prince, did indeed move an Iron, but not a red hot Iron before his Eyes, and teaching him to counterfeit himself blind, preserv'd his sight till his Father lay upon his death-bed: at which time his Father was very penitent for having put out the eyes of his Eldest Son, to whom the Throne of right belong'd. The Eunuch seeing the King so sadly afflicted and ready to give up the ghost, assur'd him that he would restore the Prince to his sight, and to comfort him at his death, brought the Prince with perfect eyes to the bed side. The sight of which prolong'd the Kings life till next day; and gave him time to command all the Grandees of the Court to obey *Sha-Abbas* his Eldest Son, as his lawful Successor and their King.

But to return to these blind Princes; There were several at *Ispahan* when I was there: and I knew one particularly, who is still alive, and is a person of excellent natural parts, As blind as he is, he is a great lover of Curiosities, and has built him a House in *Ispahan*, which is worthy a mans sight. He is overjoy'd when any person brings him any rarities out of *Europe*, feeling them in his hands, and causing his Eunuchs, which are very apprehensive, to tell him the meaning of every thing. He is a great admirer of Clock-work and Watches, and can tell by his finger when a Watch is right in the Case. To know what a Clock it is, he has little points set up in the Dial-plate, and a half hand, to the end he may not be deceiv'd which part of the hand points to the hour. By means of certain figures which he makes of soft wax, and sets in order upon a Table, he will cast up an accompt very exactly. Several other good qualities I admir'd in him; and it griev'd me to see a man reduc'd to that miserable Condition, only because he was of the blood Royal of *Persia*.

Though the Employments of the Kingdom generally fall from Father to Son, yet the King if he pleases may bequeath the Governments of Provinces or any other dignities to any of his *Goulams* which are his Slaves, if he find them capable, and thinks they may be fit for his service. The Father to leave the Employment to his Family, labours by degrees to introduce his Son, and to obtain the Survivorship for him. But if the Father dye, and leaves the Survivorship to an Infant, there is generally a person of Age and Experience sent along with him. Some there are also that obtain employments by presenting the Favourites at Court.

The State of *Persia* is distinguish'd like most of the *European* States, into three Bodies. The first is that of the Sword, which answers to the Nobility, and comprehends the Kings houshold, the *Kans*, and all the Souldiery. The second is that of the Quill, comprehending all those that belong to the Law and the Courts of Justices. The third is compos'd of Merchants, Handicrafts-men and Labourers.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the firſt of the three Orders or States of Perſia, *which comprehends the Kings Houſhold, the* Kans *or Governours of Provinces, and the Souldiery.*

THE Primier Miniſter of the Kingdom is call'd *Athemadoulet*, or the ſupport of Riches. His office is the ſame with the Grand *Vizir's* in *Turkie*, and may be compar'd to the ancient *Mayors* of the *Palace* in *France*. In regard all the affairs of the Kingdom paſs through his hands, he ought to be rather a Gownman then a Souldier: and herein he only differs from the Grand *Vizier*, who is always to be at the head of the Army, and for every ſlight fault or diſtaſte is ſubject to be ſtrangl'd by the Grand *Signior*. Whereas in *Perſia* where the Government is milder, the Prime Miniſters generally dye in their beds, or if they are Depos'd, they are only exil'd to ſome frontier City, where they live as private men.

When the King is young, the Prime Miniſter has a hard game to play, for then the Favourite Eunuchs and the Sultaneſſes diſannul and cancel in the night whatever orders he makes in the day time.

The *Nazar* or *Seer* has the charge of all the Kings goods, of his breeds of horſes, of his moveables, of his Cloaths and Plate: much like the grand Maſter of the Kings Houſe in *France*.

The *Mehter*, who is always a white Eunuch, is the firſt Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, and follows the King with a kind of bag hanging by his ſide full of handkerchiefs. And as he is always at the Kings elbow, if he have the Kings ear, it is eaſie for him to befriend or do unkindneſſes, as his inclination leads him. During the minority of the King, ſome of theſe *Mehters* have been known to govern the Kingdom.

The *Mir-Akhor-Baſhi*, or Grand Eſquire, has the Charge of the Kings Stables, which as well as the Gate of *Ali-Capi*, are a place of Refuge, and whoever ſaves himſelf therein, let it be for Murther or Debt is ſafe. All the Horſes in the Kings Stable are mark'd with a hot iron upon the left hip, and thoſe that belong to private perſons upon the right. Thoſe that the King gives to them that ſerve in his Armies, have the Kings mark, and are not to be ſold, but they may be chaffer'd away. If any of thoſe Horſes happens to dye in a Horſe-mans hands, he muſt flea off the Kings mark, and carry it to the under Officers of the General of the Cavalry, to have a nother, otherwiſe he would be forc'd to buy another at his own expences. Thoſe people by laying the skin in the water, know, though by what art I cannot tell, whither the Horſe dy'd of age or ſickneſs, or whither he were malitiouſly kill'd. For in times of Peace there are ſom Horſe-men that will kill their Horſes, to ſave the Charges of keeping any more than themſelves: then at the next Muſter they bring the skin of their Horſe, with the mark on, to the Officers, and get another, unleſs they be found out. Nor are their Horſes only mark'd, but their Scimitars, Muſquets, Bows and Quivers, all which they muſt ſhew to the Commiſſioners every Muſter.

Sha-Abbas, the ſecond being at *Caſbin* in the year 1654, took a general view of his Cavalry, which laſted for ten or twelve days. For the King ſitting in the Portal of one of his Gardens, with his Officers ſtanding about him, every day caus'd ſo many troopers to ride by him: which were all ſtout active men and well mounted. Every Souldier gallop'd ſingly by him; and coming juſt under the King, he ſhot an Arrow againſt a Butt of Turf that was thrown up upon his left hand, and when the Muſter was over, the King advanc'd the Pay of every Horſeman, who according to the ſentence of the Judges had ſhot neareſt the mark.

I was then at *Caſbin*, and I remember one Souldier, who quite contrary to what the other Horſe-men did, walk'd his Horſe along by the King, and never ſhot, but only lay'd his hand upon his breſt, and then upon his forehead, which is the

Ceremony of Salutation us'd by the King. He was a very homely fellow, with a flat tawny countenance: so that his behaviour and his presence offending the King, in a chase he commanded that black rascal to be cashier'd out of his service. Immediately they took away his Horse and his Arms, and were going about to have drubb'd him, but that the General of the Cavalry made them a sign to let him alone. Immediately the General gave the King to understand that he was one of the best Souldiers in the Army: as he had signally made it appear at the Sieges of *Erivan* and *Candahar*. Upon that the King caus'd his Horse and Arms to be restor'd him again, and commanded him to ride by him as the rest of the Souldiers had done. When he came against the Butt, instead of obeying the Kings command, he turn'd his Horse to the right and left, without saying a word. The General fearing he would offend the King again, bid him shoot. *What shall I shoot at?* Sir said he. *Against the place where all the rest have shot*, answer'd the General. Then the Souldier shaking his head and smiling, *'Tis not my way*, said he, *to spend my Arrows against a wall; for I know how to make use of 'em better against the body, or head of the Enemies of my King. I would then shoot thrice before another could shoot once.* At the same time he draws out two Arrows out of his Quiver, one of which he held in his mouth, and put the other to his bow: and then setting spurs to his Horse he out-rid the Butt for the nonce, to shoot backward, which he did, and hit the very middle of the white, then turning his horses head and passing the Butt as before, he shot the second Arrow into the same hole, whence they had pull'd the first Arrow. Then the General approaching near the King, told him that by what he had heard and seen, he might well believe that Horseman to be as brave a Souldier as any in the Army: which his Majesty confess'd, and from three Tomans advanc'd his pay to 15 Tomans.

The *Mir-Shikar-Bashi*, or the Grand Master of the Hunt, who is also employ'd as Grand Falconer. He has under him a thousand Officers, and a great number of Birds of prey, and manag'd Hawks.

The *Seguan Bashi* receives the orders of the Grand Master of the Hunt. He has charge of the Doggs, Lyons, Leopards, and other Beasts for Chace.

The *Kindar Bashi*, who has charge of the Kings Saddles.

The *Zinkan-Courlshisi* is the chief of the Querries, that hold the Kings stirrup, when he gets a Horseback.

The *Kelege-Courlshisi* carrys the Kings sword.

The *Oriaje-Courlshisi* carrys his Bow and Arrows.

The *Vakanvicz*, is as it were the chief Secretary of State: an employment never conferr'd but upon a Favourite. He also reads all Petitions and Papers that are represented to the King.

The *Kasnadar-Bashi* is he that keeps all the Money which is in the Kings Coffers, whom we call the High Treasurer.

The *Ishik-Agasi-Bashi* is the Grand Master of the Houshold, who has several Officers under him.

The *Mehmender-Bashi* is the Master of the Ceremonies.

The *Hakim-Bashi* is the Kings chief Physitian, by whose allowance all the Physitians of the Kingdom are licens'd.

The *Munedgin-Bashi* is the chief of the Astrologers.

The *Divan-Bequi* is the chief Justiciar, as well in Civil as in Criminal causes, and he keeps his Court either in *Ali Capi*, or in the Kings House, where his Majesty sometimes presides himself when he pleases. Before him as being and Officer of great Authority, all the Criminals in the Kingdom make their appeal, and he makes out process against the *Kans* and other Grandees of *Persia*.

The *Deroga* is much like the Lieutenant Criminal in *France*, from whom it is lawful to appeal before the *Divan-Bequi*. He has an eye upon Robberies, Batteries and Murthers, and he has power to suppress Houses of Debauchery. If he catch any debauch'd persons, he has power to give them the Bastinado, or to fine them: and most commonly he spares corporal chastisement to punish their purses.

The *Sofragi-Bashi* is he that spreads the *Sofra* before the King.

The *Chirakgi-Bashi* is he that has charge of the Wine: chiefly the *Schiras* wine, which is particularly kept for the King, who seldom drinks any other. Nor can any

any particular perſon in *Sebiras* make Wine till the Court be firſt ſerv'd, and that with the leave of the *Chiratégi-Baſhi*; there being none but the *Franks* and *Jews* that make it.

The *Meſheal-Baſhi* is the chief of the Torch-bearers; who furniſhes the Court with Candles, which are all of Wax. To this *Meſheal-Baſhi* belong all the fines of thoſe that play at Cards or Dice, the Law of *Mahomet* forbidding all Games of hazard. This Officer has ſeveral inferior Officers under him, who go from place to place to ſpy where they can find any perſons at play: and he has power to break open any houſe, unleſs the Maſter be of great Quality.

The *Kahuergi-Baſhi* is he that has care of the *Kahué*, the Roſe-water, and other diſtillations which the *Perſians* drink; as *Bilmiſhe*, made of the buds of brown Sallows.

The *Kara-Setaſhe* is the King's Chirurgeon, or Barber, who lets him Blood, and ſhaves his Head; and cannot part with his place to another.

The *Capigi-Baſhi* is the great Porter, who has under him ſeveral other Officers.

The *Melikulrugagear* is he that has charge of the Stuffs for the King's Houſhold, and puts them out to the Taylors. He takes an account of the ſhreds and old habits, which ſerve to make Cloathes for the Souldiers, deducting for them out of their pay.

The *Gelander-Baſhi* is the chief of the Foot-men.

The *Mir-abé*, or the Prince of the Seals, is the Superintendent of the Seals; and for profit, is one of the beſt employments in the Kingdom. He has the ſale of the Canal-water to the Country-men; for which he makes the Farmers pay a ſevere rate.

The *Karkone* is the Houſe for the Royal Manufactures, where the Gold and Silver-Carpets are made, as alſo thoſe of Silks and Worſted, together with Tiſſues, Velvet, and Taffeta's. There are other Workmen that make Coats of Mail, Bows, Arrows, Scimitars, and other Arms. In other Apartments are Limners that paint in Water-colours; Lapidaries, and Goldſmiths, that only make Silver-Rings. For in regard the *Perſians* cannot ſay their Prayers when they have any Gold about 'em, they never wear Jewel or Ring of Gold, becauſe it would be troubleſome to pull 'em off, and lay 'em up ſo many times a-day. And therefore the King of *Perſia* cauſes all his Jewels to be ſet in Silver, as we ſet all our Stones in Gold. As for working Goldſmiths, they have none in *Perſia*; all their Gold and Silver-Plate being wrought by the Copper-ſmiths in round figure, for they have not the art to frame an Oval.

The *Nakkaſhe-Baſhi* is the Serjeant-Painter, who only works in miniature; they cover their Pictures with a Varniſh made of Maſtich ſteep'd in a certain Oil that diſtils from a Rock that points upon the *Caſpian*-Sea not far from *Shamatri*. It diſtils out of the Rock at firſt like water; but afterwards it thickens till it become as thick as Sallet-Oil, preſerving ſtill its whiteneſs. There are alſo three other Rocks not far from the former, from whence this Oyl diſtils; but it is thicker, and of darker colour.

The *Negeach-Baſhi* is the chief of the Joyners.

The *Embardar-Baſhi* has the charge of the King's Granaries, and other Proviſions, having ſeveral Officers under him.

The *Odondar-Baſhi* is the Maſter of the Wood-yard.

The moſt part of theſe Officers have their diet in the King's Houſe, or elſe an allowance of Diet from thence.

The *Tuſhemal-Baſhi* is the Clerk of the Kitchen. He orders what ſhall be ſerv'd up to the King, and when the Table is clear'd, he ſticks his Knife in the beſt diſh, and orders it to be carri'd home to his own Houſe.

Now for the Officers of War, the principal are; Firſt, the *Sepeh-Salar*, *Generaliſſimo* of the King of *Perſia*'s Armies, who is never conſtituted but in time of War; which being ended, his employment ceaſes. His place in Council is immediately next to the *Athemadoulet*.

Now in regard the Militia is divided into three ſorts, there are alſo three Generals. The three Bodies of the Militia are the *Corſchis*, the *Goulams*, and the *Tufenlegis*.

The

The *Corſchis* are deſcended from a forreign race, which have ſtill a great repute for their Valour. Theſe people live in Tents, like the *Turcomans*; and they ſend their Youth betimes to the King. They furniſh their Youth alſo with all neceſſaries, and maintain them till they come to be taken notice of by the King. They are all Horſe-men, well paid, and well look'd to, and are many times advanc'd to the Supreme Dignities of the Kingdom. They are generally call'd *Keſel-Baſhi*, or *Red-heads*, becauſe that formerly they wore red Bonnets. It is ſaid that the King has about 22000 of theſe *Corchis* in pay, all good Souldiers, that do wonders in Battel. *Sha-Abbas* the firſt did what he could to aboliſh this Militia, and to ſet up the *Goulams* in their ſtead. His hatred againſt them was only becauſe he thought them too powerful; for he was wont to ſay to his Favourites, that nothing but the Puiſſance of the *Corchis*, could oppoſe the Royal Power. Thereupon he took away ſome of their Priviledges, and gave them to the *Doulams*; but he could not bring about his deſign any farther.

The General of the *Corchis* is call'd *Corſchi-Baſhi*, and ought to be one of their Body; nor can the King impoſe another upon them. The *Mim-Baſhi* commands a thouſand Men, the *Yux-Baſhi* commands a hundred, and the *Om-Baſhi* commands ten. The *Corſchi-Baſhi* has 150 *Tomans* a year; the *Mim-Baſhi* ſixty-two; the *Yuz-Baſhi* thirty, and the *Om-Baſhi* fifteen. The pay of every Horſe man is from nine to fifteen *Tomans* a year. Beſides, every year the King makes a general Muſter, and then he gives to the *Corſchis* a third part more than their uſual pay; however, to ſome more, to others leſs, either according to favour or merit. When the King has reſolv'd to put a great Man to death, he commits the execution of his command to a *Corſchi*.

The *Gouler-Agaſi* is General of the *Goulams*, or Slaves. For indeed they are either Slaves, or the Sons of Slaves of all ſorts of Nations, who do the King very good Service. They are for the moſt part runnegade *Georgians*; and there are about 18000 of theſe *Goulams*, being all Horſe-men whoſe pay is from five to eight *Tomans* a year. The *Corſchis* are very good Husbands; but the *Goulams*, as ſoon as they have receiv'd their pay, fall a drinking and ſwaggering; whereas the other, if he has a *Piaſter* to ſpare, will buy a Sheep with it: For in regard they live in Tents, their Riches conſiſts in Flocks. The greateſt part of the Court of *Perſia* is made up of theſe two Bodies. The *Goulams* have this peculiar to themſelves, that they are very rarely known to revolt. For being all Slaves, and of different Nations, there are no ties of Affection or Kindred between them: And if the King has an occaſion to puniſh any of them, the chief of their Body is to execute his orders. The *Goulams* carry no other Arms beſides a Bow and Arrows, with a Skain. Though ſome wear Coats of Mail, and Head-pieces: others Vambraces and Battel-Axes. Theſe Horſe-men never entrench in the Field like ours in *Europe*, nor have they any Field-Marſhals to aſſign them quarters. For after the chief have taken up the beſt places, the reſt ſet up their Tents as neer as they can to the Pavillion of the General.

The *Tufenkgiler-Agaſi* is the General of the *Tufenkgis*, who compoſe the third Body of the Militia. This part of the Souldiery was but lately inſtituted, being compos'd of men taken from the Plough, as being moſt fit for labour. They are Foot-men with only a Scimiter and a Musket. But when they march, they have a Horſe or a Mule between three or four, to carry their Baggage and Proviſions. Their pay is not above four or five *Tomans* a year. And for their Officers, their pay is more or leſs according to their Quality and Command. They are in no great reputation, being laugh'd at by the old Souldiers, as being a company of poor Countrey-men, that dare not look an enemy in the face. Not but that the Infantry of *Perſia* is able to do good ſervice; though, as numerous as they are, the King never makes uſe of them, but in caſe of neceſſity. When he marches in perſon, he ſends for eight or ten thouſand, which he ſends for out of what Province beſt pleaſes him, and they prove very uſeful to the Army, as Sutlers. This Infantry is compos'd of the Countrey-men that live in Tents, abiding in the Mountains all the hot Summer, and betaking themſelves in the Winter to the hot Countreys. Every Tribe or Family knows how many men it ought to ſet out. And there is not a Foot-man that has not his new-Suit in his Cheſt, and his Musket and Scimiter in very good order. They are well train'd, and well diſciplin'd; for every three

three months the Governor of the Province takes a view of all the Souldiers in his Province, and cauſes them to be exercis'd in his own preſence. They are order'd to ſhoot at a mark, and they that hit it, are ſure to have ſome reward from the Governor. When the King ſends for any part of his Infantry, they preſently know who is to lead 'em; and they are luſty, and well clad, never putting on their beſt Cloathes but when they muſter, or march into the Field. They pay to the King little or nothing: for of all their Cattel great and ſmall, they pay but one in the hundred to him, and one *Abaſſi*, or 18 *Sous* of our Money.

The *Eſhek-Agaſi*, or chief of the *Keſhekſhi's*, who are the King's Guards, and carry a Musket with a very wide bore. They were but lately inſtituted by the *Athemat-doulet*, when he intended to deſtroy the *Divan-begni*. This Officer has about 2000 men under him, of which he diſpoſes every night a certain number, round about the Palace. When the King ſits in Council, he ſtands there with a Battoon in his hand, and throws himſelf to the ground when the King beckons to him to come and receive any command from his mouth. The *Topigi-Baſhi* is the Maſter of the Ordnance, and chief of the Sea-affairs, but he has little to do in either employment. For, as for the Cannon, there are only ſome two or three pittiful Guns in ſome of the Frontier-towns: And for Ships, there are none in *Perſia* but what come from *Europe* or the *Indies* to *Ormus* or *Balſara*. The *Perſians* themſelves have no other Ships than ſome few large Barks in the *Perſian*-Gulph, and in ſome parts of the *Caſpian*-Sea, where they keep a Fleet againſt the *Uſbeck Tartars*, the *Kalmoukes*, and other people.

As for the *Kans* or Governors of Provinces, they are generally choſen out of the body of *Corſchi's* and *Goulams*; who are handſom perſons, and generally much more Valiant than the natural *Perſians*. For the natural complexion of the *Perſians* is not good, as may be ſeen by the *Gaures*, the original Inhabitants of the Countrey, who are for the moſt part tann'd, and ill-ſhap'd. So that there is hardly a *Perſian*, from the King to the meaneſt of his Subjects, who is not a *Georgian*, or ſprung from the loins of *Georgians*. For they fetch a great number of Slaves out of *Georgia*; by the frequent Marriages of which women, the *Georgian* Valour and Beauty are become Natives of *Perſia*.

The *Kans* or Governors of Provinces are as ſo many petty Kings, fear'd and reſpected by all the people. And when they are ſettl'd, they are never depos'd, but upon repeated complaints of their exceſſive Tyranny. There are ſome of theſe Governments that yield the *Kan* ſeven or eight thouſand *Tomans*. But they are bound to preſent the King every year at *Nouruz*, or New-year-tide.

Under the *Kans* there are alſo Governors of leſſer quality, who are alſo immediately preferr'd by the King, and cannot be depos'd by any perſon but himſelf. If they abuſe their Authority, the complaints brought againſt him are firſt carri'd to the *Kan*, which, if they concern the Government of the Kingdom, the *Kan* is bound to inform the King thereof. But if the complaints are not conſiderable, then the *Kan* may do Juſtice himſelf, and make the *Sultans* know their duty.

There is yet a third ſort of Governors, call'd *Aſephs*, who are the King's Lieutenants in places where he had *Kans* in former times; or where he ought to have them ſtill, but only to ſave charges. For in the Provinces where *Kans* Govern, they and their Officers, almoſt equalling in name and number the Officers of the King's Houſhold, devour all the profits of the Province, but what the *Kan* is oblig'd annually to pay.

By what I have wrote as well concerning the King's Houſhold, the Governors of his Provinces, and the Officers of his Army, it may be eaſily concluded that the King of *Perſia*'s Court is the moſt magnificent and glorious of all the Courts of *Aſia*; and beſides, that it is the moſt Polite and Civil of all the *Orient*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the second Order, containing all those that belong to the Ecclesiastical Law, and their Courts of Justice; and, in general, of all the Gown-men; such as are chiefly the Officers of the Chamber of Accounts.

THE second of the three Estates of *Persia* comprehends the Gown-men, such as are the Doctors of the Law, the Officers of Justice, and those of the Chamber of Accounts.

As the *Athemat-doulet* is the Prime Minister in Temporals, the *Sedre* is the Prime Minister in Spirituals, and the High-Priest of the Law. However, he does not pretend to take place before the *Athemat-doulet* either in Council, or in the publick Ceremonies. There is this difference between the *Sedre* and the *Mufti* in *Turkey*, that in *Persia*, Ecclesiastical Dignities are no bar from Civil Employments; so that the *Sedre* is many times made *Athemat-doulet*.

The Dignity of *Sedre* is not limited to one single person, but may be divided between two, in regard there are two sorts of Legacies, the one from the King's of *Persia*, the other from particular persons. Therefore for the more careful Superintendency over these two sorts of Legacies, there are sometimes two *Sedres* appointed. The one is call'd *Sedre-Kras*, particular or peculiar *Sedre* who manages all the Revenues of the Royal Foundations, and distributes them to the *Mullahs* and Students according to their merit. The other is call'd *Sedre-el-mankoufat*, who has the management of private Foundations. In the year 1667 the King created two *Sedres*, and marri'd them to two of his Sisters.

The *Sedre* has two men under him, whose Authority is almost equal to theirs. The one is call'd *Sheik-el-selom*, and the other *Cadi*: and these are they that decide all controversies in Religion, judge of Divorces, make Contracts and publick Acts. These two Dignities are in the King's nomination: and in all the principal Cities of the Kingdom there are two of these Ecclesiastical Judges for all matters that concern the Law.

To every *Mosquée* there belongs a *Pichnamaz*, who is always first there before Prayers begin; and he teaches the people to Pray by learning of him, having their eyes always fix'd upon him to that end. This *Pichnamaz* is the same with him whom the *Turks* call *Iman*. The *Moullah's* are the Doctors of the Law, as are the *Hodgia's* in *Turkey*, and they are well paid out of the Legacies giv'n to the *Mosquees*, for reading every Friday, and interpreting the *Alcoran* to the people. He that reads, sits in one Chair; and he that interprets, in another, somewhat lower upon the left-hand of the Reader. They are also bound to teach the Sciences to all those that require it: And as a mark of Sanctity, they wear a great white Turbant, with a single Chamlet-habit of the same colour. Their gate is grave, and their discourse very serious; yet all this is but pure hypocrisy. When they light into any considerable company of people, they presently rise, and exhort 'em to go to Prayers. At the same time they wash their heads, their hands, and their feet, and spread a felt upon the ground, or if they are poor, a single mat. Upon this, at one end, the *Moulla* kneels, at the other lies a flat Stone about the bigness of the palm of a man's hand, which was brought from *Mecca*. Which Stones the *Moullah's* always carry about 'em; for being commanded while they are at their devotions often to kiss the ground, they rather choose to kiss a Stone brought from so holy a place, than the prophane Earth. They have a kind of a Mariners compass, which directs them punctually where *Mecca* stands, to the end they may know which way to turn when they say their Prayers. The Prayer which the *Moulla's* make, seems to be accompani'd with a great deal of zeal, and they take great notice all the while whether the company be attentive or no. Some *Persians* are so superstitious, that a *Vizir* of *Schiras* suffer'd his leg to rot off, because he would not let a Christian Chirurgeon touch him, for fear of being defil'd.

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annual Rent, which the Governors of Provinces exact with a ſevere extortion.

The *Meſtempti* and the *Memaleck* are they that value the Rent of all Lands in Demeſh, which is one of the principal charges of the *Defter Kroon*. They alſo take cogniſance of all the King's Farms, Quit-Rents, Proviſions and Expences of Receivers and Collectors. There is alſo a *Meſtempti* to value Legacies.

The *Nazar* controuls the *Meſtempti* and the *Memalek*, and his hand is requir'd to all Papers of diſpatch.

The *Deroga* or Provoſt of the *Defter-Kroon* is to proſecute and puniſh all that are guilty of falſe Receipts, or of Exaction.

Into this Office are deliver'd all the Grants and Aſſignations of the wages of the King's Officers. Every man comes and receives his own, or ſends for it to thoſe places upon which this Money is aſſign'd.

In every Village or Borough there is a *Reis*, or chief of the place, to whom the Officers apply themſelves for their Money: For ſhould they terrify the Countrey-man, he would run quite away, and pay nothing. The greateſt cheat in this Chamber of Accounts, is, that in regard the Officers keep the Roll of the Officers wages, they will give them divers Bills to receive little parcels at ſeveral places diſtant from one another, till the Sum be made up; to which trouble rather than the Kings ſervant will be put, he will give a good gratuity to the Officer to pay him all together. But becauſe the Officers are not able to ſatisfy all that come, there are certain *Thahſilders* or hoarders up of Rent, who buy for ready Money as cheap as they can, ſuch Bills as private men come to receive at the Chamber; and when they have got a good number together, they go and receive them altogether at the Chamber, and make great advantage. By this miſgovernment of the *Defter-Kroon*, ſeveral perſons are very much oppreſt. For he that has but 30 *Tomans* a year, ſhall be forc'd to give a good ſhare out of it to have the reſt in ready Money; which has been often the ruine of the *Perſian* Army, through the abuſes and defalcations put upon the poor Souldiers. During the Reign of *Sha-Abbas* the 1; and toward the beginning of the Reign of *Sha-Sefi* his Son, the Exchequer was better regulated; but when the *Perſians* come to be at Peace with their Neighbours, the King and his Lords have minded nothing leſs then the payment of the Souldiery.

The greateſt part of the Lands in *Perſia* belong to the King, and are only farm'd by private perſons. The reſt of the Lands are meaſur'd, and every Land pays ſo much a meaſure. The King alſo has a vaſt income by the Merchandizes that pay Cuſtom and Toll. The Port of *Bander Abaſſi* alone brings him one year with another, when leaſt, beſides accidents, neer upon 20000 *Tomans*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the third Eſtate of the Kingdom, comprehending the Tradeſmen and Merchants: as alſo of the Trades, Manufactures, and Commodities of Perſia.

THe Commerce of *Perſia*, as in all other Kingdoms, conſiſts in the Trade of the Country and Forraign Traffick. Only with difference, that the Country Trade is in the hands of the *Perſians* and *Jews*, the forraign Traffic in the hands of the *Armenians* only, who are as it were the Kings and the Noble mens Factors to ſell their ſilk.

As for the Handicraft trades, there are ſome Corporations that pay a certain yearly duty to the King, as Shoemakers, Cutlers, Smiths, and others. Some are free, as the Joyners and Maſons; though he get by their labour as much as others pay him in money. For when the King requires twenty Maſons for a work which is in haſt, the *Marmar Baſhi* who is their Chief, ſummons them together, and they that gave moſt are excus'd. For when the King requires twenty, he ſummons forty: and thus every man lives by his calling. The practice is the ſame with the Chief of the Joyners, and all other Trades, who are Officers pay'd by the King, and never work unleſs they pleaſe themſelves, commanding all that are under their Juriſdiction. As for Carpenters and Joyners work, the *Perſians* know little what belongs to it, which proceeds from the ſcarcity of Wood, that does not allow them materials to work upon. So that for Chains, Tables and Bedſteads, there are no ſuch things to be ſeen in *Perſia*: the Joyners buſineſs being only to make Doors and Frames for Windows, which they make very neatly of ſeveral pieces of wood joyn'd together, ſo that a man can hardly put a Tennis Ball through the holes where they put the glaſs. Nor can it be expected that the *Perſians* ſhould work like other *Europeans*, having no other Tools then a Hatchet, a Saw, and a Chizzel, and one ſort of Plainer, which a *French-man* brought among them.

Their nobler Arts are Writing, for Printers they know none. All their Books are writ'n, which is the reaſon they ſo much eſteem that Art. There was an *Armenian* who had ſet up a Printing-Preſs at *Iſpahan*, and had Printed the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, the ſeven Penitential Pſalms, and was going about to Print the whole Bible, but not having the way of making good Ink, and to avoid the ill conſequences of the Invention, he was forc'd to break his Preſs. For on the one ſide the Children refus'd to learn to write, pretending they wrote the Bible themſelves, only to get it the ſooner by heart: on the other ſide many perſons were undone by it, that got their living by writing.

The *Perſians* uſe three ſorts of hands, the firſt is call'd *Neſtaliek*, or the Set-hand; the ſecond *Shakeſte* or *Divanni*, which is their Court-hand: the third *Neskye*, or the Running-hand, very like the *Arabic*. They write with ſmall *Indian* Reeds; and ſay, that to write well, a man ought to lean ſo ſlightly upon his Pen, that ſhould a fly ſtand upon the other end it would fall out of his hand. When they write they hold their Paper in one hand to turn it according to the motion of the Pen, otherwiſe they could not make their daſhes large and free, as the Character requires. They make their Paper of Cotton Fuſtian, very courſe, brown, and of no ſtrength, for the leaſt folding tears it. They ſleek it with a ſleek ſtone, and then rub it over to make it more ſleek. Their Ink is made of Galls and Charcoal pounded together with Soot.

The *Perſians* reck'n four Languages among 'em. The *Perſian* call'd *Beliek*, that is, ſweet and pleaſing. The *Turkiſh*, call'd *Seiaſeet*, or the Rodomontado Language. The *Arabian*, to which they give the Epithite of *Feſehiſh* or Eloquent: and the fourth, call'd *Cohabet*, or the Speech of the Country people. The *Perſian* in uſe among the Gentry is compos'd almoſt of all *Arabic* words: by reaſon that the *Perſian* is very barren. But the Gibbriſh of the Country people is ſo corrupt that they in the City can hardly underſtand 'em. The *Arabian* is the Language of the Learned, in which tongue their Books are written. The Language of the Court

is *Turkish*, but much more soft and elegant then at *Constantinople*. As for the *Persian* Language, it is spoken in the Courts of the Great *Mogul*, and the Kings of *Golconda* and *Visapour*, in all which Courts a Noble man would take it for an affront to be spok'n to in the *Indian* Language.

As for their Painters they only paint in miniature, and for Birds and Flowers they will draw them indifferently: But for figures and stories they know not what belongs to any such thing.

The *Persians* are most excellent Artists for manufactures of Gold, Silk and Silver, of which their rich Carpets and Tissues are made: nor do their Gold and Silver Manufactures ever grow black or lose their luster by long wearing or lying by. There are abundance that work in Silk stuffs of all sorts, and others that make Bonnets and Girdles of Gold and Silk. Others there are whose business it is to fasi'n flowers of Gold and Silver to their Taffata's, with gum water, of which the women make Shifts and Drawers. And now they begin to make such large quantities of Taffata's, that they care not for the stuffs which are brought out of *India*, though they be much finer.

They also make great quantities of Linnen Cloth of all sorts of colours, upon which they fast'n several flowers with gum water, and some figures, though the Law forbid it. Which they learnt to do upon the *Armenians* carrying out of *Europe* some ill-favour'd cuts and pieces in distemper which they bought here without judgment: these pieces they hang before their doors, and those hollow places in the walls where they put their Quilts and Carpets when they rise.

The *Persians* are excellent Artists at Damasquing with Vitriol, or engraving Damask-wise upon Swords, Knives, and the like. But the nature of the Steel which they make use of, very much contributes to their Art, in regard they cannot perform the same work neither upon their own nor ours. This steel is brought from *Golconda*, and is the only sort of steel which can be damasqu'd. For when the workman puts it in the fire, he needs no more then to give it the redness of a Cherry, and instead of quenching it in the water as we do, to wrap it in a moist Linnen cloath: for should he give it the same heat as to ours, it would grow so hard that when it came to be wrought it would break like glass. I speak this to undeceive those people who think our Scimitars and Cut-lasses are made of steel of *Damascus*, which is a vulgar error; there being no steel but that of *Golconda* that can be Damask'd.

The *Persians* are also excellent Artists at making Bows and Arrows, and such other weapons as are us'd in that Country. As for Bridles and Sadles their Artists far exceed ours, especially in their sowing, which they do so neatly and with so much art with a kind of back-stitch, that it looks almost like an embroidery. There are an infinite number that live by dressing Seal-skins and Goat-skins, the first to make boots for the Gentry and better sort of Merchants, the latter for the poor people.

There is also a sort of earthen ware made at *Kerman* which is very fine, and being brok'n looks as white within as without. It does not endure heat so well as *Porcellane*, which has this quality, that if you powre never so hot liquor into a *Porcellane* cup, neither the foot nor the brims a-top will be any thing the warmer.

There are abundance of poor people that get their living by mending glass Tobacco-pipes, for when they are brok'n they join them together again with a certain mastic made of lime, and the white of an egg, then with a Diamond-pointed piercer they make holes in the glass, and bind the pieces together with a thin Latten-wire.

The most considerable commodities of *Persia* are the Silks which come out of the Province of *Guilan*. But there is not so much transported out of *Persia* as men imagin. For formerly great quantities of Velvets, Tissues and Taffata's were transported out of *Persia* into these parts, but now we make them better and cheaper in *Europe*.

There is also a vast quantity of flat silk transported out of *Persia* into *Turkie*, *Muscovy* and *Poland*, which the women use in embroidery: for the Colours being lively, they embroider their shifts, haukerchers, vails, and other linnen with it.

The Seal-skins and Goat-skins which are dress't in *Persia* are transported by the *Hollan-*

Hollander into *India* and *Japan*. Great quantities alſo of both are tranſported into *Muſcovy* and *Poland*.

The *Ronas*, that famous Root, of which I have already ſpoken, is tranſported over all *India*, where there is alſo a great vent of *Perſian* fruits pickl'd in Vinegar, as alſo of their ſweet waters.

Their Piſtaches grow in great abundance about *Casbin*; Almonds from the Territories of *Yesd* and *Kerman*, Raiſins from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, eſpecially from *Schiras*: And their purgative Prunes, which they call *Alonbacara*, from the Frontiers that border upon *Tartary*.

Great ſtore of Quinces candied, and boxes of Marmaled made at *Baſſara*, are thence tranſported into *India*, where they are bought up by the *Mahometans* and *Portugueſes*. For the *Banians* will eat none, for fear they ſhould by accident bury a fly in their ſtomachs.

Great ſtore of dry'd Fruits are brought out of the Country of the *Medes*, and tranſported to *Tocat*, to *Diarbequir*, *Nineveh* and *Dagdat*. Among the reſt a ſort of ſmall Apricots, very pleating to the taſte, which being boyl'd in water make a pleaſant ſyrrup, and are the only diet for the ſick in thoſe parts.

There are alſo great ſtore of painted Calicuts made in *Perſia*, which being courſe, are only worn and made uſe of by the poor, ſo that there is very little tranſported out of the Country, but what is carried into *Turkie*.

The *Perſians* alſo make a great deal of money of their Cattel; and to begin with their *Camels*, they ſell vaſt numbers of them into *Armenia* and *Natolia*. But the Governours of the Provinces are very unwilling to part with them; which very much abates the trade. For the *Turks* very highly eſteem the *Perſian Camels*, as being ſtronger than their own. They alſo ſell great ſtore of Horſes and Mules; but that trade is not ſo conſiderable, the chiefeſt part being only ſent into *India*.

As for their Sheep, 'tis a wonderful thing to ſee what prodigious numbers come out of the Province of the *Medes* and the Higher *Armenia*, and the Forraign Merchants come as far as *Tauris* and *Hamadan* to fetch them away. They drive them as far as *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*, and the greateſt part of the Mutton which is ſpent in *Natolia* and *Romania* comes out of *Perſia*, which very much enriches *Perſia* with ready mony. But when Lamb is in ſeaſon, as we travel with the Caravans, we meet at every turn with flocks after flocks, the leaſt of which conſiſts of a thouſand Lambs: and in regard there are ſome of thoſe Lambs that are weary, and lag behind, we buy them at a cheap rate, the Shepherds that are not able to carry them, being glad to be rid of 'em.

Formerly the Merchant Fewellers brought ſome Turquoiſes of the old rock out of *Perſia*; but for theſe 15 years laſt paſt there have bin none found. The laſt time I was there I could only meet with three, which were but reaſonable. As for thoſe of the new rock, they are of no value, becauſe they do not keep their colour, but turn green in a little time.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Justice and Policy of the Persians.

THe Justice of the *Persians* is very exact and very speedy. Suits are determin'd upon the place without any need of Advocates or Proctors. Not but that the Officers of Justice are easie to be corrupted, but in their unjust exactions, which they carry as secretly as possibly they can, they are sooner satisfi'd then the *Turks*: and if their injustice be discover'd, upon complaint to the King they are punisht without mercy.

The *Kans* do Justice in their Provinces, as representing the Kings person. Besides that, the King has a *Divan Begui* in every City, and the *Kan* places under him a *Deroga*, who is like the Lieutenant Criminal in *France*. He has under him an *Aatas*, who is a kind of Captain of the watch; who goes about the streets in the night to hinder disorders, and carries all people to Prison that he finds abroad at unseasonable hours, if they cannot give a good accompt of themselves. There is also a *Kelonter*, that is, the chiefest or greatest, who seems to resemble the Tribune of the People among the *Romans*, or the Provost of Merchants in *France*. The *Kelonter* is only responsible to the King, who places one in every City, and it is his business to defend the People from the injustice and oppressions of the Governours.

Murther is severely punish'd, nor will money save the Criminal. When the Murtherer is tak'n, they carry him before the *Divan Begui*, who makes quick work. For he delivers him to the Parents or kindred of the person slain, who carry him to the place of execution, and without any compassion torture him to death.

I remember the *Kan* of *Sebiras* had a Favourite, who falling in love with a young *Persian* Gentleman, would needs endeavour to have the use of his body. One day meeting upon the Road together, and lying at night under the same Tent, the Favourite about midnight came to his bed side, and after many sollicitations would have forc'd him. But being violently resisted, the Favourite for madness to see him disappointed, and liable to be discover'd, stabb'd the young Gentleman to the heart, and fled to the Mountains. The Murther being divulg'd, the Mother, Widow and Sister of the young man repair'd to the *Kan* for Justice, who willing to save his Minion, offer'd them money: but they scorning his proffer, threaten'd to complain to the King. The *Kan* being thereupon constrain'd to pursue his Favourite, at length took him and sent him to *Ispahan*, telling them that he would not judge of the Affair, but refer it to the King. The Mother, Widow and Sister immediately follow'd the Murtherer to *Ispahan*; and demanded Justice of the King with that eagerness, that though the King had an inclination to have spar'd the *Kan's* Favourite for his Masters sake, he was forc'd to abandon him, and to bid them pay themselves with his blood. Immediately he was carri'd to the *Meydan*, where the Widow first stabb'd him to the heart with a Dagger, then the Mother took her turn, and after the Sister; and then holding a Cup to receive his blood, drank every one a cup full to quench the thirst of their revenge.

Nor are they so exact in the punishment of Murther only; for they punish disorders in houses of Debauchery with a proportionable strictness, of which I will give the Reader two examples. A young *Hollander*, coming to *Ispahan*, presently put himself into a *Persian* habit; and going in the evening to a house of good fellowship, met with certain *Persians*, with whom he happen'd to quarrel, and being well beaten for his pains, thought it not convenient to stay any longer where he had bin so ill entertain'd. Thereupon the *Dutch* Interpreter went and complain'd to the *Athemadoulet*, who inform'd the King. The King immediately sent for the people that had beaten the *Hollander*, and ask'd them why they abus'd a stranger? To which the others made answer that they saw no stranger, but only a man clad after the *Persian* garb. Whereupon the King told the Interpreter, that if the *Dutchman* had worn his own Country habit, his Subjects durst not have abus'd him, but as the case stood, he had no reason to punish 'em.

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One day it happen'd that there was a great hubbub in one of thoſe houſes of debauchery, where the woman had proſtituted her own Daughter. The King inform'd of it, commanded the Mother to be thrown headlong from a Tower: and that the Daughter ſhould be torn a pieces by his doggs, which he keeps, a purpoſe for ſuch chaſtiſements.

Above all things there is an extraordinary care taken for the ſecurity of the High-ways. For which purpoſe guards are ſet at convenient diſtances, who are ready to purſue upon the leaſt noiſe of a Robbery, and who examin people whence they come and whither they go. If they anſwer not as they ſhould, or trip in their Anſwers, they carry them before the next Governor. Thoſe *Radars* are ſo poſted over all *Perſia*, that you need no more then ſend to the places where they keep ſtation, to know what is become of any perſon that has committed a crime. For it is impoſſible to ſcape, all the Paſſes are ſo well guarded. If any one endeavours to travel through the Mountains or unfrequented roads, then the *Radars* who are in all places, ſeize ſuch perſons upon ſuſpition, for not taking the direct road.

As the *Caravan* was one day ſetting out from *Tauris* for *Iſpahan*, a poor fellow took an occaſion to rob a Cloak-bag during the hurly-burly of packing up, and fled croſs the fields not knowing his way: the Merchant miſſing his goods, complain'd to the Governour, who having ſought for him in vain, ſent order to the Guards of the High-ways, to make a ſtrict examination, and to ſend the perſon to him ſo ſoon as they had ſeiz'd him. In a ſhort time the Thief was conſtrain'd to forſake his Cloak-bag and to come a thwart the fields for water. Who being examin'd by the *Radars* why he came alone by ſuch a by way, and not knowing what to anſwer, was carri'd to the Governour. He was ſoon convicted and condemn'd to death, for Thieves find no mercy in *Perſia*. Only they are variouſly put to death. For ſometimes they are ty'd to a Camels tayl by the feet, and their bellies rip't open. Sometimes they are buried alive all but their heads, and ſtarv'd to death: in which torment they will ſometimes deſire a Paſſenger to cut off their heads; though it be a kindneſs forbidden by the Law. But the moſt cruel puniſhment of all, is when they ſet Thief a Horſe-back, with his extended Arms faſten'd to a long ſtick behind: then larding him with lighted Candles, they ſuffer the Candles to burn into his very bowels. Another and I met two in this miſery, who deſir'd us to haſten their deaths, which we durſt not do, only we gave them a Pipe of Tobacco according to their deſire.

As for thoſe that ſteal in Cities, they tye them by the heels to the tayl of a Camel, and rip up their bellies: and then as the Camel drags the poor creature along the ſtreets, while one goes before him crying, *The King has puniſh'd him for ſuch a crime.* If yet he be not dead, they hang him upon the next tree.

The *Radars* have little wages, which makes them uſe their Rhetorick to get what honeſtly they can out of the Travellers, to whom they tell long ſtories of their care for the ſecurity of the highways.

If it happen that a Merchant be rob'd, the Governour of the Province is to make good to the Merchant whatever he has loſt, according as he ſhall make out by his Oath or his Book. Nor dare the Governors deny ſatisfaction, fearing a complaint at *Iſpahan*. I my ſelf was rob'd of two Bales of goods, between *Lar* and *Schiras*, to the value of 1400 Piaſters, but upon complaint to the Governour upon my own oath and ſhewing him my Book, he pay'd me all my loſs in gold, and gave me a preſent in wine beſides.

The Poſts or *Shappars* are thoſe that carry the Kings diſpatches to the Governours of Provinces. When they are ſent any whither, the Kings Eſquire finds them a Horſe, and a man that runs to the end of the Stage, to bring him back again. If theſe Curriers meet a Horſeman upon the road, they have power to diſmount him, if their own be not ſo good, or be tyr'd: and the Horſeman muſt either run after his Horſe, or ſend ſome body to the end of the Stage. Sometimes theſe Curriers abuſing their power, within a quarter of an hour after they have chang'd their Horſe, if they meet another better mounted, they will take away his Horſe too. Nor dares the Horſeman reſiſt, though he be never ſo much too ſtrong, for there is no pardon for them that lay ſo much as a finger upon one of theſe *Shappars*; at other times they will pretend to take away a mans Horſe

only

only to get money. But they are forbid to deal so by the *Franks*; and I have pass'd by them, when they have said nothing to me.

Their Government in relation to Belly-timber is the best in the world. For there is a *Mohteseb*, who is the chief of the Government, whose business it is to set a rate upon all sorts of Provision, being assisted by three or four more Assessors. Every first day of the week there is a publick Proclamation of tax upon the weight of every thing. Which Assessors in the evening advise together against the next day whether to raise or abate the price before set. This order was establish'd by the great *Sha-Abbas*, and was in his reign more punctually observ'd then it has been since. By the by observe, that all provisions of belly-timber are sold by weight and not by measure: so that you may send a Child to Market; for if the Commodity be not weight, 'tis well if the buyer be satisfy'd with having his money again. For if the seller be discover'd to sell by false weights, they are led about the streets with a *Takkekolas*, or a Bonnet like a Bee-hive upon their heads, and a Bell about their necks to expose 'em first to the laughter of the people; after that they are fin'd, and receive so many drubs upon the soles of their feet.

If this good order were not observ'd in *Persia*, the poor would suffer very much. For the handicraft tradesmen that work all day in shops remote from their houses, where their wives are continually shut up, eat nothing at noon but a little fruit in season: and then in the evening when they leave work, they go to the Market and buy for their Families boyl'd or roast meat, of which there is great plenty. Therefore are they so exact, lest so many poor labouring men should be deceiv'd.

One day a Baker of the City came to the *Kan*, complaining that the Judge of the Government had set too low a price upon bread, so that he should be a great loser. To whom the *Kan* made answer, that 'twas not his business to alter the price: bidding him go to the Magistrate that was concern'd. But the Baker believing the *Kan* could do any thing, sent him a present of fifty Tomans. The *Kan* seeing the ill design of the Baker to oppress the poor people, and the ill opinion he had of him as a seller of Justice, commanded him to be carri'd to the *Piazza*, and there to be drub'd upon the soles of his feet till he pay'd the other fifty Tomans, which the *Kan* forthwith distributed to the poor, and caus'd the price of bread to be abated instead of raising it.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Manners and Customes of the Persians.

THE Manners and Customs of the people are usually correspondent to their Religion. The *Persians* never preserve the name of their Predecessors, but like the *Jews*, for distinction sake, say, such a one, the Son of such a one. When they Circumcise a Child and give him a Name, they write three or four Names like Lots in Paper, which are drawn by a Child, and which the Child draws, that is the Name of the Child. The women that are barren, swallow that which is cut from the Child, believing it will make them conceive.

The *Persians* are generally very inquisitive after the time to come, consulting their Astrologers like Oracles: The King has always two or three by him, to tell him the good or bad hour. There is an *Almanac* which is sold every year in *Persia*, which they call *Tacuim*; but is indeed an Ephemerides, containing the Longitudes and Latitudes of the Planets, the Conjunctions and Oppositions; and other such things. This *Tacuim* is full of predictions about War, Sickness and Famin. It sets the proper seasons to put on new cloathes, to let blood, to Purge, or travel, with many other instructions of the same nature. They give great credit to this *Tacuim*, and they that can get one, govern themselves in all things according to the Rules there set down. Others to know the success of their affairs, go to

a Doctor of the Law, and deſire him to open the *Al-couran*, and to tell them the iſſue of their buſineſs. Thereupon the Doctor muttering ſome ſtrange words, opens the Book, and if he meets with affirmative commands, he declares the undertaking ſhall proſper. If negatives, he diſſwades from the enterprize. I remember a Gardiner belonging to the Capuchin Friers, would needs go to one of thoſe *Moullah's*, to know whether he ſhould get by an Ox that he was about to buy. Whereupon the *Moullah* aſſur'd him he ſhould reap great profit by his bargain: but quite contrary, the Ox dy'd upon his hands within three days, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Gardiner. When a Capuchin tax'd the *Moullah* for the falſities of his pretended Art, the *Moullah* reply'd, that God knew that the Gardiner would ſpend his Money upon lewd Women, and therefore took from him the means and ſupport of his debauchery.

Alcouran is the Book of the Law, ſo entitl'd for its excellency, as we ſay, the Bible.

They alſo uſe a ſort of divination, which is call'd *Rambé*, by even or odd, the Maſters of which myſtery, call'd *Rammals*, keep Shops on purpoſe to delude the people. When they ſee people coming, they have perſons ſuborn'd on purpoſe; who holding out their hands ſhut, ask the *Rammal* what he thinks they have in their hands. The Rammal at firſt ſeems to be at a ſtand; throwing certain Dice, call'd *Kiabetain*, the ſpecks whereof are ſome even, ſome uneven; but when there are people anough gathered together, he tells point by point how many ſpecks his fellow-Cheat has in his hands. Who counterfeiting aſtoniſhment, encourages the poor ſilly creatures that ſtand gazing, to ſpend ſomething for a lye which they ſell them. They alſo make uſe of the *Faal*; which is to open a Book, and by numbers even or odd, to prognoſticate good or bad fortune. In their interpretation of dreams, the Interpreter foretells the future to him that enquires conformable to what he ſays he ſaw in his dream. He has a great Book lying before him, full of little Pictures and *Groteſco*-work, wherein he ſtrives to ſhew the people ſome Fantaſm or Apparition, which they will tell you they ſaw in the night. Theſe cheats are uſually practis'd about the Palace, where all the idle people flock together; as alſo upon the Road to *Zulpha*, where they lye upon the Road to catch the ſilly Paſſengers.

The *Perſians* are mightily addicted to ill language, and foul-mouth'd reproaches. So that when two men fall out, inſtead of fighting with their fiſts, they fight with their tongues, and curſe one another. But they never blaſpheme God: for if they ſhould hear one ſwear, or wiſh themſelves at the Devil, they would cry out in an aſtoniſhment, *Is not that Fellow a fool to give himſelf upon truſt to the Devil, and renounce Paradiſe?* When they would affirm any thing to be true, all their Oaths are *Ser-azize-ſha*, *By the King's beloved head*; or, *Erva pigumbir*, by the Spirit of the Prophet. I remember once at *Galata*, walking with ſome of the *French* Embaſſador's Servants, we ſaw two *Turks* at Cuffs; after they were parted, one of them gave the other a thouſand curſes; to which, the other reply'd no more than only this; I wiſh, ſaid he, thy Soul may have no more repoſe in Paradiſe, than the Hat of a *French*-man has in this World, alluding to our manner of ſalutation, and putting off our Hats ſo often as we do.

The *Perſians* are naturally great Diſſemblers and Flatterers; and they make it their ſtudy to acquire eſteem and applauſe. They love to give and receive Preſents: more eſpecially to preſent the King. Which Preſents are valu'd, and according to the eſtimate, they muſt ſend ten *per cent.* to the Serjeant Porter, and five *per cent.* to his Deputy: which, if they do not pay willingly, they are forc'd to pay: which I ſaw the Deputy of the *Holland*-Company forc'd to do.

The Luxury and the Expences of the *Perſians* is exceſſive, as I have in ſeveral places obſerv'd. And though it be againſt the Law of *Mahomet* to make uſe of Gold or Silver-plate, which ſets aſide that metal only for Commerce and for Money; none but the poor obſerve that Law, for the rich make no ſcruple to tranſgreſs it.

The *Perſians* are very much accuſtom'd to make mutual Viſits one to another at their ſolemn Feſtivals, and to wiſh one another good cheer, and a merry ſeaſon. The more noble ſort ſtay at home to expect the Viſits of their Inferiors; after that they get a Horſeback, and return their Viſits. The *Curtiſans* continue their Viſits all the year long, and going to the Noble-mens Houſes, ſtay in the great Hall till they come out of their *Harams*. Whither, when the Noblemen come,

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Baths after they have been with their Wives; and there are some so superstitious as to go there every day. These Baths are round Chambers, so close, that there is no light but what comes from little round windows made in the top of the roof. In the first place, there is the *Krasino*, which is a Chamber seven or eight foot square; where, in the middle of the Room, is a great Copper plate, in the form of a flat Bason, and underneath they make a fire of Brushes or Horse-dung: so that the Plate heats all the water which is in the Chamber: When it is hot enough, a servant belonging to the Bath goes up to the Terras, and winds a horn, to give notice to them that have a mind to come. Should a *Persian* or a *Mahumetan* miss once in eight days, he would feel an itching all over his body not to be endur'd. For the pores, which the heat of the Bath had open'd, coming to be shut, the vapours of the body not able to get out, prick and tickle the skin. The Men go early in the morning, and stay till two hours after Sun-rising. At the entry of the Bath is the place where they undress; and when they are stript all but the secret parts, which they cover with a napkin, they pour hot water upon their shoulders: and then comes a man and rubs off all the sweat and filth of the Body with a coarse Cloath; after which they plunge themselves into a Reservatory of hot water, which they call *Kolletain*. But these common Baths are very dangerous, and many people of both Sexes have got the foul Disease, who were never addicted to impurity.

There are also in *Persia* hir'd people, which they call *Saka's*, whose business it is to give water to the people as they go along the Streets. Their Barbers are very neat, and surpass ours for lightness of hand; for a man can hardly feel their Rasors. They have also a Knite to pare the nails of the hands and feet, which they do very dextrously. As for their Beards, those that belong to the Law cut it with Seissers, but they leave it not so long as the *Turks* do, by much. But the Courtiers and Souldiers shave all off, except from their upper-lips, where they take it for a mark of great honour to wear long *Mustaches*, which they say is the ornament of the face.

The habit of the *Persians* is a Robe which they call *Cabaye*, that comes down a little below their knees. This is of very fine quilted Cloath, well cotton'd in the Winter, but much thinner in the Summer. These Linnens would be very cheap, but that the Persons of Quality change their Robes every day. Their Sleeves are long, and close to their arms, and reaching as far as the wrist. The Robe is fit to their Bodies as far as the Wast; but then it is made wide and loose. Over this they wear a noble Girdle of Silk, adorn'd at the end with flowers of Gold, over which they wear another Girdle of fine *Kerman* wool. The richer sort are so vain as to wear three Girdles, two of Silk, and one of *Kerman*-wool, which is ty'd uppermost. Under the Robe or Vast they wear a short Wastcoat of flower'd Fustion quilted, their Shirts being of Silk of divers colours. They use as little Soap in *Persia* as they can; for Soap is very rare in *Persia*. When we come out of the *Indies*, we are forc'd to bring with us Linnen enough to serve us for six months, and then carry it back again; for they wash much better in *India* then in *Persia*. Their breeches being of Silk, come down to their Ankles, without any codpieces. Their *Sesse*, or Bonnet, which we call a *Turban*, is made of a piece of fine Silk mingl'd with Gold, being in form much like our large Pompions: the top thereof is a little flat; and here it is that the end of the Silk being garnish'd with flowers of Gold and Silver, ends in a kind of Posie. These Bonnets are very heavy, especially those that are for the most part nothing but Gold and Silver. The meanest of those is worth 200 Crowns; but there are some which the King and the great Lords wear, that are worth four or five hundred. You shall seldom meet an Officer of any Quality that does not wear a rich Jewel in his Bonnet. The Courtiers and Souldiery wear their Daggars upon their stomachs, stuck in their girdles. The meanest Souldier inlays the handle and sheath of his Dagger; but the Grandees have them all beset with Pearls. There was in the handle of *Sha-Abbas* the Second's Dagger, a Diamond of above sixty Carats, which, with some other Stones that belong'd to it, was valu'd at 15000 *Tomans*, or 200000 Crowns. Over their Vest they wear a Justicoar, much like ours. It is fasten'd at the top with a button: and most usually they have nine tufted buttons before set by three and three at an equal distance: but they only

ſerve for ornament. This Juſticoar is either of Cloath, or Tiſſue; which in Winter is lin'd with *Martins*, or elſe with a grey Lambskin that comes from *Koraſan*. And indeed the *Perſians* love diverſity of colours in their habits: for their Juſticoar is of one colour, their Veſt of another, their Breeches of another; and their Shooes, eſpecially the Womens are green, red, yellow, or violet. The Girdle and *Turban* are always of ſtrip'd Stuff, unleſs it be the *Moullah's*, which are always plain.

Beſides all this, in the Winter they wear a long Cloak down to their heels, with ſleeves of the ſame length, lin'd with rich Furs. The Perſons of Quality, and ſome of the meaner ſort of people make no more of Cloath of Gold and Silver, then we do of Druggets. A man that has but ſeven or eight *Tomans* a year, ſhall ſpend five in Cloaths; which exceſs in habit is crept down among the Rabble, ſo that a man can hardly tell the Servant from the Maſter. And it is a Proverb among the *Perſians*, *Gorbebé Lebas*, fine Cloaths make Men eſteem'd at Court. Neither *Sha-Abbas* the Second, nor his Grandfather *Sha-Abbas* the Firſt, would allow of this diſorder, but that Men ſhould go clad according to their conditions. For one day, ſeeing one of his Servants with a pair of Cloath of Gold-breeches, demanded what wages he had? but when he underſtood that it was nothing neer ſufficient to maintain him at that rate; to deter others from the like vanity, he order'd him ſo many *Baſtinadoes* upon the ſoles of his feet, that he dy'd in a few days. Others ſay that the Fellow being ſurpriz'd at the King's Queſtion, made him anſwer, that being troubl'd with the Gout, he had been adviſ'd to wear that ſort of Stuff for its warmth. To which the King reply'd, that he had been told a very bad remedy, and that he would ſhew him a better and a ſhorter way to cure the Gout, and ſo commanded him to be drubb'd, as before is related.

In regard it is very cold in *Perſia*, they make uſe of three ſorts of Furs. The Lamb and Fox's skin for the meaner ſort, together with the Cat's and Fox's skin. But the third ſort, which is the *Martin's* Fur, is for Grandees of the Court, and other Perſons of high Quality. They have alſo a way to make Caſſocks that will keep out the rain, the wind, and the cold, which are made of *Kerman*-wool, as our Felt-makers make their Hats.

And now I have ſaid 'tis cold, give me leave to tell ye how they warm themſelves. In all Houſes there are little Chambers, in the middle whereof there is a ſquare hole about a foot deep, and three or four foot long, according to the bigneſs of the Chamber. Over the hole is a thing like one of our *Tabourets*, which covers the hole with a large Carpet, to keep in the heat of that which is kindl'd in the hole; ſo that being plac'd under the *Tabouret* as far as the waſt, though as cold as ice before, in a minute you ſhall be almoſt in a ſweat, and be ready to fall a-ſleep, if you take not a great care. All the Nobility have Chambers with Chimneys, where they ſet the Wood upright; the Mantle-tree comes forward, low, and ſemi-circular. It is two or three foot deep, and as many wide, to avoid ſmoaking.

They are full of their Compliments, which they call *Travezes*: and their manner of ſalutation is quite different from ours. For they never uncover their heads, but bow, and lay their right-hand upon their breſts. When they come into the company of their Betters, they fall upon their knees to ſet themſelves upon their heels, which is a mark of reſpect.

The Women in *Perſia* are very richly habited; but their habit is all of a piece, though little different in ſhape from the Mens. It is open before and comes not down below the calf of the leg. Their Girdle is not ty'd faſt, but hangs careleſly: their Sleeves are alſo cloſe to their arms, and reach to their wriſts. Upon their heads they wear a little Bonnet rais'd like a little ſpire, and adorn'd with precious Stones, according to their Quality; from which Bonnet falls a veil behind, which is very graceful. They wear Breeches like the men, and their Shooes are almoſt like theirs. The Women of *Ormus* wear only a ſingle pair of Breeches with a ſhift over them. The *Armenian* Women wear beſides, a little Juſticoar without ſleeves, and upon their heads, a fine Linnen-Coif ty'd under their chins. Their hair is gather'd into a long treſs, to which they ſometimes add more, which is falſe, to make a long lock, that is done

up

up in a Velvet or Sattin-Caſe embroider'd, and hangs behind down to the waſt.

Handſome Women are very plentiful in *Perſia*, as well the tawny as the white. For the Merchants that bring both from all parts, chooſe the handſomeſt they can pick out. The white Women are brought from *Muſcovia*, *Poland*, *Circaſſia*, *Mengrelia*, *Georgia*, and the Frontiers of *Tartary*. The black from the coaſt of *Melinda*, and the Red-Sea.

The *Perſian* Women are ſeen by none but their own Husbands. They are very idle in their Houſes, not ſo much as looking after any thing of Houſewifery. Indeed every thing is at the Husband's diſpoſal, ſo that the Women are rather Slaves then Wives. They ſpend their time in taking Tobacco, after ſeveral faſhions. When they go to the Baths, ſhe's the Woman that wears the beſt Clothes, and brings the beſt Collation. They that have Slaves, cauſe 'em to rub their arms, their legs, and their thighs, till they fall aſleep; having no other divertiſement in their voluptuous Priſon. The higher a man is in dignity, the more he glories in having a great number of Wives and Slaves; and his abſolute power keeps them in order either willingly, or by conſtraint.

There are two ſorts of Eunuchs for the guard of the Sultaneſſes and the Wives of the Nobility: Some are white, but they never come neer the Women, but are order'd to guard the firſt doors of the *Harem*. The others are black, frightful to look upon, and flat-nos'd: who attend only upon the Women. If there be a neceſſity for a Woman of Quality to go abroad, the Eunuchs go before and behind with Battoons in their hands, to make the *Corronk*, and drive all the people out of the way. When the King goes into the Countrey, if any one be aſleep in the high-way, and be perceiv'd before he wakens, he is immediately cut to pieces as he lies. In the time of *Sha-Abbas* the Second, one of the Fellows that help'd to ſet up the Womens Tents, being weary, fell aſleep in one of them upon the ground. When the Women came, they, ſeeing a man aſleep, ſet up a ſhrieking; upon which, the Eunuchs coming in, wrapt up the Fellow in the Carpet as he lay, and carrying him into the Fields, buried him alive, Carpet and all.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Diſeaſes of Perſia, *and the manner of curing them.*

THE *Perſian* Children are ſeldom ſick of the ſmall-Pox, but in lieu of that, they are very ſubject to Scald-pates, till ten or twelve years old. Which, it may be, proceeds from their ſhaving ſo young, and ſo often: for they ſhave at five or ſix months old, and two or three times a week.

As to the Pox, the *Perſians* would be more troubl'd with it, but that the dry Air of the Countrey is an enemy to it: beſides, they never lye twice with the ſame Woman, without going to the Bath to ſweat out the venom of that diſtemper. As for the Gout, or Gravel, the *Perſians* know not what it means: But the *Armenians* are troubl'd with the latter, eſpecially thoſe that in their youth accuſtom'd themſelves to drink more Wine then Water.

To thoſe that are troubl'd with the Cholick, they uſually preſcribe the eating of Horſe-fleſh: and I have ſeen many cur'd by that means.

Generally the *Perſians*, eſpecially the rich, or thoſe that have wherewithal to live handſomely, are much leſs ſubject to Sickneſs then the people of *Europe*. Some take the reaſon to be, becauſe of their *China*-drink which they drink every Spring, boyling an ounce in three pints of water, and ſo continuing the Doſe for ten or twelve days one after the other: all which time they keep a very moderate diet, and eat no fruit for a month together. This drink cauſes the Patient to ſweat; and the ſweat being wip'd off, dyes the Linnen, nay the very walls of the Chamber of a yellow colour. As for any method of Phyſick, they have none in *Perſia*.

For the *Dyſentery*, they take ſower Curdl'd-milk, with Rice unbruis'd boyl'd in water, to which they add a little Rhubarb powder'd.

At the beginning of a Diſeaſe they forbid Bread, and inſtead thereof preſcribe Rice boyl'd in Hen-broath, or ſometimes in fair water. For diet is the chief Remedy which the Phyſitians preſcribe in all Diſeaſes, and account moſt ſoveraign. Indeed the remedy is well preſcrib'd in many diſtempers; however it is by them never preſcrib'd according to reaſon or method, but only according to cuſtom; whereby it often comes to paſs that they forbid that which is good, and preſcribe that which is bad. If the Patient be ſo poor as not to be able to ſend for a Phyſitian, two or three men ſet him upon an Aſs, with a Scarf about his neck, which denotes him to be a ſick perſon, and ſo lead him to the Phyſitian; who preſently feels his Pulſe, lets him Blood, and by and by taking his Pen in his hand, in a ſmall piece of Paper preſcribes more Hog-waſh at one ſtroke, then three mens bellys are able to contain.

When a Phyſitian is call'd to a Conſultation, he pretends not to take any Money: But his *Atar* or Apothecary finds a way to have the Doctor ſatisfi'd for his pains. They never permit the Sick to change their Linnen, how nafty ſoever it be. When they come home to the Patient, though they find him ready to expire, they tell the Servants that he will certainly recover; but then, on the other ſide, they go to the Parents or Kindred of the Patient, and tell them that the Patient is in a deſperate condition, and cannot live. By this means they ſave their credit; for happen what will, they have told truth either of the one ſide, or the other.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the diviſion of Time among the Perſians.

THE *Perſians* divide the natural day into four parts. The firſt is from Sun-riſing to Noon; the Second from Noon to Sun-ſet: The third from Sun-ſet till Midnight; and the fourth from Midnight till Sun-riſe. At Midnight, Morning, and Sun-ſet, they make a moſt horrible din in every great City, of Kettle-Drums, Haut-boys, Latten-Baſons, and other Inſtruments: upon which there are certain men hir'd to play for a quarter of an hour together, in ſome place where they may be heard all over the City. They have alſo great Cornets, about ſeven foot long, with deep mouths, which may be heard above half a league. But theſe Cornets are never us'd but in Cities where the *Kans* or Governours reſide. Theſe Inſtruments are alſo always employ'd at their great Solemnities; as alſo when the King creates any new Officer or Governour. Theſe Inſtruments have alſo a priviledg to play at all Houſes where they underſtand there is a Male-child born. The meaner ſort dare not refuſe 'em; but the Nobility value not their priviledg of a ſtraw.

The *Perſians* in the computation of time make uſe of Lunar-months. The firſt *Moutharrem*, the ſecond *Cepher*, the third *Rebia-el-Avel*, the fourth *Akher*, the fifth *Gemadil-Avel*, the ſixth *Gemadil-Akher*, the ſeventh *Regeb*, the eighth *Shaabon*, the ninth *Ramezan*, the tenth *Shaval*, the eleventh *Zikadè*, the twelfth *Zilhagge*. And every Month begins from the firſt appearance of the *Creſcent*.

In their Aſtronomical Accounts, and the Calculations of the Longitude and Latitude of the Planets for the compoſing their Almanacks, they make uſe of Solar-months, thus call'd: *Azar* 31 day. *Onzon* 30 days. *Ajar* 31. *Harizon* 30. *Temouzè* 31. *Ab* 31. *Eiloul* 30. *Techrion-el-Avel* 31. *Techrion-el-ilani* 30. *Kanon-el-Avel* 31. *Kanon-Elſani* 31. *Shaabat* 28 or 29, anſwering to our *February*. The firſt month *Azar* begins upon our eleventh of *March*: ſo that it anſwer'd to our month of *March* before the *Gregorian* Reformation. Therefore they call this month *Mah-Roumi*, or the *Roman* month. They alſo make uſe of the *Egyptian* months, which are thus call'd, *Terverdin*, *Erdi-be-hoſt*, *Kourdad*, *Tir*, *Mordad*, *Sheriver*, *Mobré*

Mohré, *Abon*, *Azer*, *Dei*, *Bahmen*, *Eſpendarmouzé*. The firſt month, *Ferverdin*, begins with the Vernal Equinox, every month not containing above 30 days, adding the five which remain to the end of the year, which they call *Kramſi Monſterelzé*.

The day of the *Vernal Equinox* is the firſt day of the year, which they call *Neozauze*, and is one of their Principal Feſtivals. For that day all the Grandees appear at Court, and preſent the King according to their quality. If they can meet with nothing that is rare, they preſent him in Ducats of Gold, and there are ſome that preſent him to the number of ten Thouſand. They alſo give God thanks for preſerving them to ſee the new year, and for preſerving the fruits of the Earth from bad ſeaſons, for the Corn is by that time well come up. Upon this firſt day of the year, if a *Perſian* has not money to buy him a new habit, he will go and mortgage his own body to have one. So proud and luxurious are the *Perſians* from the higheſt to the loweſt.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Feaſts and ordinary Diet of the Perſians.

THe *Perſians* are nothing eager after delicacies or dainties; both the nobler and the meaner ſort being very temperate in dyet. In regard that wood is ſo ſcarce and dear about *Iſpahan*, they never eat boyl'd meat above once a day: and as for their Dinner which they call *Shate*, it conſiſts of bread, cheeſe-curds, milk, burnt wine, melons and other fruits in ſeaſon, to which the rich add wet and dry ſweet-meats: At night their uſual food is *Pilaw* and roſt meat. They buy their Proviſion from hand to mouth, eſpecially the *Mahumetans*, which is a double charge. But for the *Armenians*, they live thriftily, and buy at once a good quantity of proviſions to laſt for ſo long time.

Muttons, Kidds, Pullets and Pidgeons, are the uſual dyet of the *Perſians*; for as for Beef they very rarely eat it. The King and the great Lords will eat a piece of a Hare ſometimes when they have been a hunting; but when they have kill'd a wild Boar, they ſend it always to ſome Chriſtian, in expectation to be preſented for the honour done him. They have no diverſity of Victuals or made Diſhes in *Perſia*, their dyet being more proper to ſatisfie hunger, then to pleaſe a nice palate. Mutton and Lamb would be very good in *Perſia*, if they knew how to roaſt it our way. But the *Perſians* roaſt only at an oven, which is a hole made in the ground two foot and a half broad, and five or ſix foot deep. They burn nothing but buſhes, and a kind of Turf mix'd with the dung of Cattel, and dry'd in the Sun. There are ſeveral roaſting Cooks at *Iſpahan*, that roaſt a whole Sheep at a time where he that comes to buy may have as much cut out as he pleaſes. Other Cooks ſhops are only for boyl'd meat or rice: their fruits which they pickle up in Vinegar being the only ſawce which they have.

As for their Bread it is very white, for they have wheat enough to furniſh the whole Kingdom. They bake every day, making up their Dow in the form of a thin Cake, ſtrow'd over with *Seſamum*. They bake theſe Cakes in their Ovens in the ground, covering the batch over with little round flint ſtones, that are quickly hot and retain the heat. At *Iſpahan* they make a great fire in an earthen pot, and when it is hot they ſpread the Dow againſt the ſides of the pot. The *Armenians* make a ſort of bread as thin as Paper, which they bake upon a thin Iron plate which is as thin as Paper. Their Plate and Diſhes are of red Copper tinn'd within ſide. For they are forbid to make uſe of Silver by the Law of *Mahomet*. Nor does the King uſe any other then Gold Plate, of which he has great ſtore. They have alſo a ſort of *Porcellane*-made at *Kerman*. To eat their broths they make uſe of wood'n ſpoons: for as for their rice, which is thick, they take it up in their fingers, and wipe their hands upon their handkerchiefs.

The firſt thing ſet upon the Table is the Pipe, the Tobacco, and the diſh of

Coffee;

Coffee; and indeed thus it is that they begin all their debauches. They ſuck and ſmoak of their Tobacco through water in a long glaſs bottel, by which means it comes cool into their mouths: elſe they would never be able to take it all day long as they do. They ſing very little in their Cups: but they recite a vaſt number of wicked Verſes, which they rehearſe with a great deal of gravity. They are ſo accuſtomed to take Tobacco, both men and women, that a poor tradeſman that has not above five *Sous* to ſpend, will lay out three of them in Tobacco. If they had none, they ſay that they ſhould not have *damaque*, that is, gladneſs in their hearts. Many will confeſs that their exceſſive taking Tobacco is hurtful; but if you tell 'em of it, they anſwer in a word, *Adedehoud*, *'Tis the cuſtome.*

Beſides their Tobacco they have alſo *Opium* made of Poppies, cut as they grow, out of which they draw the juice and make it into Pills. They take no more at firſt then the head of a pin, increaſing their doſe by degrees, till they come to take the quantity of half a wall-nut. When they are come to that pitch they dare not give over, for fear of endangering their lives, or addicting themſelves to drink wine. In their youth you ſhall ſee theſe *Theriakis* or *takers of Opium*, with pale penſive and dejected countenances, and the uſe of their ſpeech almoſt loſt: If they omit to take for a day together this ill-continued drug that heats their brains, and cauſes them to act ridiculouſly and to talk idly, when it has done working, they are as cold and ſtupid as before, which obliges 'em to take it again. For this reaſon they are ſhort liv'd: or if they do live till forty, they complain heavily of the pains that proceed from the cold venome of the herb. They that have a mind to kill themſelves, ſwallow a large piece, and drink Vinegar after it, to prevent the relief of any other Counterpoyſon, and ſo they dye ſmiling.

They have another ſort of drink to make themſelves merry, which thy call *Kokemaar*, compos'd of boyl'd Poppy ſeed. They take it in broth, and there are particular houſes call'd *Kokemaar Krone*, where people meet to divertiſe thoſe that ſee the ridiculous poſtures which that intoxicating drink cauſes them to ſhew. Before it works they quarrel with one another, and call one another all to naught, but never fight. When the drug begins to work, they grow friends; and ſome are for making complements, others for telling a long tedious ſtory, which renders them very vain. They have alſo another ſort of liquor, which is call'd *Bongue*, very bitter, being made of the leaves of Hemp and ſome other drug mix'd with it. It makes thoſe that uſe it ſhamefully fooliſh and ridiculous, which is the reaſon the Law has forbid that and not the former. The *Uzbecks* have brought into *Perſia*, the Cuſtome of taking in Pipes *Tchourherſe*, which is the flower or rather the woolly ſubſtance which is found in hemp-cloſes. This fills the heads with ſtrange conceits, ſometimes pleaſant and ſometimes furious; thoſe that take it being quite beſides their ſences for two or three hours.

Their Feaſts are thus order'd: The gueſts come in the morning to the houſe whither they are invited and all the day long they ſpend their time in taking Tobacco and telling ſtories. Between whiles they have Sweetmeats, Coffee, and Fruits ſet before them. In the evening the *Sofra* is ſpread, and the table ſerv'd with boil'd and roaſt. If the perſon that treats be of any quality, he has a kind of a Governour of his houſe, that ſits upon his heels with a Ladle or great wooden ſpoon in his hand. Then the Inviter makes his complements to the chief of his gueſts, aſſuring him that the entertainment is only provided for him, only at his command he is ready to let the reſt ſhare with him. The Complements being thus paſs'd, the Governour of the Houſe with his great Spoon puts rice and meat upon the little plates, which the ſervants preſent by equal portions to every one of the gueſts. Then they fall to, taking out the rice by handfuls, and the meat with their fingers. Sometimes they mix curdl'd milk with their rice and meat, and making up a lump of all together as big as a Tennis ball, put it all in their mouths at a time, which is the reaſon they never ſit long at Table; one making room for another till they have all done: for as ſoon as one has done, another comes into his place without any farther Ceremony. They have ſeveral Liquors in the room in *Porcellain* Veſſels, but at meals they only drink to drive down their meat and to prevent thirſt. When all is done, they bring a Baſon with an Ewre full of hot water to waſh their hands and faces. After which the Inviter complements his gueſts, and every one returns home; at which time

time the servants are very diligent to bring every man his shoes, in hopes of some little piece of silver.

The *Armenians* entertain their friends in the same manner, only that they begin their Feasts with a cup of strong water, and some sweet-meats, after which they give a couple of hard Eggs to every one of the guests. The *Persians* also have soon done, but the *Armenians* eat swift, and a long time without drinking, which they never do till the end of the meal. After they have given thanks and taken away the cloth, then they fall to drinking to excess. He that gives the entertainment never thinks he has done well, till his guests are not able to find the way out of the room, and the more they tumble about the room, the less he thinks he has spent his money in vain.

To conclude, the *Persians* are very Gentile, and afford their victuals with a free-will to all that will come and eat with them at Supper time: admiring at the custome of the *Franks*, who shut their doors when they sit down to their meals.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Marriages of the Persians.

THE *Persians* betroth their Children very young, that is at nine or ten years; but among the *Armenians* there are some marry'd and lye together at five or six. The Law of *Mahomet* allows them but four lawful Wives, whom they call *Nekha*. But there are others whom they call *Amoutha* or hir'd women, and of whom they may have as many as they can keep, and for so long time as they please, which is ratifi'd by the allowance of the Judg. They may also enjoy the Slaves whom they purchase. The Children both of the one and the other are accompted lawful, and inherit all alike, without the distinction of Elder or Younger; but two Daughters can have but the share of one boy. When the womans time that was hir'd is out, the man dismisses her, and she is oblig'd to stay forty days before she engage again, that it may appear whither she be with Child or no.

The man gives to the woman that he marries a Dowry assign'd upon his Estate, and sends her money and silks to make her cloaths. The maid also sends something to him, but very little, and all by the interposition and intercourse of the women. For the two parties never see one another. Upon the wedding day, they send to the Bridegrooms house, by the sound of Drums and Trumpets, certain Horses and Men laden with the Brides goods, which is many times done out of vain-glory, and more for shew then substance. The Bridegroom is led a foot, attended by several women with Tapers in their hands, and a noise of Drums and other Instruments marching before them. Being come to the door of the Bridegrooms House, if he have promis'd a larger Dowry to the women then he is able or willing to give, he keeps his door shut. The Parents of the Maid knock, and he declares he will not have her at that price. But at length after some contests on both sides they agree, and the Virgin enters with her Mother and all her Kindred. Then the *Moullah* reads the conditions of Marriage; which being done, the women retire into the inner part of the House, the men feasting by themselves, and the women by themselves.

This is all that is done upon the Wedding-day, but the following days are not always so pleasing, and it often follows that both parties do not agree, or that the husband misuses his wife. Then the women that requires separation, requires the Dowry promis'd her by her husband: which the man oft-times refuses, and if she persists in her demand, is many times so severely us'd by him, that she is constrain'd to cry, *Pth Devils name let me go, I demand nothing of thee.* Then they both repair to the *Cafi*, or *Chefa-Lesloun*, who is a Doctor of the Law, and in his presence they discharge one another. This they may do by their Law three times.

After that, the ſame woman can never return to her Husband again.

The Children derive their Nobility from the Father, whither he be born of a Slave, or an *Amoutha*, or a Legitimate wife. The Nobility of the *Perſians* which is call'd *Negabet*, is founded upon their being deſcended from *Mahomet*. They who claim that extraction, have the title of *Mir* or Prince: and their Daughters carry the appellation of *Mirza* or Princeſs. They are very numerous and very poor. But the title of *Mir* without a good Eſtate or high Employment ſignifies little or nothing.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Death and Burials of the Perſians.

'TIs the Cuſtome among the *Perſians*, that when the Patient lyes very dangerouſly ill, they light ſeveral fires upon the Terraſs of the Houſe, togive the People notice to pray for him. So ſoon as the breath is out of his body, the whole houſe rings with cries and lamentations, eſpecially of the women who tear their hair, and ſhew ſuch antick poſtures, that a man would think them poſſeſs'd. In the midſt of their tears they make long repetitions of the worthy actions of the deceas'd, and every foot they ſet up a yelling. Then they go and advertize the *Caſi*, that ſuch a one is dead; to whom the *Caſi* anſwers *Sorchoama Salamet-Baſhet. May your head be in ſafety.* In the mean while he ſeals a Licence to the *Mourderchour*, to take the body and waſh it in a houſe which is built on purpoſe near a running water. After that come a great number of *Moullah's*, with the Enſigns of the *Moſquee*, which are long ſtaffs like Pikes, at the end whereof are thin plates of Iron and Latten, ſo weak that they bend downward with the leaſt motion: the bodies of the ſlaves being wrapt about with certain pieces of Taffata. Theſe *Moullahs* tear their throats crying out *Alla, Alla, Alla*, repeating nothing elſe, and dancing ſometimes upon one foot and ſometimes upon another; and becauſe they that baul loudeſt get the moſt money, they put their thumbs in their ears with their fingers upon their cheeks, and tear their throats with all the force they have. The body being waſh'd, the cloaths of the deceas'd belong to the *Mourderchour*. When they carry the Beire, it is the cuſtome that every one that meets it, proffers their ſhouldiers to help carry, while the others eaſe themſelves; for which the Kindred of the deceas'd make ſome acknowledgment. If he be a perſon of Quality, all his Horſes are bridl'd and ſaddl'd, and others perhaps borrow'd: One carries his Turban, another his Scimitar, another his Bow, another his Arrows, another his Buckler, and whatever elſe is of any uſe to ſet forth his Quality and his Courage. The biggeſt Church-yard that belongs to *Iſpahan*, is *Calreſton*; but there is not one handſome Tomb in it. The *Armenians* lay a great ſtone over the grave, and the rich ſet up an Arch with four Pillars, under which they eat and drink in the ſhade when they viſit the Tombs of their Anceſtors.

Their graves are ſix foot long, ſix foot deep, and two foot wide, wherein they lay the bodies with their faces turn'd toward *Mecca*; and then they ſet up two tiles of each ſide his face to keep the earth from falling upon it. If he be a rich man, or have been a ſtout Souldier, they bury with him his Turbant, Scimitar, Bow and Arrows, and ſet Victuals by him; which part of the hole being made up with bricks, the reſt is fill'd up with earth. The *Moulla's* alone return to the houſe of the deceas'd, where they have meat ſet before 'em, and are alſo farther pay'd for their ſinging and bawling. A while after the Kindred coming to viſit the Heir, diſcourſe him upon the contempt of the world, tell him that it is but as a *Caravan*, ſome of which arrive ſooner at their Journeys end then others. Eight days after the Heir returns their viſits. As for the Grandees they order in their Wills that their bodies ſhall be either carry'd to *Mecca* or *Meſhed*.

As well the *Perſians* as the *Turks*, believe that as ſoon as the grave is fill'd, that the two Angels *Negnir* and *Manguer*, revive the dead as far as his waſt; ask him the

the ſeaſon of Faith, and which way he ſaid his Prayers, and that according to his merits they uſe him well or ill. As for the torment of Souls before the Reſurrection, that only conſiſts in a grief for not having arriv'd to thoſe perfections and Sciences to which they might have attain'd, and conſequently for not having attain'd to that perfection which God requir'd of them. Others hold that the Souls of the unfortunate are tormented with Dreams and Viſions; but that the Souls of the happy always enjoy the light of pleaſing objects; till the *Saheb-el-zaman*, or Maſter of time ſhall come to confirm the Law of *Mahomet*, who ſhall kill *Dedgar*, who is like our *Antichriſt*, with his own hand; at which time all then alive ſhall dye in an inſtant, and then ſhall happen the general Reſurrection, which they call *Mouvedet-beebre*. That the ſame Bodies and Souls ſhall unite to appear at the day of Judgment before the Throne of the great Judge of the world; and that to go thither they muſt paſs over a bridge call'd *Poſerat*, ſharper then the edge of a razor, which nevertheleſs the Muſſulmen ſhall paſs over without any danger with the ſwiftneſs of a bird. But that misbelievers ſhall fall as ſoon as ever they ſet their feet upon it, and ſhall fal into a torrent of fire among a thouſand Devils arm'd with Cramp Irons, Pincers, and tenter-hooks. So that it is a kind of a Proverb among the *Perſians*, if a man cannot obtain of another the Juſtice of his bargain, or to yield to right, *Well*, ſays he, *before thou paſſeſt* Poſſerat, *thou ſhalt reſtore it me double, for I will take hold of thy Coat, and hinder thee from getting over till thou haſt given me ſatisfaction*; But the craftier ſort laugh at this, and make anſwer with a ſmile, *Well, well, we will venture ſtumbling as we paſs over* Poſſerat. The Porter of Paradiſe whom they call *Ruſſuen* ſhall open them the gate. There they ſhall ſit upon the banks of the great *Kauſſer*, which is a fountain where their Prophet ſhall give them of the water to drink out of a Ladle, and that afterwards they ſhall have a great number of women created on purpoſe for them, with all ſorts of moſt delicious food. And for fear of fouling this place of recreation and holineſs with the excrements of eating and drinking, they ſay, that thoſe things ſhall always evacuate in a perfum'd ſweat, and that they themſelves ſhall always remain in that condition. Others more refin'd, and not believing material enjoyments, affirm that Beatitude conſiſts in the perfect knowledge of the Sciences; and for the ſences they ſhall have their ſatisfaction according to their quality.

CHAP. XX.

The Author departs from Iſpahan *to* Ormus, *and deſcribes the Road to* Schiras.

I Set forth out of *Iſpahan* the 24. of *Feb.* 1665. in the afternoon, and ſtai'd a League from the City, in a field whither ſome of my friends would needs accompany me. About ten a clock at night, I ſet forward again, and travell'd till break of day; and then I came to a place where the *Radars* kept guard half a league from a great Town call'd *Iſpahaneck*, which you are to croſs. About ten a clock in the forenoon I came to *Mahiar*, where there is a very good Inn. But the Land between this and *Iſpahan* is all very barren and without wood.

The 26*th*, three hours after midnight, I ſet forward through a dry Plain, which begins to grow more fruitful, about a Leagues from *Comſhe* a great City, where I arriv'd by eleven a Clock in the morning. In it are ſeveral Inns, and indifferent handſome ones, conſidering that they are built only of Earth. This City is compos'd of a row of Villages that extend about half a League in length. About three quarters of a League on this ſide the City ſtands a neat *Moſquée* with a pond full of fish. But the *Moullahs* will not permit you to catch any, ſaying that they belong to the Prophet to whom the *Moſquee* is dedicated. However becauſe it is a ſhady place in the Summer, Travellers rather chooſe to lye by this pond, then to ſhut themſelves up in the City.

The 27*th* I travell'd from four in the morning till ten in the afternoon, through a plain sow'd with store of grain, and lodg'd in an Inn call'd *Maksonbegui*.

The 28*th* I departed two hours after midnight, and after eight hours travel through a barren plain, I arriv'd at *Tesdecan*, a little City built upon a rock in the midst of a great Valley, and lodg'd in an Inn at the foot of the Rock. The same day in the morning I pass'd on to a neat house with fine Gardens call'd *Amnebad*; built by *Iman-Kouli-Kan*, Governor of *Schiras*.

The first of *March*, I departed an hour after midnight, and a little after I cross'd a short mountain, but so rugged and so craggie, that they have given it the name of *Kotel-Innel-tchekeni*, that is *the Mountain that breaks the Horses shoes*. The next day we pass'd by a scurvy Castle call'd *Gombessala*; then travelling through a flat Country, I came by ten in the morning to *Dehighardon*, or the Village of Wall-nuts. I endur'd very sharp weather all the morning, for all that Country, and that which I travell'd the next day, is very cold at some times of the year.

The second day, I travel'd from midnight till ten a clock in the morning, through the Snow over a barren Plain to come to *Cuzkunar*, where there is a new Inn well built.

The third, I rode a horseback from five in the morning till noon, first over the same Plain by a Lake side in a very bad way cover'd with snow that hid the holes; then passing a tedious long and rugged mountain. I descended to a Village call'd *Asepas*, where there is to be seen an old ruin'd Castle upon the point of a Hill. The Inhabitants were all *Georgians* by descent, but now turn'd all *Makumetans*. I met with wine and fish, in regard of the many Rivolets, but the *Caravanserai* is old, and ill provided.

The fourth, setting out by day-break, I rode over a Plain, which *Sha-Abbas* the first gave the *Georgians* to till, and in eleven hours I came to *Ondgiom*, a large Village upon a River, over which there is a fair stone-bridge.

The fifth, I got a horseback by two a clock in the Morning, and had two leagues in the first place of deep miery way; afterwards I pass'd a steep Mountain, craggy and durty. I pass'd through a Village call'd *Iman-Shade*, from the name of one of their Prophets that lyes buried there, and gave the Mountain its name, being all cover'd with bitter Almond-trees. I travell'd sometime between rude and craggy rocks, after which I met with a small River, which runs to *Mayn*, a little City where I lodg'd in a fair Inn.

The sixth, I departed three hours after midnight, and travell'd through a large Plain encompass'd with high and rugged Mountains; upon one of which that is divided from the other, stood a Castle which they say was ruin'd by *Alexander* the Great, of which at present there does not remain the least sign or footstep. I cross'd the river of *Mayne* over two stone Bridges, and then came to *Abgherme*; a place that stands in a Plain where there is an Inn half built; so call'd by reason of a Spring of hot waters that rises not far from it. In the morning I pass'd over a fair and long Causey, call'd *Pouligor*, being above 500 paces long, and 15 broad divided also by certain Bridges, to give the water free passage, by reason the Country is very full of mershes. At the end of this Causey stands an Inn very well built, but the gnats that haunt it will not suffer it to be frequented. I pass'd along by the foot of a Mountain, and after three hours travel, I stopp'd a while at an Inn that stands at the foot of another steep and craggie mountain.

I arriv'd at *Schiras* about six a clock at night. But here give me leave before I enter the City, to make two observations, the one touching the Road from *Ispahan* to *Schiras*, the other concerning the ruins of *Tchel-elminar*.

As to the Road from *Ispahan* to *Schiras*, observe that in winter time when the Snow is fallen, when you come to *Tesdecan*, you must of necessity leave the direct road, because it is impossible to pass the streights of those Mountains, which I have mention'd. Therefore you must keep the left hand road eastward, through the Plains, taking a guide along with you.

This way, which is the longer by two days journey, was formerly unknown, because of a River, that in one place beats upon a steep rock, and closes up the passage, But *Iman-Kouli-Kan* with a vast expence of time and money, caus'd a

way

way to be levell'd out of the Rock about 15 or 20 foot above the River, which he ſecur'd to the water-ſide with a Wall three or four foot high. This way continues for half a league, and then you come to lye at a great Village in a Plain, where you take Guides to ſhew you the Fords of the River.

Having paſt the River, you croſs over ſeveral fertil Plains water'd with great ſtore of Rivers. Then you aſcend a Mountain, from whence you have but a league and a half to *Tche-elminar*.

At the point of the Mountain, upon the right-hand of the great Road, are to be ſeen twelve Pillars ſtill ſtanding, that form a kind of a ſquare. In the ſpaces of the Mountain are a great number of *Nitches*, that are oppoſit to the Pillars, and were certainly the places where the ancient *Perſians* put their Idols. Thence you come to *Tche-elminar*; where are to be ſeen a great many old Columns, ſome ſtanding, and ſome lying upon the ground, and ſome ill-ſhap'd Statues, with little four-ſquare dark rooms. All which together, eaſily perſwades me, who have well conſider'd the principal Pagods of *India*, that *Tche-elminar* was only a Temple formerly dedicated to Idolatrous worſhip. And that which confirms my opinion, is, that there is no place more proper for an Idolatrous Temple then this, by reaſon of the abundance of water. Beſides, that the dark Rooms could be no other then the Chambers for the Prieſts; and where the Rice and Fruits that were the feigned nouriſhment of the Idols, were the better ſecur'd from gnats and flies.

Leaving *Tche-elminar*, you come to lye at a Village half a league farther, where is very good Wine. From thence to *Schiras* is a hard days journey; eſpecially when the Snow begins to melt: for then the Road looks like a little Sea.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the City of Schiras.

THE City of *Schiras* lies in 78 degr. 15 min. of Longitude, and 29 deg. 36 min. of Latitude. It is ſeated in a plain that extends it ſelf about four leagues from the North to the South, and from the Weſt to the Eaſt about five leagues. Upon the South-eaſt there is a Lake of ſalt water four leagues in compaſs: leaving the Plain as you travel to the South, you paſs between two Mountains, which are not ſo cloſe, but that they leave room for certain pleaſant Valleys a league and a half wide.

The Soil about *Schiras* is good, and fruitful; and it is particularly famous for the moſt excellent Wines of all *Perſia*. As for the City it ſelf, there is nothing handſome in it: for it looks rather like a Town half ruin'd then a City. Formerly it was begirt with walls of Earth, which are now utterly decaid. The Houſes are of the ſame Earth dri'd in the Sun, and whiten'd over with lime; ſo that when it happens to rain, when the Earth comes to be well moiſten'd, the Houſes fall of themſelves. Only the Colledg which *Iman-Kouli-Kan* built, and ſome of the *Moſquees* are of Brick: and the beſt of thoſe *Moſquees* is call'd *Sha-Sbiraque*, which out of a particular devotion is kept ſomewhat better in repair. However, there is nothing in it worth taking notice of. Upon the North-eaſt ſide, the City runs within a quarter of a league of the Mountain: and from a Stone-bridg, as you go out of the City to the foot of the Mountain, is a long Street in a ſtreight line, where there ſtands a *Moſquee*, built by *Iman-Kouli-Kan*. Without, it appears fair enough; but within, it falls to ruine. There is an *Octogonal Piazza* before the Gate, and in the middle of the *Piazza* an *Octogonal Vaſe*, which is fill'd by a little ſtream that runs through the Street from the Mountain. Both ſides of the Street from the *Moſquee* to the Mountain are wall'd in: and at certain ſpaces are great Gates one againſt another, with rooms over them; the Windows whereof open into the Gardens behind the walls: all along by which, runs a row of Cypreſs-trees in a direct line: and in the middle of the Street about

about two hunder'd paces on this side the *Mosquee*, is another *Vase*, which receives the same water as it runs from the Mountain. This Street was made by *Iman-Kouli-Kan*, after he had cut the Mountain at the end of it, to shorten the way from *Schiras* to *Ispahan*.

There are in *Schiras* three or four Glass-houses, where they make great and small Bottles, to transport the Sweet-waters that are made in the City. There are also made the several sorts of Vessels wherein they pickle their fruits of all sorts, which they send in great quantities into *India*, to *Sumatra*, *Batavia*, and other places.

There is no Silk made, nor any other manufacture in *Schiras*; only there are some few *Chites* or Painted-cloaths made there, which nevertheless are very coarse, and in use only among the meaner sort.

As you go out of the City upon the North-west side, you meet with a long Alley or Walk, in three parts whereof are plac'd three Stones, which they call *Milir*. At the end of this walk is a Garden call'd *Bay-Sha*, or the King's Garden. Over the Gate whereof is a great Room half ruin'd: and at the end of a large Walk planted with Cypress-trees, stands a neat piece of building, but altogether neglected. Upon the left-hand whereof is a great Pond pav'd with Free-stone, being all the beauties of the Garden: which, it is true, was full of Fruit-trees, Roses and *Jasmins*; yet, for want of order, it look'd like a Wilderness.

From the Garden to the Hill is a Plain of two leagues long, and one broad; which is all but one large Vinyard belonging to several persons. Beyond the Vineyard rise very high Mountains, from whence fall several little Springs that form a River, which is call'd *Bend-Emir*, from the name of a Town where the biggest Spring rises. This River of *Bend-Emir* waters the whole Vineyard of *Schiras*, where it never rains from Spring till Autumn: which is the reason that in the Summer there is no water in the very Channel next the City.

Their Wines are the best in *Persia*; but there is not so great a quantity made as people imagin. For, of all this great Vineyard, and in all the places round about the City for four or five leagues together, good part of the Grapes are dri'd, and a greater quantity pickl'd: and of the Wine, there are many Vessels full, which are burnt for the benefit of the poor Travellers, and Carriers, who find it a great refreshment to drink it with water.

Their Wine, as all other things, is sold by weight and not by measure. In the year 1666, a most plentiful year for Wine, the Provision of the King's House amounted to 50000 *Mens* of *Koukié*, or the ancient *Men* containing nine pound of ours, at sixteen ounces to the pound, (being the only weight for Wine,) and the King allows as much to the *Franks*, as for his own Houshold. The Jews of *Schiras*, who boast themselves of the Tribe of *Levi*, made above a hunder'd and ten thousand *Mens*, it being their chiefest livelihood; but the Governour of *Schiras* knows how to share with them in their profit. The whole account of Wine made at *Schiras* amounts to 200025 *Mens*, or 4125 Tuns, at three hunder'd pints to the Tun.

In *Schiras* is an ancient *Mosquee*, wherein is the Sepulcher of a *Sadi*, whom the *Persians* esteem the best of their Poets. It has been a very fair one, accompani'd with a large Building, which was once a College; but it runs to ruine, as do also many other Edifices within the City. Just against this *Mosquee* you descend by a pair of Stairs into a large Well, at the bottom whereof is a *Vase* full of Fish, which no body dares to touch, it being Sacriledg to rob the *Sadi* of what belongs to him. A little beyond this *Mosquee*, upon a high Rock, stand the ruines of a Castle; and upon the top of all the Rock is a square Well cut out of the Rock. It is very deep, and ten or twelve foot bread: formerly, they told me, their Adulteresses were all thrown into it. There is one wonderful Well in this City; which is 15 years rising, and 15 years falling; that is, the water is one fifteen years rising to the top, and another fifteen years sinking to the bottom.

There are in *Schiras* two or three *Bazars* well built, through the midst whereof the water runs in a Channel.

To the South-west, a good league from the City, there is a little Hill divided from the great Mountain, upon which Hill are three Gates to be seen, the remainder

der of an Idolatrous Tempel. There were four Gates, but the South-Gate is tumbl'd down: the reſt are ſtanding, compos'd of three Stones: Upon both the Stones that make the Jaums, there are two figures in half Relief, with their faces one looking upon another, with their arms extended; one holding in his hand a Pan, out of which iſſues a flame of fire; and the other a Towel folded up. The other Statue holds as it were a Purſe in one hand, and a bowl of Fire in the other; the Figures being as big as the Life, only their faces are ſpoil'd; and as for the other doors, they are both the ſame.

Two Muſquet-ſhot from thence, in a plain, riſes a little Mountain, from the North-ſide of which fall many Springs that meet in a large Pond full of Fiſh. Some high Trees grow there, to ſhade the Habitation of a *Dervis* that lives there. The place is pleaſant, and all the Springs together fill a Channel large enough to water the neighbouring Fields. Here it was that certainly the ancient Idolaters came to waſh, and thence went to the Temple to ſay their Prayers, and make their Offerings.

Half a league beyond, at the foot of a Mountain, is a place about 500 paces in compaſs, whence there fall a good number of Springs that meet in a Pond, environ'd with high Trees, and full of Fiſh. In one corner of the Mountain ſtand Figures, cut out of the Rock much bigger then the Life. The two which are uppermoſt look one upon another; and that upon the left-hand carries a large Turbant, ſuch as the *Grand Vizier* of *Conſtantinople* wears when he goes to the *Divan*. From his *Turbant* to the middle of his Forehead, he was bound with the Treſſes of his own hair, the ends whereof were faſten'd together with large Buckles behind in his neck. His habit was a Robe after the ancient faſhion, with a kind of a Cutlace by his ſide. Nor did the oppoſite Statue much differ from this, only inſtead of a Turbant, he wore a kind of Miter upon his head. The two other Statues underneath the former, ſtretch'd forth their arms one to the other: the one repreſenting a Man, the other a Woman. The Man ſeem'd to preſent the Woman a Noſegay of Flowers; but in truth it was a difficult thing to diſcern them, in regard they were both cover'd with a Fig-tree that grew juſt before them out of the Rock.

About two thouſand paces farther, there is a Lake of ſalt water about ten leagues in compaſs, which is fill'd by ſeveral Springs that fall from the Mountains: and here it is that the people make a great quantity of Salt. There runs into it alſo a ſalt River, over which you croſs upon a large ſtone-Bridg about three miles from *Sebirat*, in the way to *Bander-Abaſſi*.

Half a league from the City are two remarkable Wells: the one upon the top of the Mountain, the other upon the deſcent, cut out of the Rock: both of an extraordinary depth. There is no water in either, becauſe they are half full of Stones, which they that come to ſee the Wells, throw into 'em. There are alſo to be ſeen the Ruines of a Caſtle formerly built there for the Guard of the High-ways. But ſince *Iman-Kouli-Kan* made the new way, he caus'd all thoſe Fortreſſes to be defac'd, as being expenſive to the King, and burthenſome to the Merchant, from whom the Guards exacted Toll in thoſe places. Now all the ways are free, and the Merchants travel ſecurely.

About half a league from the City, toward the North, upon the brow of a high Mountain, ſtands a little *Moſquee*, like a Hermitage: and fifteen foot below it guſhes out a fair Spring, which is the beſt in the places neer to *Sebiras*. Neer to it is a little place encompaſt with a Pale, with four Pillars that uphold a Ceeling. Here it is that a *Dervis* ſits, and entertains all them that come to viſit him, to whom he preſents Tobacco, according to the cuſtom of the Countrey. This place is one of the beſt Proſpects in all *Syria*, from whence you behold one way all the plain of *Sebirat*, and all the City from one end to the other, with the Gardens. But people go not thither for the fair Proſpect, or to viſit the *Dervis*, but to admire a Cypreſs-tree not above three or four paces from the Proſpect, planted among the Rocks; and of that bigneſs, that four men can hardly fathom it: it is proportionably high, and is look'd upon to be the faireſt Cypreſs-tree in all *Perſia*, where ſo many grow beſides. This Tree is fed by the Spring which I have mention'd, falling ſome eight or ten foot below into a Ciſtern, which is always full; whence through a Canal it runs into a Garden in the plain ſome ſeven or eight

eight hunder'd paces from the Mountain. In this Garden are to be seen the remains of a Palace of one of the ancient Kings of *Persia*: yet what is still to be seen, does not declare it to have been very magnificent. The King was call'd *Padsha quiesbel*, the *Scald-pated King*. A thing not to be wonder'd at, in regard there are few *Persians* but such as either have or have had scald heads.

Two leagues from *Schiras*, to the South-west, at the foot of the great Mountain, stands a Hermitage, call'd *Pir-Bouno*, where three or four *Dervis* live, as being a pleasant place; for the *Dervis* always choose out the most delightful places to pitch their Tents in: where they sit smoaking their Pipes with that gravity, that if the King himself should come by, they would not stir to give him reverence. That which adds to the pleasure of that Hermitage, is a fair Spring of water that refreshes the Garden, and the number of fair Trees that are about it.

About a quarter of a league from the City, toward the West, is to be seen a Church-yard encompast with Walls; in the middle whereof, looking toward *Mecca*, stands a Monument very much frequented by the *Dervis*, and other devout people, who say their Prayers there, it being the Sepulcher of *Hongia-Hafiz*, for whom they have a very great veneration. The year of his decease is set down upon his Tomb; being in the year 1381: and he purchas'd that great esteem among the *Persians*, for having compos'd a great Book of Morality, and for that he was also one of the best Poets of his time. He has left one great Poem behind him in the praise of good Wine; which has caus'd many to aver, that *Hongia-Hafiz* was no good *Mussul-man*, in regard he has so highly prais'd a thing which is so strictly forbidd'n by the Law of *Mahomet*.

Neer to the Church-yard is a fair Garden, which men go to see for the beauty of the Cypress-trees, which are its chief ornament. They are to be admir'd for their height and bigness, among which, there is one that was planted by the hand of *Sha-Abbas* the Great himself, in the year 1607; and it may well deserve to have been planted by the hand of a Monarch; for it was bigger then the rest that had been planted above a hunder'd years before.

Without the City, upon the North-side, at the foot of the Mountain, is a Garden belonging to the ancient Kings of *Persia*, call'd *Bag-Firdous*. It is full of Fruit-trees, and Rose-trees in abundance. At the end of the Garden, upon the descent of a Hill, stands a great piece of Building, and below a large Pond affords it water. The rich Inhabitants of *Schiras* have been formerly very curious to have fair Gardens, and have been at great expences to that purpose. But neither at *Schiras*, nor at *Ispahan*, is there any thing that may compare with those lovely Paradises of *France* and *Italy*.

There are many Inns in *Schiras*, but the *Franks* generally lodg at the Convent of the *Carmelits* Friars; and they that would be more private, lodg at another House that belongs also to the same Friars, which they would fain sell, as being a charge to 'em at this time.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

A continuation of the Road from Iſpahan *to* Ormus, *from* Schiras *to* Bander-Abaſſi.

THE ſixth of *March*, by eight of the Clock in the morning, I departed from *Schiras*; and after ſix hours travel through the plain that continues fertil for a league together beyond the City, I came to an Inn call'd *Badaadgi*. The water is bad, being as it were luke-warm. Here cold weather begins to ceaſe. The next day I ſet out by break of day, and came to a large and well-built Inn, only it ſtood remote from any Town. It is call'd *Mouzaffari*, and is the only place in *Perſia* where I met with black *Saligots*, or Water-nuts, as big and as good as ours in *Dauphine*. The Countrey breeds nothing but Goats and Sheep: and about two leagues off runs a River along by the Mountain to the Weſt.

The 18*th* I departed by day-break, and travell'd eleven hours through a ſtone-Countrey, cover'd with bitter Almond and Turpentine-Trees. I lodg'd in a fair Inn, call'd *Paira*, near to a River that comes from the Weſt, and makes the Countrey fertil. There is ſome Wood in the Valleys, and ſome Villages appear on the other ſide of the River toward the South.

The 19*th* I ſet out by four of the Clock in the morning, and travell'd along a Valley, wherein were many Villages receiving the benefit of the River laſt mention'd. About eight in the morning I ſtopt at an Inn built in an *Octogonal* form, a good league from the River, with ſeveral Villages between. The name of the Inn is *Kaffer*.

The 20*th* I ſet out two hours after midnight, and travell'd till ten in the morning through a dry Valley. By the way I met ſeveral Shepherds and Herdſmen, who were forſaking the hot Countreys, and driving toward *Schiras* for coolneſs.

They that travel upon their own Horſes, and would ſee one of the richeſt parts of *Perſia*, and ſome Antiquities, ſetting out from *Kaffer*, inſtead of following the *Caravan*-road, take the right-hand way by the ſide of the River, that runs a league and a half from the ſame Inn. When you have paſt the River, the way is very ſtreight, and lies for two leagues together through a ſteep Rock, the Mountain upon the right, and the River upon the left, where there is not room in ſome places for two Horſes to ride a-breſt. All along this way, toward the top of the Mountain, are little paths that lead to Caverns, ſome of which are ſo large, that they will contain two or three thouſand men. Having paſt this way, you come into a Plain call'd *Dadivan*, four or five leagues in circuit; the greateſt part of which is planted with Orange-trees, Citrons, and Granats. Some of theſe Orange-trees two men can hardly fathom, being as high as our Walnut-trees; and this is one of the moſt delicious ſituations in all *Perſia*. I have travell'd through it ſeveral times, and ſometimes only to divertiſe my ſelf. The reſt of the Plain is ſow'd with Rice and Wheat. You ſet up your Tents under theſe Trees, and then the Countrey people bring Proviſion of ſeveral ſorts, eſpecially Partridges, Hares, and wild Goats. The River that croſſes the Plain is full of Carps, Barbels, Pikes, and Grey-Fiſh. I remember one time a Countrey-man carri'd me down to the water, and before my face took up a Fiſh with his hand. He was ſo nimble at it, that having caught one which he did not think big enough, he threw it back again, and took up another. Now in regard that Travellers generally ſtay about ten or twelve days in that place, the Tumblers that live there-abouts, fail not to come and give you a Viſit, to ſhew ye ſome of their tricks, and to taſt your *Schiras* Wine. The *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* uſually ſpend the end of the Summer in this Plain, for the benefit of the River, and the Trees: which become ſo large and fair, by means of the River, which the Countrey-men bring in by Canals, and ſhut it up in Ponds, among the Trees, to water their Grounds; which is all the good this River does in *Perſia*: for all the reſt of its courſe is through cragged Rocks, and ſalt Marſhes.

The 20*th* of *March*, by ten in the morning, I came to an Inn which was call'd *Mouſbek*, which is a-lone-Houſe at the foot of a Rock. There is a Spring about five hunder'd paces from it, but the water is hot, and has a ſulphury taſt; ſo that the Cattel will hardly drink it. Therefore you muſt go to a Ciſtern about two Muſquet-ſhot from the Inn, where there is one newly ſet up, inſtead of another that was there before, into which a Jew once chanc'd to fall in, and was therefore broken by the ſuperſtitious *Mahometans*.

Three quarters of a league from *Mouſbetz* are two roads that lead to *Lar*, the one for the Camels, the other for the Horſes and Mules. The firſt is the longeſt by three days journey, and is call'd the Road of the Deſert; for after you have paſt a great Town inhabited only by Camel-Maſters, where you lye the firſt night, between that and *Lar*, you ſhall meet with nothing of Houſes but only Herdſmens Tents, that feed ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another. Upon the Camels Road there are another ſort of Fowl like the great Partridges in their bodies, but their legs and feet reſemble thoſe of wild Ducks. The Camels take this Road, becauſe it is impoſſible for them to paſs the Mountain *Jarron*, over which the Horſes and Mules are hardly able to travel.

I ſet out from *Mouſbek* the 21*th* of *March*, at two in the morning, and having travell'd till eight through a plain, but ſtony Countrey, I came to the little City of *Jarron*, which is rather to be call'd a Forreſt of Palm-trees that bear excellent Dates. I lodg'd in an Inn five hunder'd paces from the City, and ſtaid there two days.

The 24*th*, ſetting out preſently after midnight, I travell'd a good hour, and then I began to mount the ſteep Mountain of *Jarron*, which is very high, and very long; but the deſcent is the moſt dangerous that ever I ſaw in all my Travels; and beſides that, the Moon did not ſhine. Being at the top, after you have deſcended three or four hunder'd paces, you meet with a Bridg of one Arch, that reaches from one Mountain to another; a bold piece of Architecture, not enough to be admir'd, being rais'd at the charges of *Iman-Kouli Kan* for the benefit of Travellers. Being come to the bottom of this, you muſt paſs two others as ſteep in their aſcent as in the deſcent; upon the top of one of which ſtands a Ciſtern, which, though it be very large, is generally emptied by the end of the Summer. Upon theſe Mountains there is ſuch an infinite quantity of Partridg that a man cannot miſs that will but ſhoot. By eight in the Morning I came to an Inn which is call'd *Shakal*, which is a-lone Houſe in a Deſert Countrey, but ſtor'd with bitter Almond-trees, and Turpentine-trees. Appoaching neer to the Inn, you meet with two or three Ciſterns, which are a great comfort to Travellers, water being very ſcarce upon this Road. There are at *Shakal* nine or ten *Radars* for the Guard of the Road, who are alſo Maſters of the Inn: So ſoon as you are alighted, they ask you if you will eat any Kid, being ſure of their blow, and having no more to do but to go to the Mountain and fetch one, where they ſwarm. There are ſtore of Partridges, which are almoſt as big as Pullets; of which you may eaſily kill as many as you pleaſe.

The 25*th* I travell'd five hours, from morning till noon. An hour after I took Horſe, I met with a Mountain, the deſcent whereof was very ſteep. They call it the Mountain of *Huſhen*, at the foot whereof is a Fountain of excellent water. A good league farther you meet with a fair Inn call'd *Mouezeré*, in the midſt of a pleaſant Grove, where there is an excellent Spring of water; but becauſe there is no food to be had, you muſt go as far as *Detadembé*, a Village ſeated in a plain. A quarter of a league on this ſide, upon the top of a Mountain, appears the ruins of an old Caſtle; the Village it ſelf being ſurrounded with Palm-trees. The Inn is a good one, provided with a very good Ciſtern.

The 25*th* I travell'd through a plain for three hours, and ſtopt at *Banaroo*, a little City well built at the foot of a high Mountain; upon which appears the remains of a large Caſtle. *Benaroo* is the Frontier Town of the Province of *Fars*, bordering upon the Province of *Lar*.

The 26*th* I departed an hour after midnight, and travell'd till nine in the morning, partly through the Plain, and partly through the Mountains, where I ſaw an old Tower for the guard of the Road. I ſtaid at *Bilry*, a little City ſeated upon a plain, that borders upon a high Mountain. The Inn is new, and very magnificently

cently built by the Mother of *Aimas*, *Kan* of *Lar*, when the great *Sha-Abbas* took this Countrey from the *Gaures*, whom he constrain'd to turn *Mahumetans*.

The 27*th* I set out at four of the Clock in the morning, and about seven I past through a Village seated in a small plain. A league from thence I lodg'd in an Inn call'd *Pai-Cotali*; that is to say, the foot of the Mountain, as being built at the foot of the Mountain. From thence to *Lar* is not above four or five hours travelling; but the way is very bad, and several swift Torrents are to be past over.

You may take another Road from *Bibey*, upon the right-hand toward the West; it is the shorter way by two or three leagues: but so bad, and so narrow, that in many places two Horsemen cannot ride a-breast, being for the most part all Rocks and Precipices.

Lar is the Capital City of the Province of the same name, which formerly bore the title of a Kingdom. It is but of an ordinary bigness, enclos'd on both sides with high Mountains, being built round about a Rock, upon which there stands a Castle of Free-stone, wherein the King keeps a Garrison. The whole Country is very hot, nor have they any water but Rain water, which they preserve in Cisterns, and which sometimes causes a wide Torrent that runs by one side of the City, and falls from a Cascade two stories high, made of Free-stone. In the City and parts adjacent, grow a great number of trees, especially Date trees and Tamarisk. The Gardens also and Mountains are full of Orange trees.

There are but two Inns in *Lar*, the one within the City, which is not a very good one; the other at the end of the City towards *Ormus*, which would be convenient, but that it is always afloat when the Rains fall; for which reason the *Franks* generally lye at the *Hollanders* House at the end of the City. And there is a necessity for staying at *Lar*, to change the Camels; for the Camels that come from *Ispahan* can go no further; every City having their particular priviledges. Which sometimes proves prejudicial to the Merchant, in regard the Governour will delay the change of the Camels till he is presented.

The Fortress of *Lar* takes up the whole surface of the top of the Rock; and there is but one way to climb it up, with great difficulty. It is more long than broad; and the four corners are fortifi'd with four Bastions, or Bulwarks, between which are rais'd several Towers, for the Souldiers Lodgings. That Fortress is the Royal Prison, whither the King sends such Prisoners as he takes in war, or surprizes by stratagem. I met with two there, one a Prince of *Georgia*, the other of *Mengrelia*. The two Princes had each of them a Toman a day allow'd them, and ten or twelve Servants to wait upon them. Upon one of the corners of the Castle, toward the West, was built a Banquetting House with three or four Chambers. In the middle of the Court stands the Magazine, full of Bows and Arrows, Bucklers and Muskets, enough to arm fifteen hundred men. For the Inhabitants of the Province, but more especially of the City of *Lar*, are accounted the best Musquetters in *Persia*, and the best at making the Barrels of Muskets, all but the Breach, which they know not how to order so well as we. The Governours House answers to the great Road; but there is nothing at all of neatness without, only before the door there is a good handsome Court, about sixty paces square, and clos'd in with Walls, which leads you into two large Bazars of good Stone, very well arch'd.

The most part of the Inhabitants of *Lar* are Jews, who are famous for several Silk Manufactures, especially for making neat Girdles. The Countrymen wear upon their heads a kind of a felt of fine wool, and very well wrought. It resembles a Cap not yet shap'd, with four Corners behind, and cut on the sides; and these sorts of Caps are made at *Kerman*.

There are an infinite number of Cisterns, as well within the City, as in the parts adjacent; and all but little enough, in regard that sometimes it does not rain for three years together. When the Rains fall they do not fill their Cisterns the first day, but rather cover them quite up, till the earth be well soak'd. Now for the distribution of this water they take an excellent course; for they never keep open above three Cisterns at a time; and when they do op'n them, the Governour or some other person appointed for that purpose, is present; so precious is water

in that place, though never so bad. The water thus standing in the Cisterns sometimes for many years together, breads worms, so that whither you strain it, or boil it, there will appear a kind of foulness in it, which is the seed of these worms. And this corruption it is that breeds worms in the legs and feet of men; which puts me in mind, that after my return to *Paris*, the fifth time of my travelling, I had one came out of my left foot an Ell an a half long, and another from under the ankle of my right foot half an Ell long.

The first of *April* I set out from *Lar* by five in the morning, and travell'd till three in the afternoon, through a barren stony Country, except it were only one Village call'd *Tcherkah*, near to which I met with some Corn-land, and several Palm-trees. I lodg'd at a little Inn call'd *Shamzenghi*. It is low, built like a Cross, with four doors to receive the cool winds every way. All the Inns are built in this fashion between this and *Bander*, and near to one another for the ease of Travellers. As for the Beasts, they lye without, for they have no Stables. All the Houses from *Lar* to *Ormus* are built after one manner. For there is a kind of a Pipe, like a Chimney, that runs from the bottom to the top to gather wind.

The second I left *Shamzenghi* about four in the afternoon, because the heat is cool'd by a gentle breeze toward the evening. Three hours I travell'd through a barren Plain, afterwards over most fearful Rocks, and about ten at night I came to *Cormous*, a great Village well stor'd with Palm-trees.

From *Lar* to *Cormous* is the worst way in all *Persia*. For many times there is no water to be found.

The third, I parted from *Cormous* a little after midnight; and having travell'd seven hours in very bad way, full of great stones and filthy puddles, I came to a new Inn call'd *Tenquidalen*. In the middle of it is a little vase of running water, fed by a little stream that falls from the Mountain. But the water being something brackish, they have since that built a very fair Cistern. They also broach'd the Mountain to bring the water into a Plain, which was barren before, but is now fruitful, and beautifi'd with two good Villages. This was done by a rich Merchant, whose Children enjoy the Revenues of both.

The fourth, I set forward an hour after midnight, and travell'd through an uninhabited Countrey, full of wide Torrents when the rain falls. There are but two small Inns upon the Road, and about eight in the morning I arriv'd at that which they call *Gourba-Sarghant*. It was built with the Money which a Merchant of *Ormus* left for that purpose; whose strength fail'd him in that very place, for want of a resting place. This Inn is not far from a Village that stands upon the Mountain to the North.

The fifth, setting out a little after midnight, I travell'd till seven in the morning through a dry and desert Countrey, yet stor'd with Lentisk trees, and lay at a good Village call'd *Caurrestan*, where the people were mowing large Fields of Barly. Here, if the Inn be full, you may lye at the Countrey-mens Houses, who are accustom'd to entertain Travellers, and get well by it. This place is famous for water-Melons, as big as our Pumpkins; and are the best in all *Persia*. The meat is very red, and as sweet as Sugar, which is a great refreshment to Travellers. The *Kelonter* of the place gave me two Raddishes, one weighing 30, the other 45 pounds, and were very good meat.

The *6th* I set out after midnight, and travell'd till it was day through plains of Sand, over which it is impossible to find the way without a guide. About three a Clock in the morning I cross'd over two Bridges joyn'd together by a long Causey. Before I came to the first, I rode over another for a good quarter of a league, which Causey runs on a great way to the second Bridg, under which flows a salt River; the shoar of which is full of moving sands; so that before those Bridges were made, it was dangerous to foard it without a guide.

This Causey and the two Bridges were made and built by a *Persian*, whose name was *Aly*; who wanting employment at home, apply'd himself to the King of *Golconda*, who lik'd him so well, that he made him General of his Army. Being thus advanc'd, he also turn'd Merchant, and trading first with one Vessel, then with two, got a great Estate. At length, all that he had thus got in forty years, to get himself a name in *Persia*, he employ'd in making this Causey and the two Bridges.

These

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the Customs-house in the night, it has bin since enclos'd with walls. To this place come all the ships that bring Commodities from *India* for *Persia*, *Turkie*, or any part of *Asia* or *Europe*. And indeed it would be much more frequented by the Merchants from all Regions and Countries.

But the Air of *Bandar* is so unwholesome and so hot, that no strangers can live there, in probability of health, unless it be in the months of *December*, *January*, *February* and *March*; though the Natives of the Country may perhaps stay without prejudice to the end of *April*. After that they retire to the cooler Mountains, two or three days journey off, for five or six months, where they eat what they gain'd before. They that venture to stay at *Gomron* during the hot weather, get a malignant Fever, which if they scape death, is hardly ever cur'd. However it bequeaths the yellow Jaundies during life to the party. *March* being pass'd the wind changes, and blowing at west south west, in a short time it grows so hot and so stifling, that it almost takes away a mans breath. This wind is by the *Arabians* call'd *El-Samiel*, or the poysonous wind, by the *Persians Bade-Sambour*, because it suffocates and kills presently. The flesh of them that are thus stifl'd feels like a glewie fat, and as if they had been dead a month before.

In the year 1632. riding from *Ispahan* to *Bagdat*, I and four more *Persian* Merchants had bin stifl'd but for some *Arabians* that were in our Company. For when they perceiv'd the wind, they caus'd us to light, lye down upon our bellies and cover our selves with our Cloaks. We lay so for half an hour, and then rising we saw our horses were in such a sweat, that they were hardly able to carry us. This happen'd to us two days journey from *Bagdat*. But this is observable, that if a man be in a Boat upon the water when the same wind blows, it does no harm though he were naked at the same time. Sometimes the wind is so hot that it burns like Lightning.

And as the Air of *Gomron* is so bad and dangerous, the soil is worth nothing; For it is nothing but Sand, nor is the water in the Cisterns very good. They that will be at the charge fetch their water from a fountain three leagues from *Bander*, call'd the water of *Issin*. Formerly there was not an herb to be seen; but by often watering the ground, Lettice, Radish and Onions have begun to grow.

The People are swarthy, and wear nothing about them but only a single shirt. Their usual dyet is dates and fish. Which is almost the dyet of their Cattel, for when they come home from browsing the barren bushes, they give them the heads and guts of their fish boyl'd, with the kernels of the Dates which they eat.

The Sea of *Bander* produces good Soles, good Smelts and Pilchards. They that will have oysters must have 'em caught on purpose, for the people eat none.

Upon Land they want neither for wine of *Schiras* nor *Yesd*; nor for Mutton, Pigeons and Partridge, which are their ordinary dyet.

There are two Fortresses, one upon the East, the other toward the West. The Town increases in trade and building, and fills with inhabitants, who build their houses with the remaining ruins of *Ormus*.

The reason why the Trade is fertl'd rather at *Bander Abassi*, then at *Bander Congo*, where the Air is good and the Water excellent, is because that between *Ormus* and *Congo* lie several Islands, which make the passage for ships dangerous, besides that the often change and veering of the wind is requir'd: neither indeed is there water enough for a Vessel of 20 or 25 guns. Then the way from *Congo* to *Lar* is very bad. From *Bander Abassi*, to *Lar* it is very good, and provided with good Inns.

From the day that a Merchant takes up mony at *Gomron*, he is bound to return it in three months, and the change goes from six to twelve *per Cent.* When the Goods come to *Ispahan* or any other place, the Merchant is not to touch them, till he has pay'd the money which he borrow'd, unless the Creditor will trust him farther. Some *Turkish* and *Armenian* Merchants take up money at *Gomron* to pay it at *Suratt*; where they take up other money for *Ispahan*; at *Ispahan* for *Erzerom* or *Bagdat*, paying the old debt with the new sums, which they take up in each place. The money taken up at *Erzerom* is pai'd at *Bursa*, *Constantinople* or *Smyrna*. Money taken up at *Bagdat* is pai'd at *Aleppo*.

I always made accompt, that to take up money at *Golconda* for *Ligorn* or *Venice*, at change for change, the money returns at the cheapest rate, to 95 *per Cent.* but more oftentimes it amounts to a hunder'd.

CHAP.

the Road from Ispahan
the Road from Ispahan
the Road from the Mountaines
of Iron nere to W
ys interrd Monsieur
de Lalin
Bandar Abassi
Pagod
Pagod
The Bannians Tree
Bandar Congo
The Iland of Guesmich
A Villig
A Villig
the Ile of Ormus
Larec
THE PERSIAN GOLPHE
The Platforme of Gomrom or
Bandar Abassi of ye Iland of
Ormus & ye Neighbouring
Iles
Arabia
promontorie of
happey

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was all of Gold, and he had so much Gold in his Coffers, that when he went to the Great *Mogul* he would not accept of any thing for his maintenance, but contented himself with one of the highest Dignities in the Empire, which he enjoy'd till his death. At *Jehanabad* he built a most neat House, with a fair Garden upon the River.

He got his wealth in some measure, for the greatest part came by Inheritance, by the great advantages which he made of the *Caravans* that then pass'd oft'ner through *Candahar* then they do now adays. For by delaying the Merchants at the Custome-house, and by treating them himself, and receiving treatments from them again, he caus'd them to spend their Provisions, which they were forc'd to recruit again at *Candahar*.

The Grand *Sha Abbas* left the peaceable Possession of *Candahar* to *Sha-Sefi* his Grand-child. In whose time *Alimerdan-Kan* deliver'd it up to the Grand *Mogul*. *Sha Abbas* the Second retook it in the year 1650. Whereupon *Sha-gehan* sent his eldest Son to drive him out. But though his Army consisted of three hundred thousand men, yet the place was so well defended that he lost the best part of his Army before it. The next year *Sha-jehan* sent another Army under the Command of *Sultan-Sujah*, but he had no better success then his Brother. Thereupon *Begum Saheb*, *Sha-jehan's* eldest Daughter, and passionately belov'd by him even to Incest, bearing the greatest sway in the Kingdom, and having a Vast Treasure, rais'd an Army at her own charges, and made *Aurengzeb* Commander of it. After many assaults, *Aurengzeb* discoursing with his Generals one day who should have the honour if he took the City, and being told that his Sister would have the honour in regard she had rais'd the Army, the Prince either jealous of his Sister, or else not loath to give occasion of being envy'd by his Brothers, assaulted it no more, and when the rains came, rais'd his siege.

A. The Principal Citadel.

B. Another Citadel.

C. The Mountain that reach'd to the next Citadle, which *Sha Sefi* cut away after he took the City.

D. The Governours House.

E. The Lodgings for the Officers and Souldiers.

F. The *Piazza* of the City.

G. The great street.

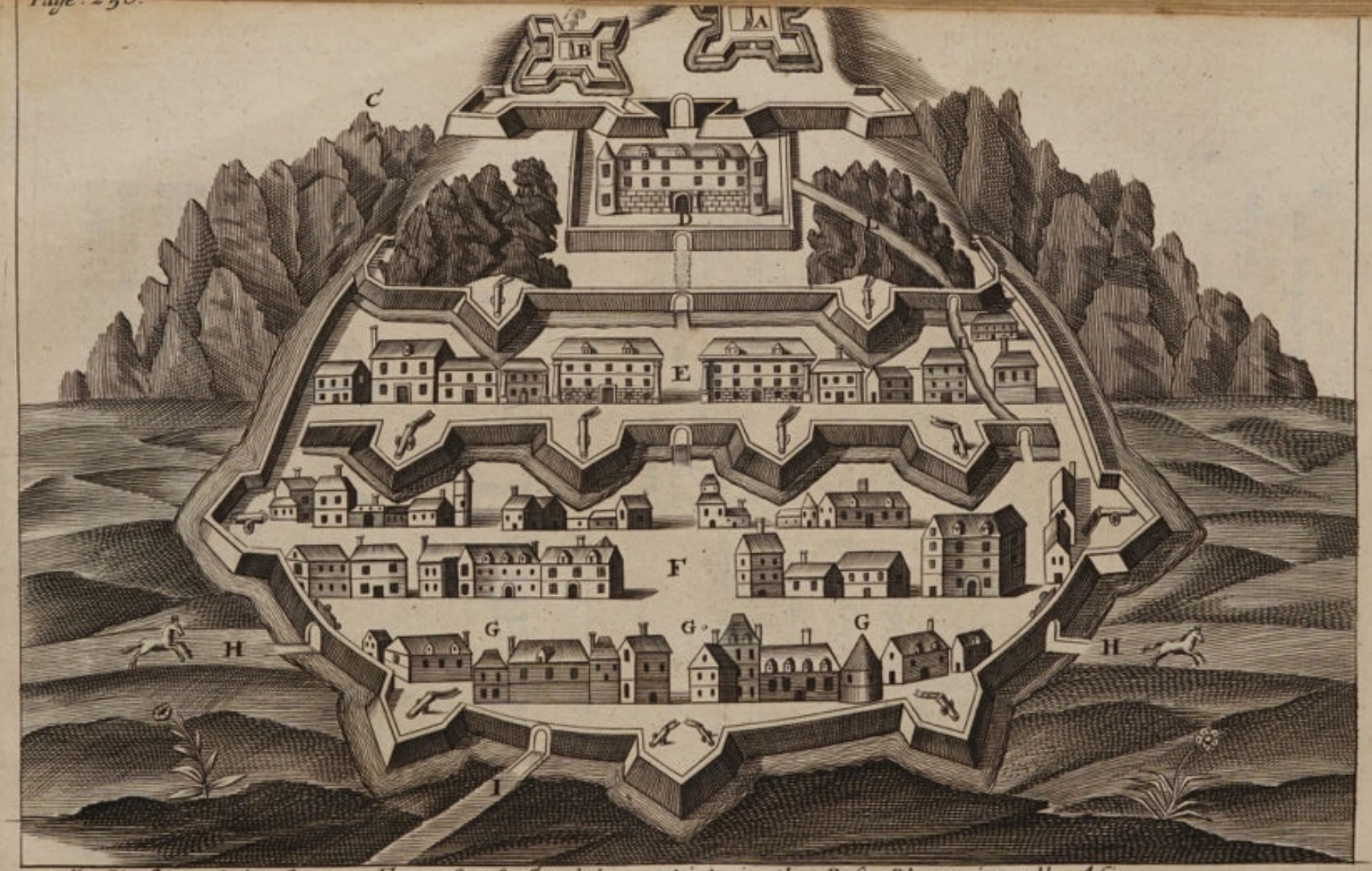
H. The two Causeys that lead to the City.

I. The Path that leads from the *Meish* to the City.

K. The lesser way that leads from the City to the Citadel.

Thus I have finish'd the most considerable Observations as well in reference to *Turkie* as to *Persia*. I have been curious to understand things, and have look with a strict eye upon them: and I am oblig'd to inform the Reader, that he must not travel into *Asia*, in expectation of mending his experience in any of the nobler Arts of Painting, Sculpture, Goldsmiths work, or Turning. As for the Coverlets, Embroideries, Tissues of Gold and Silver, which are made in *Persia*, and which we admir'd formerly in *France*, all these give place to our new manufactures. Insomuch that the *Persians* themselves admire the rich goods of *Europe*, and when we carry any thither, they are immediately bought up by the King and the Nobility. They neither understand any thing of Architecture: nor is there any thing in all *Asia* that equalls the Riches and Beauty of the *Loure*, or of any other of the Kings houses in *France*, which infinitely excell in workmanship all the magnificence of the Eastern Monarchs. Which has made me with astonishment admire that so many Travellers have ascrib'd to *Persia* and other Regions of *Asia*, those beauties for which they were never beholding either to Art or Nature. For if all they have said had been true, those wonders could never have escaped my sight; and I dare assure the Reader that I have describ'd the naked truth of things as really they are.

The End of the Relations of Persia: *and of the first Part of* Asian *Travels.*



The Platform of the famous Fortreſs of Candahar which is the Beſt Place in all Aſia.

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THE SIX

TRAVELS

OF

JOHN BAPTISTA TAVERNIER,

BARON of AUBONNE,

THROUGH

Turky and **Perſia**

TO THE

INDIES,

During the ſpace of Forty years.

Giving an Account of the Preſent State of thoſe Countries, *viz.* of their RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, CUSTOMS, and COMMERCE.

AS ALSO

The *Figures*, *Weights*, and *Value* of the MONEY and COINS ſeverally currant therein.

The Second Part:

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THE

FIGURES

Of the PIECES of

Gold, Silver and Copper:

AND OF

The Sorts of *Shells* aud *Almonds* that paſs for MONEY over all *ASIA*.

The Money of Arabia.

Larin, Figure 1. *Half-Larin*, Fig. 2.

THIS Money (*Fig.* 1.) is call'd Larin, and ſignifies the ſame with our Crowns. The Five Pieces are as much in value as one of our Crowns; and the Ten Half-Larins as much. Only the Five Larins want in weight Eight Sous of our Crown. This is that which the *Emirs*, or Princes of *Arabia* take for the Coining of their Money; and the profit which they make by the Merchants that travel through the Deſart, either into *Perſia* or the *Indies*. For then the *Emirs* come to the *Caravans*, to take their Tolls, and to change their Crowns, Reals, or Ducats of Gold, for theſe Larins. For they muſt of neceſſity paſs that way. And they muſt uſe very ſmooth words to boot; for there is nothing to be got by rough Languages. If they ſee the Merchants will not change their Money, then will they refuſe to take their Toll; but making as if they had not time to caſt up the accompt, they go a hunting, and leave the Merchants fifteen or twenty Days without ſaying any thing more to them; while they in the mean time ſpend their Proviſions, not knowing where to get more. If the *Caravan* goes on without paying their Tolls, theſe *Arabian* Princes will either cut them in Pieces, or take away their Camels, or rob them of all they have, as they have ſeveral times done. In one Journey that I made, one of theſe Princes kept us one and twenty days; after which we thought our ſelves happy to be quit of him, when we had given him whatever he demanded. If theſe five Larins did but weigh as much as the Crown, or Real of *Spain*, the Merchants would never be much troubled. But when they come to *Perſia*, or the *Indies*, they muſt carry their Money to the Mint, as I have ſaid in another place, and loſe above eight Sous in a Crown, which amounts to *14 per Cent.* As for what remains, the Larins are one of the ancient Coins

The Author not having given an account of the weight or fineneſs of the Coins he treats of, but having only expreſs'd their value in *French* Livres, it is thought fit for the better reduction thereof into *Engliſh* Coin, to adveriſe, That Three *French* Livres make a *French* Crown, which paſſes in Exchange from 54 pence to 58 pence half-penny; ſo that a *French* Livre may be in value as the Exchange goes, from 18 pence to 19 pence half-penny. And twenty Sous make a Livre.

of *Asia*; and though at this day they are onely currant in *Arabia*, and at *Balsara*, nevertheless, from *Bragdatt* to the Island of *Ceylan*, they traffick altogether with the Larin, and all along the *Persian Golf*; where they take 80 Larins for one *Toman*, which is 50 *Abassi's*.

The Money currant under the Dominions of the Great Mogul.

ALL the Gold and Silver which is brought into the Territories of the *Great Mogul*, is refined to the highest perfection before it be coined into Money.

The Roupy of Gold weighs 2 Drams and a half, and 11 Grains, and is valued in the Country at 14 Roupies of Silver. We reckon the Roupy of Silver at 30 Sous. So that a Roupy of Gold comes to 21 Livres of *France*; and an Ounce of Gold to 58 Livres, and 4 Deneer's. This Gold is like that which we buy at 54 Livres an Ounce. And if you bring this Gold in Ingots, or Ducats of *European* Gold, you shall have always 7 and a half profit; if you can scape paying any thing to the Custom-houses. The Half-Roupy comes to 10 Livres 10 Sous; and the Quarter-Roupy to 5 Livres 5 Sous. As I have said, you must reckon the Silver Roupy at 30 Sous, though it weigh not above 3 Drams; whereas our pieces of 30 Sous weigh 3 Drams, and half 4 grains; but the Roupy is much the better Silver. In a word, they that understand Traffick well, and carry hence Gold or Silver to the Territories of the Great *Mogul*, get always 7 or 8 *per Cent.* profit, provided they take care to shun the Custom-houses. For if you pay them, the 7 or 8 *per Cent.* which you might make profit, goes to them; and so the Roupy comes to 30 Sous, the Half to 15, and the Quarter to 7 and a half, the eighth Part to 3 Sous and 9 Deneers.

As for their Copper Money, sometimes 'tis worth more, sometimes less, as Copper comes to the Mint. But generally the biggest sort is worth 2 Sous of our Money, the next 1 Sous, the next to that 6 Deneers.

As for their Shell Money, the nearer you go to the Sea, the more you give for a Pecha, for they bring them from *Maldives*. Fifty or sixty of these make a whcih is that piece of Coin that is worthbut 6 Deneers.

For their Money of Mamoudi's, half Mamoudi's, and Almonds, all that sort of Money is only currant in the Province of *Guzeratt*, the principal Cities whereof are *Surat*, *Barocha*, *Cambaya*, *Broudra* and *Amadabat*. Five Mamoudi's go for a Crown, or a Real. For small Money they make no use of these Shells, but of little Almonds, which are brought from about *Ormus*, and grow in the Desarts of the Kingdom of *Larr*. If you break one of the Shells, it is impossible to eat the Almond, for there is no *Colocynthida* so bitter; so that there is no fear lest the Children should eat their small Money. They have also those little pieces of Copper which are call'd Pecha, 6 Deneer's in value. They give 20 for a Mamoudi, and 40 Almonds for a Pecha; sometimes you may have 44, according to the quantity which is brought. For some years the Trees do not bear, and then the price of this sort of Money is very much raised in that Country; and the Bankers know how to make their benefit.

Fig. 1. The Roupy of Gold. *Fig.* 2. The Half-Roupy of Gold. *Fig.* 3. The Quarter-Roupy of Gold.

Fig. 4. The Roupy of Silver. *Fig.* 5. Another Roupy of Silver. *Fig.* 6. The Half-Roupy of Silver. *Fig.* 7. The Quarter-Roupy of Silver. *Fig.* 8. The Eighth part of the Roupy of Silver.

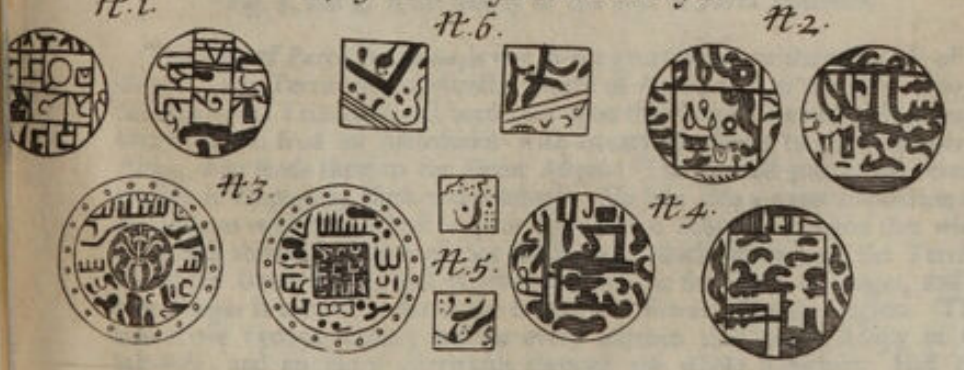
Fig. 9. Four Pecha's of Copper. *Fig.* 10. Two Pecha's of Copper. *Fig.* 11. One Pecha.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 2. Money of Arabia Larin & halfe Larin — Travells in India.

Money of ye Great Mogull

The Money of a King and two Rajas



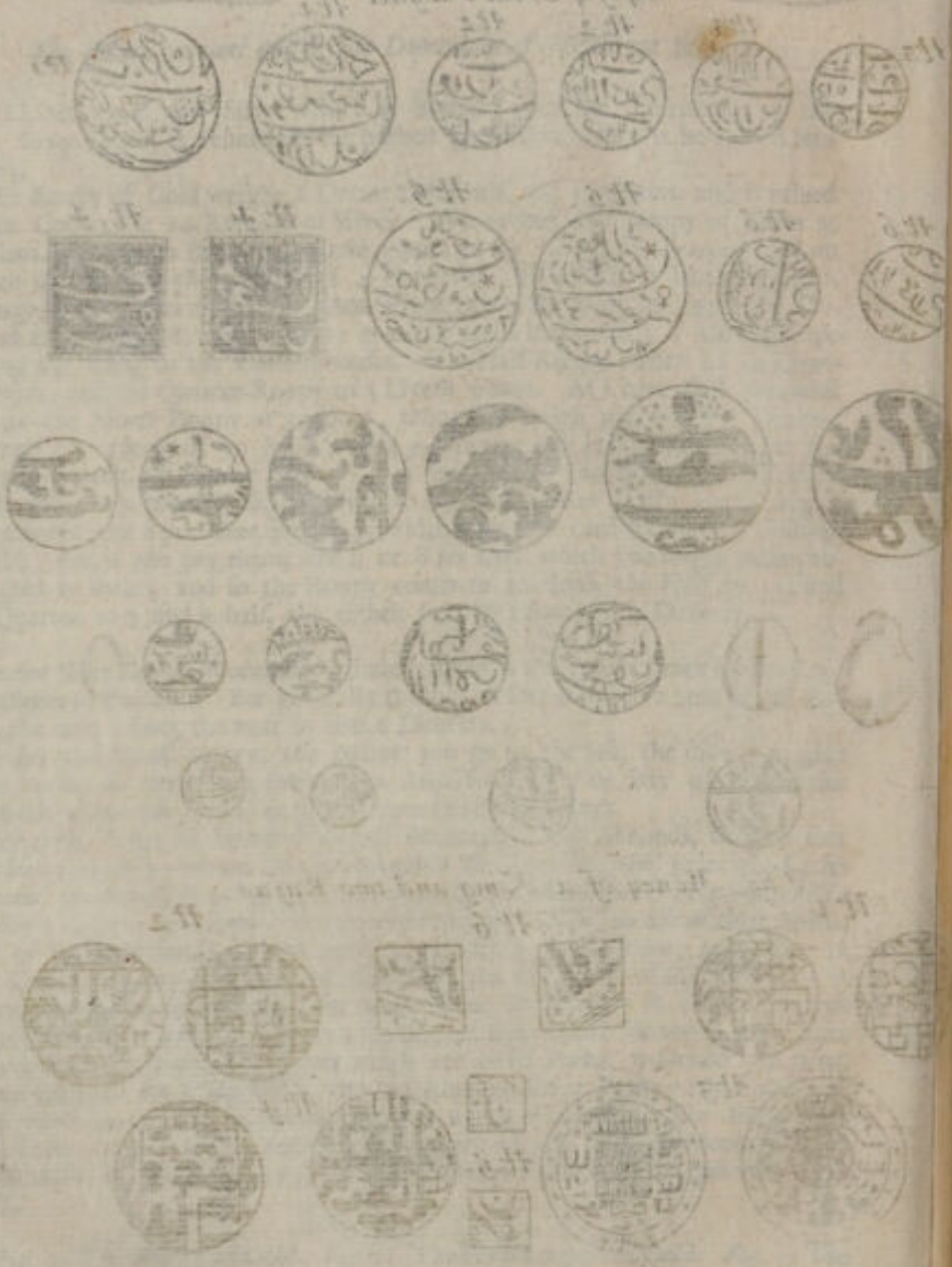


Fig. 12. The Shells. *Fig.* 13. A Silver-Mamoudi, which is the Money of *Guzerat*. *Fig.* 14. Half a Mamoudi. *Fig.* 15. The Almond.

I have mark'd two ſorts of Roupies, the one ſquare, the other round. The ſquare one is as they coin'd it anciently; the round ones are as they make them at this day.

The Money of a King *and two* Raja's, *all three Tributaries to the Great* Mogul.

Maton-cha is a Tributary to the Great *Mogul*; yet he has power to coin Money. When you are at *Agra*, the Territories of this King lye to the North; and before you can come at them, you muſt paſs over very high and cragged Mountains. 'Tis a good Country, where are all things neceſſary for the ſupport of humane life, except Rice, which is a great inconvenience to the Inhabitants, who being all Idolaters, are depriv'd thereby of their chiefeſt delicacies, in regard they feed upon nothing ſo heartily as upon Rice. They have excellent Corn and Grapes, but they make no Wine, though they make ſome *Aqua vitæ*. They want neither Oxen nor Cows; but their Horſes are little, weak and ill-ſhap'd. All the Trade which theſe people have with their Neighbours, is in Copper, whereof they have two extraordinary Mines, from whence they furniſh the greateſt part of the *Mogul*'s Territories; out of which they have Salt in exchange, not having any of their own. This Salt coſts them dear, in regard it is four months travel to the place where they fetch it, that is to ſay, from the Territories of *Maton-cha* to the *Indian* Coaſt towards *Bacaim*. They travel upon Oxen, and the ſame Oxen carry their Copper. There muſt be alſo ſome Mines of *Lapis-Lazuli* and *Garnets* in that Country, in regard they bring ſeveral from thence.

Fig. 1, and 2. is the Money of *Maton-cha*.

Fig. 1. is the Silver-Money, which weighs not above one dram and 19 grains, and is of the ſame goodneſs as the Roupy. The half-Roupy goes for 15 Sous, and this for 16 Sous, which is ſix and a half *per Cent.* more. But certain it is, that the more Northward you travel that way, Gold and Silver is more ſcarce. *Fig.* 2. Theſe pieces of Copper go for the value of a Pecha of the Great *Mogul*; they are heavier by half, but the Copper is not ſo good as that of *Pegu* or *Japan*.

Fig. 3, and 4. is the Money of the *Raja* of *Parta Jajounmola*.

The *Raja* of *Parta Jajounmola*, is one of the great *Raja*'s on the other ſide of the *Gagens*. His Territories are directly North of *Patna*, nigh to the great *Mogul*'s to whom he is Tributary, and bordering upon the King of *Bantam*. He is bound every year to ſend an Ambaſſador with twenty Elephants to the Governor of *Patna*, who ſends them to the Great *Mogul*. The greateſt part of his revenue conſiſts in Elephants, Muſk and Rhubarb. He lays alſo a great Impoſition upon Salt, as well that which is ſpent by his own Subjects, as upon that which is carried abroad. This is all Sea-Coaſt Salt, which comes from the Territories of the Great *Mogul*, and is brought from the Sea-Coaſt to *Ganges*, and ſo over *Ganges* is carried as far as the fiftieth and five and fiftieth Degree. They lade above 150000 Oxen; and for every burthen they pay a Roupy at the Salt-Pits, and no more afterwards through the whole Kingdom. Had this *Raja* of *Parta* Salt of his own, he would never be Tributary to the Great *Mogul*.

Fig. 5, and 6. is the Money of the *Raja* of *Ogen*.

The *Raja* of *Ogen* is alſo a Tributary to the Great *Mogul*; his Country lies between *Brampour*, *Seronge* and *Amadabat*; and it is one of the beſt Soils in

the *Indies*. His Silver Money paſſes no-where but in his own Country, not being ſuffer'd in the *Mogul*'s. His Silver Money goes for a quarter of a Roupy, at 7 Sous 6 Deneers; but the Silver is baſe. His Copper Money goes for 6 Deneers, and is currant in the *Mogul*'s Dominions as far as *Agra*. For his ſmaller Money he makes uſe of thoſe Shells whereof we have already ſpoken.

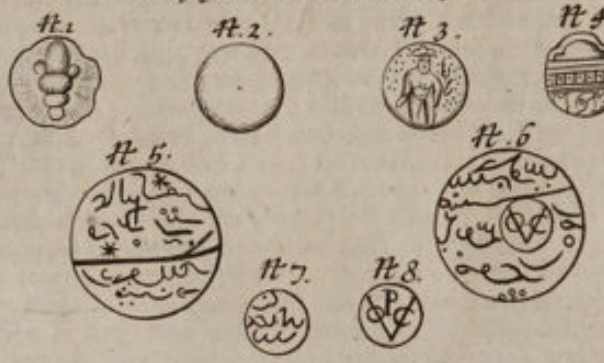
Pieces of Gold called Pagods, which are currant in the Territories of the King of Golconda, *the King of* Viſapour, *the Great* Raja *of* Carnatica, *the* Raja *of* Velouche, *and at the Diamond Mines.*

ALL the Pieces of Gold repreſented in the Plate of *Golconda*-Money, paſs through all theſe Countries at the ſame value, and are about the weight of our half Piſtol; but the Gold is of a baſer Mettal, ſo that an Ounce is not worth above 42 or 43 Livres; not going for more than four Roupies.

Fig. 1. Is one of the ancient Pagods, at the time when the *Raja*'s were Maſters of the Kingdom of *Golconda*, and they are only ſtampt upon one ſide as you ſee. They are as heavy as the new ones; and though they be no better Gold, yet ſome years ſince they went at 20, and 25 *per Cent.* more than the new ones; the reaſon is, for that the Bankers being all Idolaters, they are ſo ſuperſtitious as to believe, that if they melt down that Money, ſome Calamity will befall their Country; and they hold this for ſuch a certain truth, That for fear the King of *Golconda* ſhould melt it, they paid him for certain Years 20000 Pagods. But you muſt obſerve, that theſe old Pagods are no-where currant but in the Kingdom of *Golconda*. For my part, I think it is more for their profit than out of any Superſtition, that they make uſe of them in that manner. For in all the Kingdom of *Golconda*, in matter of trade, they never mention any but the old Pagods, though they make their payments in new Pagods, or Roupies; and in this caſe they who receive thoſe new Pagods, or thoſe Roupies, play their game ſo well, that they gain a fourth part, or a half, and ſometimes one *per Cent.* alledging for the reaſon, that thoſe new Pagods are either the King of *Viſapour*'s, or the *Raja* of *Carnatica*'s, or the *Raja* of *Velouche*'s, or the *Engliſh*, or the *Hollanders*. And they make as much of the Roupies; for there is no conſiderable payment made, which is not received by the *Cheraff* or Banker, making it good to the Seller, who ſometimes has no need of his Money in a Month or two, and ſo he receives the intereſt of it, though it be but for two days. If the payment be made in old Pagods, and that the ſum amount to two or three hundred, or three or four thouſand, the Banker takes them all, and viewing them one after another, he divides them into five or ſix parts; and then poiſing them all, he ſayes of ſome, that they are more us'd than others, and that having paſſed through many hands, there is a waſte of the mettal about one *per Cent.* Others, ſayes he, want not above half one *per Cent.* others but a fourth part. Theſe Pagods have been bor'd ſome half thorough, others a quarter thorough; and it is a wonderful thing what this boring amounts to. For in regard theſe Pagods are very thick, and cannot be clipt, thoſe that are Maſters of the trade, take a Piercer, and pierce the Pagod thorough the ſide, half way or more, taking out of one piece as much Gold as comes to two or three Sous. And provided they be not taken in the fact, they chuſe rather to follow this Trade than any other; there being no handycraft Tradesmen among the *Indians*, that gain more than three Sous a day. After they have drawn out the piercer, they knock upon the holes with a little Hammer, and are ſo cunning in cloſing up the holes again, that he muſt be very skilful indeed, that can diſcover the cheat. For this reaſon, they never receive any payment till they have ſhew'n the Pieces to the *Cheraff* or Banker; and though he looks only on two or three Pieces, he takes a Sous. They have alſo another cunning Trick, and the more the Banker is in credit,

Peices of Gold call'd Pagods.

English & Holland Money.



the more he gains; for if he makes any payment, according to the quantity of the ſum, he puts the Pagods by fifty or a hundred together in little bags, and ſeals them up with his Seal, and writes upon the bag the number of the Pagods within; and ſo delivers them to him to whom he makes the payment. When the Party makes uſe of them, he never opens the bag, but gives them as they are, to him to whom they are due; who goes to the ſame Banker that ſeal'd the bags. The Banker ſeeing his Seal whole, makes anſwer, That the Pieces are good, and in that manner they ſhall paſs all the Year without opening the bags. But when ever they change the hand, they ſend for the ſame Banker, who always will have ſo much *per Cent.* for his Viſit. But, as I have ſaid, the Merchant leaves them in his hand to get Intereſt; who then pays Eight *per Cent.* for a Year, and ſometimes Twelve. Thus the Bankers have always the greateſt part of the Money in the Kingdom in their hands, of which they make large profit. 'Tis the Cuſtom in that Country, every Month to pay the Soldiery; but for the moſt part, the Soldiers, Captains, and other Officers will not ſtay till the Month be up, but come to the Bankers, who diſcount after the rate of Eighteen or Twenty *per Cent.* by the Year, beſides that they pay them in theſe Pagods, againſt which others would often object. If there be any large Diamond to be ſold in any Country, theſe Bankers have intelligence of it preſently; or if there be any fair Ruby, 'tis not long before they have it in pawn; for every Year when the Merchants return from *Pegu*, and have any Rubies, moſt commonly they are in debt; and in regard it is the Cuſtom to pay within fifteen dayes after the Merchant comes aſhoar, he pawns his beſt goods he has for payment, as well of the freight of the Ship, as of what he may have taken up at *Pegu*. After that he ſells the worſt of his goods to pay the Banker, who lent him the Money upon his arrival. Thoſe that work in the Diamond Mines, or the Merchants that hire the Mine, when they have any fair Stones, they ſell them to theſe Bankers, becauſe there is ready Money; or elſe they pawn them to the Bankers, till they can find a Chapman to buy them.

Fig. 1. The old Pagod.
Fig. 2. The King of *Golconda*'s Pagod.
Fig. 3, and 4. The King of *Viſapour*'s Pagod.
Fig. 5, and 6. The *Raja* of *Carnatica*'s Pagod.
Fig. 7, and 8. The *Raja* of *Vtlouche*'s Pagod.
Fig. 9, 10, 11, and 12. are the Half-Pagods of thoſe Kings and *Raja*'s.
Fig. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17. are little Pieces of Gold call'd *Fanos*, which are of different value. There are ſome whereof ſix go to a Crown; others from ten to fifteen; and ſome are very baſe mettal. This is the Money that paſſes all along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*; from Cape *Comorin* as far as *Bengala*. And they have very little other than that, beſides the Pecha of Copper, and the Shells, which paſs for ſmall Money.

The Money which the Engliſh *and* Hollanders *Coin in the* Indies.

FIgure 1, and 2. is the Money which the *Engliſh* coin in their Fort St. *George*, or elſe at *Madreſpatan*, upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. They call them Pagods, as thoſe of the Kings and *Raja*'s of the Country are call'd. They are of the ſame weight, the ſame goodneſs, and paſs for the ſame Value. Formerly the *Engliſh* never coin'd any Silver or Copper Money; for in ſome parts that border upon the *Indians*, where they have Factories, as at *Surat*, *Maſſipatan*, or at *Bantam*, they find it more profitable to carry Gold from *England*, than Silver; Gold lying in leſs room, and not being ſo troubleſome; beſides, that by carrying Gold they more eaſily eſcape the paying thoſe Cuſtoms, which the Kings impoſe upon Gold and Silver. But ſince the preſent King of *England*

land married the Princeſs of *Portugal*, who had in part of her Portion the famous Port of *Bombeye*, where the *Engliſh* are very hard at work to build a ſtrong Fort, they coin both Silver, Copper and Tinn. But that Money will not go at *Surat*, nor in any part of the Great *Mogul*'s Dominions, or in any of the Territories of the *Indian* Kings; only it paſſes among the *Engliſh* in their Fort, and ſome two or three Leagues up in the Country, and in the Villages along the Coaſt; the Country people that bring them their Wares, being glad to take that Money; otherwiſe they would ſee but very little ſtirring, in regard the Country is very poor, and the people have nothing to ſell but *Aqua vitæ*, made of Coco-Wine and Rice.

Fig. 3 and 4. is the Gold Money which the *Hollanders* coin at *Pelicate*, which is a Fort that they poſſeſs upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. Thoſe pieces are alſo call'd Pagods, and are of the ſame weight with the others; but for the goodneſs, I think they are better by two or three in the hundred, than thoſe of the Kings and *Raja*'s of the Country, or which the *Engliſh* make. I made this obſervation, being at the Diamond-Mines, and in other parts of the *Indies* where there is any great Trade. For the firſt thing they ask you is, Whether you have any Pagods of *Pelicate*; and if you have, you ſpeed much better in your buſineſs.

Fig. 5, and 6. is a Roupy of Silver, which the *Hollanders* coin at *Pelicate*, being of the ſame weight with thoſe which the Great *Mogul*, or the Kings of *Golconda* and *Viſapour* make. It has in the middle upon one ſide the mark of the *Holland* Company, to diſtinguiſh it from others. The *Hollanders* Roupies of Silver are quite contrary to their Pagods of Gold, which are more eſteemed by the *Indians* than thoſe of the Princes of the Country. For they make far leſs account of theſe Roupies of Silver; and if you pay any great ſum in theſe pieces, though the Silver be as good as the others, you muſt loſe one half *per Cent.*

Fig. 7, and 8. is the *Hollanders* ſmall Copper-Money, wherewith they ordinarily pay their Soldiers. It has upon one ſide the mark of the Company. And indeed the *Hollanders*, who mind nothing but their profit, had great reaſon to obtain leave to coin Money; for bringing only Gold from *Japan*, from *Macaſſar* only Gold in Powder, and from *China* Gold in Ingots, and ſelling all theſe to the Bankers, they found that they loſt five or ſix *per Cent.* which proceeded from the miſtruſt of the Changers, and the chief of the Factories belonging to the Company. Now they ſhun that loſs, and make the ſame profit which the Bankers did, coining all theſe Mettals into money. Though in every Voyage which they make to *Japan*, they generally loſe one Veſſel by ſtorm; yet ſome years they make five or ſix Millions of Livres profit, all freights diſcharged, and hazards eſcaped. But that profit is quite loſt, ſince their loſs of the Iſland of *Formoſa*.

The Money of the King of Cheda *and* Pera.

THis Money is of Tin, and is coin'd by the King of *Cheda* and *Pera*. He coins no other Money than Tin. Some yearsſince he found out ſeveral Mines, which was a great prejudice to the *Engliſh*. For the *Hollanders* and other Merchants buy it, and vend it over all *Aſia*. Formerly the *Engliſh* brought it out of *England*, and furniſhed great part of *Aſia*, where they conſum'd a vaſt quantity; they carried it alſo into all the Territories of the Great *Mogul*, as alſo into *Perſia* and *Arabia*; for all their Diſhes are of Copper, which they cauſe to be Tinned over every month. Among the meaner ſort of people, there is little to be ſeen but this Tin-money, and the Shells call'd *Cori*; which I have ſpoken of already.

Fig. 1, and 2. is that great piece of Tin, which weighs an ounce and a half, and in that Country goes for the Value of two of our Sous. But in regard that Tin is there at 14 Sous a pound, it is not worth above one Sous and three

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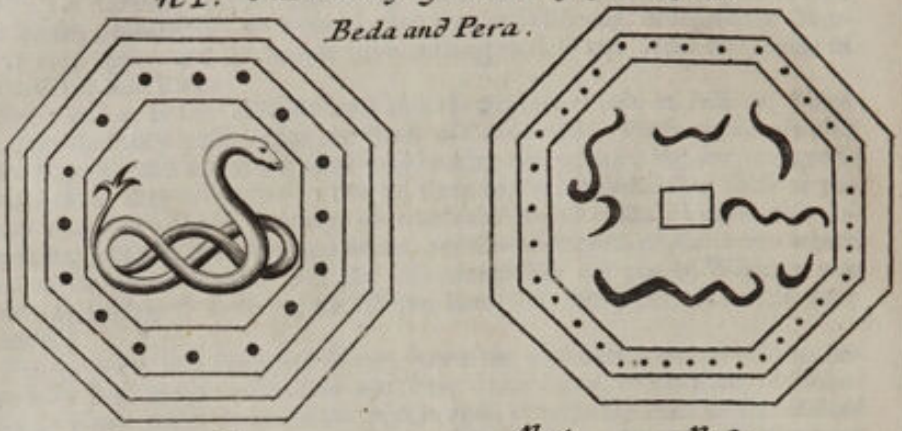
Nº 1. The Money of the King of Beda and Pera. Nº 2.



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Money of the King of Achen.

Nº 1 Nº 2 Nº 5 Nº 6 Nº 3. Nº 4.

Nº 9 Nº 10

Nº 7. Nº 8.

Money of the King of Siam.

Nº 1 Nº 2. Nº 3 Nº 4

Nº 7.

Nº 5. Nº 6. Nº 8.

three Deneers. This piece of Tin is only thick in the ſides, the middle being as thin as Paper.

Fig. 3, and 4. is a piece that goes at the value of four Deneers.

Fig. 5, and 6. are their Shells, whereof they give fifty for the little piece of Tin.

The Money of Gold and Tin of the King of Achen. *With the Money in Gold Coin'd by the King of* Macaſſar, *and the* Celebes. *And the Silver and Copper Money of the King of* Camboya.

Fig. 1, and 2. is the Money in Gold coin'd by the King of *Achen*, in the Iſland of *Sumatra*. In goodneſs it is better than our Louis; an Ounce being well worth fifty Franks. This piece weighs 10 Grains, and would be worth ſixteen Sous and eight Deneers of our Money.

Fig. 3, and 4. is the ſmall Money made by the ſame King, being of Tin, and weighs eight Grains. The Tin being good, I value it at 16 Sous a pound; and then 75 of theſe pieces is worth one Sous of ours.

Fig. 5, and 6. is the Money in Gold of the King of *Macaſſar*, or the *Celebes*. This piece weighs twelve Grains, and the *Hollanders* take it for a Florin of our Money; which comes to 23 Sous and eight Deneers.

Fig. 7, and 8. is the Silver Money of the King of *Camboya*; being good Silver, and weighs thirty two Grains. The piece comes to 24 Sous of our Money; nor does the King coin it at any higher rate. He has a great quantity of Gold in his Country, but he never coins it into Money; for he trades with it by weight, as he does with his Silver, according to the cuſtom of *China*.

Fig. 9. and 10. is the Copper Money of the King of *Camboya*. The King of *Java*, the King of *Bantam*, and the Kings of the *Molucca* Iſlands coin no other Money, but pieces of Copper after the ſame form and manner. As for their Silver Money, they let it paſs as it comes out of other Countries, without melting it down. In *Bantam*, in all *Java*, in *Batavia*, and the *Molucca*'s, there is little other Money ſtirring, but *Spaniſh* Reals, Rixdollars of *Germany*, and Crowns of *France*; the greateſt part being Half-Reals, Quarters and eighth Parts. But in *Batavia* they uſe beſides for ſmall Money, Shillings, double Sous and Sous, as in *Holland*.

The Money in Gold, Silver and Copper, of the King of Siam.

Fig. 1, and 2. is the Money in Gold, coin'd by the King of *Siam*; and weighs 18 Grains more than our Half-Piſtol. The Gold is of the ſame Goodneſs, and may be worth 7 Livres and one Sous of our Money. When the Merchants, that trade in that Country, bring thence either Gold or Silver, 'tis for want of other Commodities, as Silk, Muſk, Sandal, Wood, Gum, Lake, Elephants teeth, and other things. For by carrying out Gold or Silver, they reap but two in the hundred profit.

Fig. 3, 4, 5, and 6. is a piece about the bigneſs of a large Hazle-Nut, flatted on the four ſides, like a ſemicircle, three ſides whereof are open like a Horſe-ſhoe; and upon two ſides are certain of their own Letters. There is no Money in the Eaſt ſo ſtrangely coin'd as this. It weighs three Drams and a half, and 25 Grains, and is as good as our Silver at three Livres and 10 Sous the Ounce. It amounts to 32 Sous and 4 Deneers of our Money.

Fig. 6, 7, and 8. is the Copper Money of the King of *Siam*; and they give two hundred of theſe pieces for one piece of Silver. For their ſmall Money,

they

they make use of certain Shells that are gather'd upon the Sea-shore, which they bring from *Maldives*.

The Gold and Silver Money of the Kings of Asem, Tipoura, Arakan *and* Pegu.

ALL the Silver Money coin'd by the Kings whom I have nam'd, is in goodness equal to our Crown, rating it at three Livres ten Sous the Ounce, as we rate our Crowns here.

Fig. 1, and 2. is the Silver Money of the King of *Asem*; it weighs three Drams and four Grains, and comes to 23 Sous of our Money.

Fig. 3, 4. is the Silver Money made by the King of *Tipoura Chatermani*. In the language of the Country, he is call'd *Dien Ara-gari*, which is stampt upon one side of the Money, and upon the other *Chatermani Roy de Tipoura*. His Country begins about twelve days journey from *Daca* toward the North-West. This Money weighs two Drams and a half, and twenty-two Grains; and is in value twenty-two Sous.

Fig. 5, 6. is the King of *Arakan*'s Money. It weighs two Drams and a half, and 15 Grains, which makes 21 Sous of our Money. This King coins no Gold; but he trafficks in Gold uncoin'd. The Mettal is very base, and not worth above 14 Carats, a Carat being the third part of an Ounce. The King however holds it at a high rate, to keep it from being carry'd out of his Country. In all *Bengala* this King is known by no other Name but the King of *Mogue*.

Fig. 7, and 8. is the King of *Pegu*'s Silver Money, and weighs two Drams and a half, and twelve Grains, which may come to about 20 Sous, and six Deniers of our Money.

Fig. 9, and 10. are the King of *Pegu*'s Fano's, or little pieces of Gold, and weigh not above 7 Grains to boot. Fifteen of these little pieces pass for the value of a Real, or one of our Crowns, the Gold being coarse.

Fig. 11, 12. are the Kings of *Asem*'s Fano's; they weigh also 7 Grains; but they are a much baser Mettal than those of *Pegu*, for twenty-two of them amount but to the value of our Crown.

Lumps or Pieces of Gold and Silver which go for Money in the Kingdom of China, *and the Kingdom of* Tunquin.

YOU are first to take notice, that in all the Kingdom of *China*, and the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, there is no Money coin'd, either Gold or Silver; that their small Money is Copper, and that they make use in payments only of Lumps or Pieces of Gold and Silver, which have every one their particular weight, as is here represented.

The Pieces of Gold mark'd *Fig.* 1, and 2. are by the *Hollanders* call'd *Goltschut*, that is to say, a Boat of Gold, because they are in the form of a Boat. Other Nations call them Loaves of Gold; and there are but two different sizes of them. The Gold is of such a goodness, that an Ounce in *France* would not be worth less than 42 Franks. The great Pieces come to twelve hundred Gelders of *Holland* Money, and thirteen hundred and fifty Livres of our Money. The other Piece, which weighs but half as much, is in value according to its proportion.

As for their Pieces of Silver, they are of several sizes, and different weight. *Fig.* 3. weighs six Drams and a half, and 23 Grains; and the Silver being very

Money of the King of Asem. Travells in India.

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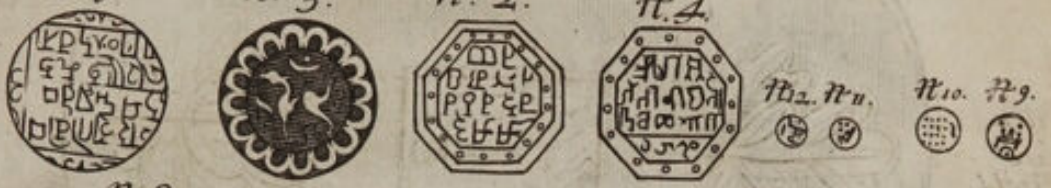

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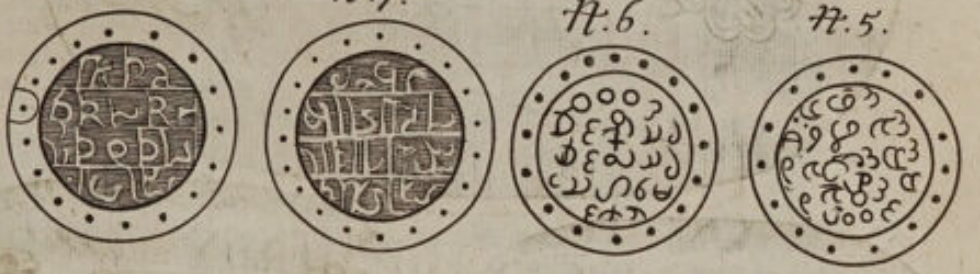

China Peices

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very near in goodneſs to the *Pariſian*, it comes to fifty-nine Sous, and eight Deneers of our Money. The other Pieces as well great as ſmall, are in value according to their weight.

In great payments they make uſe of *Ingots*, that come to a hundred *Franks* in value; and they have little Pieces of Silver that are not worth above a Sous.

When they buy any Commodity, if they have not whole Pieces enough to make up the ſum, they have alwayes inſtruments ready to cut off ſo much from a great Piece as will perfect the Payment.

When the *Chineſes* tranſport their Golden Loaves, or their Boats, into other Countries, the Merchants cut them in the middle, not daring to truſt the *Chineſes*, who have often deceiv'd, them and none have been more cheated than the *Hollanders*. For they have a way to ſtuff their loaves of Gold, inſomuch that you ſhall ſometimes find in the middle a third part of Copper or Silver. In all ſorts of Bargains the *Chineſes* are ſo cunning, that there are few ſtrangers whom they do not over-reach; eſpecially, in *Batavia*, the *Hollanders* when they come firſt. They carry their weights alwayes along with them, being like a *Roman* Beam, or a Stelleer, about eight Inches long, with which they weigh all the Gold and Silver which they receive. As for the ſmall Money both in *China* and *Tunquum*, it is of Copper. It is made as in *Fig.* 4. They alſo thread theſe pieces, there being a hole in the middle, 12, 25, 50, and 300 upon a ſtring; becauſe they will not put themſelves to the trouble of telling them, when the number exceeds a dozen.

The Gold and Silver Money of Japon.

ALL the Gold that comes from *Japon*, is of the ſame goodneſs; ſomewhat better than our Louis; and is about that goodneſs for which we pay about 50 Franks the Ounce.

Fig. 1. This piece of Gold weighs one Ounce and ſix Drams, at fifty Franks the Ounce, comes to 87 Livres and 10 Sous.

Fig. 2, and 3. Every one of theſe pieces is of Gold, and every one weighs a third part of the great one; which is half an Ounce, and 48 Grains; and comes to 29 Livres, 3 Sous, and 4 Deneers.

Fig. 4. This, as it is mark'd is the backſide of the three pieces of Gold.

Fig. 5, and 6. are pieces of Silver of the ſame weight; every one weighing 4 Grains leſs than our pieces of 30 Sous, though it go nevertheleſs for the ſame value. As for the Silver, it is the ſame in goodneſs with our Money. However, in the Territories of the Great *Mogul*, whither the *Hollanders* carry all their Silver, their Bars, and *Japon* pieces, to coin them into Money, ſometimes they ſell them to the Bankers, where they have no convenience of coinage, as at *Surat* and *Agra*; and theſe Bankers, give them from two to three in the hundred more than they will give for our Crowns, Rix-dollars, or *Spaniſh* Reals.

Fig. 7. is the backſide of the two Silver pieces.

The Portraicture of the Silver Ingots of Japon, *which go for Money.*

I Said before, that all the Silver that comes out of *Japon*, is equal in goodneſs to our Crowns.

Fig. 1. An Ingot of this form weighs ſeven ounces, at three Livres ten Sous the ounce: the whole comes to twenty four Livres, and ten Sous.

Fig. 2. Weighs two ounces, three drams and an half: the whole comes to eight Livres, ten Sous, and seven Deneers.

Fig. 3. Weighs one ounce, half a dram, and twelve grains: the whole comes to four Livres, five Sous, and five Deneers.

Fig. 4. Weighs one ounce, eight grains: the whole comes to three Livres, ten Sous, and an eleven Deneers.

Fig. 5. Weighs seven drams, one quarter, and seven grains: the whole comes to three Livres, eight Sous, and eight Deneers.

Fig. 6. Weighs two drams and an half, and twenty four grains: the whole comes to one Livre, five Sous, and one Deneer.

Fig. 7. Weighs two drams, twenty four Deneers: the whole comes to one Livre, nine Deneers.

Fig. 8. Weighs one dram and an half, and twenty four grains: the whole comes to sixteen Sous, and four Deneers.

Fig. 9. Is the Copper-Money which they thread by fifteen, thirty, fifty, to the number of 600. which is the value of a Tell in Silver. Over all *Japon* they reckon by Tells: and the *Hollanders* reckon, that a Tell makes three Gelders and an half of their Money, which comes to four Livres, and five Sous of ours.

Fig. 10. Is the back-side of the Copper-piece.

Money that represents the Figures of the twelve Signs; and which were Coined during the twenty four hours, that Gehan-guir, *King of the* Indians, *permitted Queen* Nourmahall, *his Wife, to Reign in his stead.*

Sultan Selim, otherwise called *Gehanguir Patcha*, the ninth King of the *Indians*, Father of *Cha-gehan*, was a great Lover of Women: but he had a particular affection for one among the rest, which he kept in his *Seraglio*; and which he had Espous'd, as meriting more than ordinary. She was a Woman of a Sublime Wit, and very liberal; and she knew so well how to please the King's humour, and to divertize him, that he could not live without her. She had two Names; the one was *Nour-gehan-begum*, which signifies the *light of the World*; and this was the Name which was engraven upon her Signet: for as I have observ'd in my Relations, they never Sign any thing, but only set their Seals. The other Name, by which she was call'd at Court, was *Nour-mahall*, which signifies the *Light of the Seraglio*. She was always a great enemy to the King's two Sons; more especially to the second, who was called *Sultan Kourom*: and who afterwards comeing to the Throne, called himself *Cha-gehan*. He set himself to oppose all the designs of this Princess: who, for her part, had such an Ascendant over the King, that she perswaded him to spend the greatest part of the year in the Country, under-hand soliciting certain *Raja*'s upon the Frontiers to rise against him, that she might engage him in the Wars, and keep him from the company of his Sons. This Queen, being altogether Ambitious, made it her business to please the King, that she might the more easily accomplish her designs; and having a great desire to eternize her Memory, she could not think of a better way, than to Coin a good quantity of Money in her own Name: and of a different stamp from that which the *Indian* Kings were wont to Coin. For you must take notice, that all the Coins of those Kings have only the Characters of the Countrey upon each side of the Piece. But this Queen caus'd one of the twelve Signs to be stamp'd upon each side of Hers, which is contrary to the Law of *Mahomet*, that forbids all manner of representations. However, she had never brought her design about, had *Sultan Kourom* been at Court. But she took her time, when the King had caus'd the eyes of his eldest Son, *Sultan Kosrou* to be put out, because he had taken up Arms against him, with an intention to depose him from his Throne. For after he had obtain'd that Victory, he sent his second Son, *Sultan Kourom*, into *Decan*, with

Silver Ingots of Iapan. *Travells in India*

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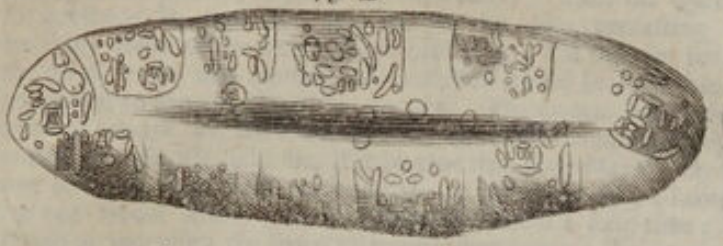

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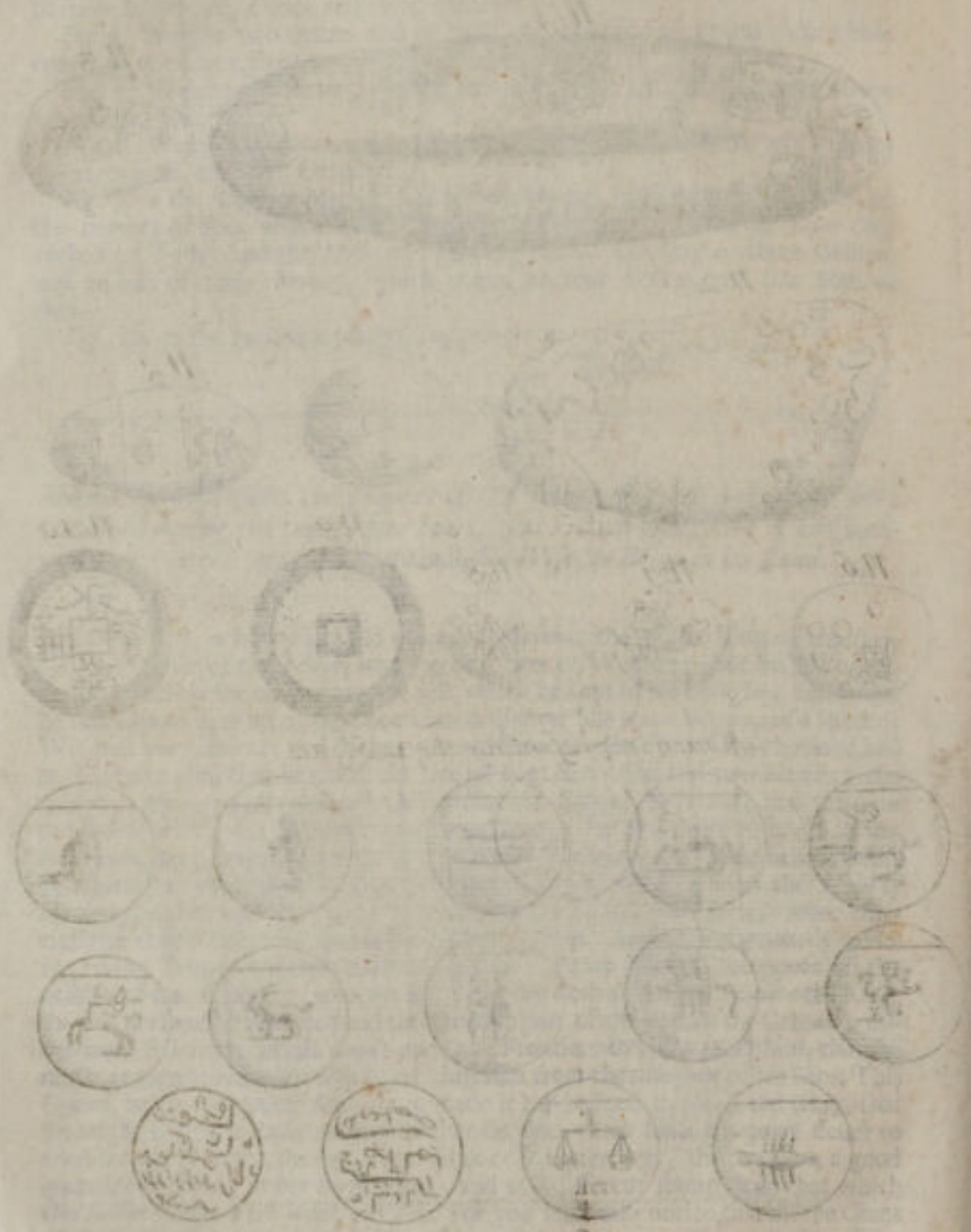
Money representing the 12 Signes



with a powerful Army againſt the King of *Viſapour*, who was in Rebellion. Queen *Nourmahall* ſeeing her ſelf deliver'd from thoſe that were able to croſs her deſigns, and particularly from *Sultan Kourom*, the moſt Potent, and the moſt inveterate of all her enemies, and believing it ſeaſonable to diſcover her purpoſe to the King, ſet her ſelf to flatter him more than ſhe was wont; inventing new ways to divertize him, ſometimes with Hunting, and ſometimes in the *Haram*, with Balls and Comedies: One day that the King was extremely well-pleas'd, and having drank briskly, began to be very merry; after the Queen had Danc'd in his preſence, he took her, and ſet her by him, proteſting to her, that he lov'd her above all the Princeſſes in his Court; and that but for her, he had dy'd for grief, to ſee that his Son *Sultan Koſrou* ſhould be ſo traiterouſly bold, as to endeavour to deprive him of his Scepter. The Queen ſeeing the King ſo highly affected toward her, fail'd not to make uſe of ſo favourable an opportunity. To which purpoſe, Sir, ſaid ſhe, if it be true that your Majeſty has that kindneſs for me, of which you would perſwade me to aſſure my ſelf, I know you will grant me one favour which I have paſſionately deſir'd a long time; that I may only Reign as Sovereign the ſpace of twenty four hours. This requeſt ſurpriz'd the King, and kept him very ſad for ſome days, being unwilling to deny her any thing, and yet being as loth to grant her a Boon of ſo high a nature. In the mean time the Queen ply'd the King with paſtime and Divertiſements, pretending to take no notice of his melancholy. At length the fifth day after ſhe had made her Petition, the King no longer able to reſiſt her Charms, nor the ſtrong Paſſion he had for her, told her he would retire for twenty four hours, and that ſhe might aſſume the abſolute Command of the Kingdom during that time. At the ſame time he caus'd all the Grandees that were then at Court, to be ſent for into his preſence, and then commanded them to obey her, and punctually to execute her Orders, as if it were he himſelf that ſpoke to them. It was a long time before that the Queen had made every thing ready, and that ſhe had ſecretly hoarded up great quantities of Gold and Silver in all the Cities where the Mints were appointed, and had diſtributed the Stamps as ſhe thought convenient. And indeed it was a wonderful thing, that a Woman ſhould ſo politickly carry on ſo great a deſign, as to have four and twenty Stamps engrav'd, and to keep in a readineſs in Gold and Silver above two Millions in all the Cities, without being diſcovered to the King, or any of the Court. There were none but the Mint-Maſters that knew any thing of her deſign, whom ſhe engag'd by large promiſes, and larger hopes; as believing that ſhe could certainly obtain her deſire one day of the King; and then, if ſhe had her Materials ready, that ſhe could do her buſineſs in twenty four hours. The day being appointed, ſhe ſent away Meſſengers to all the Cities, commanding them on that day to Coin *Roupies* of Gold and Silver, to the value already mention'd. When the King and the Grandees came to underſtand the buſineſs, they were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd; eſpecially *Sultan Kourom*, the Queens implacable enemy, who, as ſome perſons of the Countrey aſſur'd me, fainted away at the news, and did not come to himſelf in a good while after. The thing was ſo ſuddenly done, eſpecially in the Cities neer at hand, that within two hours after ſhe was ſate upon the Throne, ſhe caus'd ſeveral quantities of that Gold and Silver to be thrown among the people, which during the Reign of *Gehan-guir* went currantly for *Roupies*. But when *Sultan Kourom*, who took upon him the Name of *Cha-gehan* came to the Crown after the death of his Father, he forbad all perſons to uſe thoſe *Roupies* upon pain of death, and commanded all that had any of them, either in Gold or Silver, to carry them to the Mint; where they ſhould receive the value of them, to the end they might be melted down. For which reaſon they are at preſent very rare, particularly thoſe in Gold; among the reſt, two or three of them are ſo hard to be found, that an hundred Crowns has been given for one of them. The *Roupies* of Gold are worth one and twenty *Livres* of our Money: and thoſe of Silver, thirty *Sous*. The Queen, during her Reign of twenty four hours, had that reſpect for the King, that on the back-ſide of the Pieces whereon the twelve Signs were Engraven, ſhe caus'd the Name of *Gehan-guir* to be ſtamp'd with her own, and the name of the place where they were Coin'd, all in *Arabick* Letters.

Perhaps the Reader may be curious to know from whence this Illuſtrious Queen

of the *Indians* descended: and therefore for his satisfaction, I will tell him in a few words. Her Father, a *Persian* by Nation, a man naturally Ambitious, and who in his own Country was no more than a bare Captain of Horse, without any hopes of rising to any higher preferment, travell'd into the *Indies*, to serve the Great *Mogul*, who was then *Gehan-guir*, with an intention of raising his Fortune in a strange Country. *Gehan-guir* had then many Enemies, the Kings of *Golconda* and *Visapour* being in Rebellion against him, and several *Raja's* having taken their part. So soon as he came to kiss the Kings Hands, the King took a liking to him, and gave him immediately the Command of five hundred Horse. And because he was very well skill'd in Astrology, (which is a Science to which the *Asiaticks* are very much addicted) the King esteem'd him the more, and in a short time made him General of his Army. But afterwards, forgetting his duty, and the benefits he had received, he joyn'd with *Sultan Kosrou*, *Gehan-guir*'s eldest Son; and having gain'd a great part of the Army, they conspir'd together to depose the King, and set up his Son in his stead. There was at that time in the Court, an *Eunuch* of great wit, who did more mischief to the Army in his Closet, than he could have done in the Field. This *Eunuch*, so soon as intelligence was brought of the Rebellion, told the King, that if his Majesty pleas'd, he would deliver *Kosrou* and the *Persian* General into his hands in a short time, without so much as striking one stroke, or losing one man. He was as good as his word in part, for he so order'd his business, by his politick contrivances, that the General was brought to the King, who would not presently put him to death. *Sultan Kosrou* escap'd that bout, and continu'd the War many years against his Father, who at length took him in Fight, and caus'd his eyes to be pull'd out. The King detaining the General in custody, his Wife and his Daughter found a way to save his life, as you shall hear. The Daughter of the *Persian* General, who was his only Child, was about fourteen years of Age, the most accomplish'd Beauty at that time in all the Kingdom; she was most rarely educated, and could both write and read the *Arabian*, *Persian*, and *Indian* Languages. The Mother and the Daughter went every day to Court, to hear what would become of the General; and understanding at length, that the King intended either to put him to death, or to banish him, they came to the *Haram*, and casting themselves at his Majesties feet, they humbly begg'd pardon, the one for her Husband, the other for her Father; which they easily obtain'd; the King being surpriz'd at the Beauty of the Virgin, to whom he afterwards surrendred his Affections. All the Court was astonish'd afterwards, how the General and his Wife could keep, so private, a Daughter that was so incomparably fair, that it should not come to the Kings knowledge. At length he lov'd her so tenderly, that not being able to deny her the liberty of Reigning one whole day in his place, he gave her leave to share with him afterwards in the Government. And she it was, that gave motion to all the most important Affairs of State; the King excusing himself to the Grandee's of his Court, who wonder'd why he let the Queen bear so great a sway, by telling them that she was fit for the Government, and that it was time for him to take his ease.

Fig. 1, and 2. is as all the rest are, the backside of the Twelve Signs. *Fig.* 1. is the backside of the *Ram*, and *Fig.* 2. of *Cancer*. Both of them signifie the same thing; it being the Name of the King, Queen, and City where they were stamp'd. These two were coin'd at *Amadabat*.

The Gold, Silver, and Copper Money which the Portugals *coin in the* East Indies.

THe Gold which the *Portugals* Coin in *Goa* is better than our *Louisse's* of Gold, and weighs one grain more than our half *Pistol*. At the time when I was in *Goa*, this piece was worth four *Roupies*, or six *Franks*. They hold it up at so high

Portugall Money.

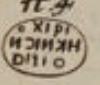
Muscovie Money.

N.1.

N.2.

N.3.

N.4.



N.5.

N.6.

high a rate, to the end the Merchants, who come from all the Coasts of *India* thither with their Wares, may not transport it out of the Countrey. This piece is called St. *Thomas*. Formerly when the *Portuguez* had the Trade of *Japon*, *Macassar*, *Sumatra*, *China* and *Mosambique*, which they still preserve; and is the place whither the *Indians* bring the Gold of the *Abassins* and *Saba*, it was a wonderful thing to see the quantity of Gold which the *Portuguez* Coin'd, and the several pieces of workmanship which they fram'd in Gold, and sent into Forreign Countreys, even to the *West-Indies*, by the way of the *Philippine* Islands. But now they have no other places but only *Mosambique* to furnish them with Gold, they keep up those Pieces called St. *Thomas's* at a very high rate, lest they should be carried out of the Countrey, as I said before. They have also Silver Pieces, which they call *Pardos*, which go for the value of 27 Sous of our Money: As also a great quantity of small Copper and Tin-Money, not much unlike that of the Kings already mentioned, which they thread upon strings in particular numbers.

The Gold and Silver Money of Muscovy.

I Have observed in my Relations, that in all parts of our *Europe*, where they Coin Money, there are great Sums transported all over *Asia*, where they go currantly. But for the Money of *Muscovy* there is great loss in transporting it any where else; because the Prince enhances it to so high a value. The pieces as well of Gold as Silver are very good Metal; for the Gold in worth is somewhat higher than our *Lewis*.

Fig. 1 and 2. This piece of Gold weighs 14 Grains; and to take the Gold at 48 Grains the ounce, would amount to 20 Sous, one Deneer, and one half-peny of our Money. But going in *Muscovy* for 24 Sous, there would be nineteen and an half loss to transport it any where else.

Fig. 3 and 4. Is a piece of Silver that weighs eight Grains; and to take an Ounce of Silver at three Livres ten Sous, it comes to a Sous of our Money. But in the Country you have but fifty of these pieces, or at most sometimes fifty two for one of our Crowns, or a Real of *Spain*, or an *High-German* Rixdollar.

Fig. 5 and 6. Is a piece of Silver also which only goes in *Muscovy*. But I cannot tell in what Province it is Coin'd, in regard there are no Arms upon it, and that the most knowing persons, to whom I shewed them, could not tell me what the Characters meant; which makes me think it is very ancient. The piece weighs 25 Grains, which comes to three of our Sous, one Deneer, and one half-peny.

This is all that I could collect of most certainty, concerning the Money and Coins of the East, during the long course of my Travels. Nor do I believe that any person has undertaken, before me, to write upon the same Subject. If any one of my Readers desires to see the real Pieces themselves, as well in Gold and Silver, as in Tin, Copper, Shells and Almonds, he may, without question, obtain the Favour from *Monsieur*, the first President, to whose Study I devoted them all, together with certain Medals, of which that Supreme Senator, most skilful in Antiquity, has great store, being still curious in searching after what is rare.

The end of the Coins.

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TRAVELS IN INDIA.

The First Book.

What Roads to take, in Travelling from Ispahan *to* Agra, *from* Agra *to* Dehly *and* Gehanabatt, *where the Great* Mogul *Resides at present: And how to Travel also to the Court of the King of* Golconda; *to the King of* Visapour, *and to many other Places in the* Indies.

CHAP. I.

The Road from Ispahan *to* Agra *through* Gomron: *Where is particularly describ'd the manner of Sailing from* Ormus *to* Suratt.

IN this Relation of my *Indian*, I will observe the same Method as in the Recital of my *Persian* Travels; and begin with the Description of the Roads, which lead you from *Ispahan* to *Dehly* and *Gehanadatt*, where the Great *Mogul* Resides at present.

Though the *Indies* stretch themselves front *Persia* for the space of above 400 Leagues together, from the Ocean to that long Chain of Mountains that runs through the middle of *Asia* from the East to the West, and which was known to Antiquity by the Name of *Mount Caucasus*, or *Mount Taurus*; yet there are not so many ways to travel out of *Persia* into the *Indies*, as there are to travel out of *Turky* into *Persia*; by reason that between *Persia* and the *Indies* there are nothing but vast Sands and Desarts, where there is no water to be found. So that you have but two Roads to choose, in going from *Ispahan* to *Agra*. The one is partly by Land, and partly by Sea; taking Ship at *Ormus*. The other altogether by Land, through *Candahar*. The first of these two Roads is amply describ'd, as far as *Ormus*, at the end of my first Book of my *Persian Travels*. So that I am now only to speak of the manner of Sailing from *Ormus* to *Suratt*.

There is no Sailing at all times upon the *Indian* as upon the *European* Seas: You must observe the proper Seasons, which being elaps'd, there is no more venturing. The Months of *November*, *December*, *January*, *February* and *March*, are the only Months in the year to Embark from *Ormus* to *Suratt*; and from *Suratt*

to

to *Ormus*: But with this difference, that there is no ſtirring from *Surat* after the end of *February*; but you may Sail from *Ormus* till the end of *March*, or the fifteenth of *April*: for then the Weſtern-winds, that bring rain along with them into *India*, begin to blow. During the firſt four Months there blows a North-eaſt-wind which carries them from *Surat* to *Ormus* in fifteen or twenty days. Then veering a little to the North, it ſerves as well for thoſe that are bound for *Surat* as thoſe that are bound from thence. Then the Merchants generally provide for a Voyage of thirty, or five and thirty days. But if they would Sail from *Ormus* to *Surat* in fourteen or fifteen days, they muſt take Shipping either in *March*, or at the beginning of *April*; for then the Weſtern-wind blows full in their Stern.

The Veſſels which Sail from *Ormus* run within ſight of *Maſcate* upon the Coaſt of *Arabia*, bearing off to Sea for fear of coming too near the *Perſian* Coaſt. They that come from *Surat*, do the ſame thing, to make the Entry of the Gulf. But neither the one nor the other touch at *Maſcate*, to avoid paying Cuſtoms to an *Arabian* Prince, who took that place from the *Portugals*.

Maſcate is a City ſituate juſt by the Sea-ſide, over againſt three Rocks that make the Entry into the Harbour very difficult, and at the foot of a Mountain upon which the *Portugals* have three or four Forts. It is obſerved that *Maſcate*, *Ormus*, and *Balſara*, are the three places in the Eaſt where the heat is moſt inſupportable. Formerly only the *Hollanders* and *Engliſh* underſtood this Courſe of Navigation; but ſome years after the *Armenians*, *Mahometans*, *Indians*, and *Banians*, have built them Veſſels. But it is not ſo ſafe to Embark in them, for they neither underſtand the Sea ſo well, nor are they ſo good Pilots.

The Veſſels that Sail to *Surat*, which is the only Part in the Empire of the Great *Mogul*, Sail within ſight of *Din*, and the *Point* of St. *John*, and come to an Anchor afterwards in the Road of *Couali*, which is not above four Leagues from *Surat*, and two from the Mouth of the River toward the North. They tranſport their Wares from one place to another, either by Waggons, or in Boats. For great Veſſels cannot get into the River of *Surat* till they have unladen, by reaſon of the Sands that choak it up. The *Hollanders* return as ſoon as they have landed their Wares at *Couali*, and ſo do the *Engliſh*, it not being permitted to either to enter into the River. But ſome years ſince, the King has given the *Engliſh* a place to Winter in, during the rainy Seaſons.

Surat is a City of an indifferent bigneſs, defended by a pitiful Fortreſs, by the foot whereof you muſt paſs, whether you go by Land or by Water. It has four Towers at the four Corners, and in regard there are no Platforms upon the Walls, Guns are planted upon wooden Scaffolds. The Governor of the Fort only commands the Soldiers in the Fort, but has no power in the City, which has a particular Governour to receive the King's Cuſtoms, and other Revenues through the Extent of his Province.

The Walls of the Town are only of Earth, and the generality of the Houſes like Barns, being built of Reeds, plaiſtered with Cow-dung, to cover the void ſpaces, and to hinder them without from diſcerning between the Reeds what is done within. In all *Surat* there be but nine or ten Houſes which are well built: whereof the *Cha-bander*, or chief of the Merchants, has two or three. The reſt belong to the *Mahumetan* Merchants; nor are thoſe, wherein the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* dwell, leſs beautiful; every Preſident, and every Commander, being careful to repair them; which they put upon the account of their Companies. However, they do but hire thoſe Houſes; the King not ſuffering any *Frank* to have an Houſe of his own, for fear he ſhould make a Fortreſs of it. The *Capuchin* Friars have built them a very convenient Convent, according to the Model of our *European* Houſes, and a fair Church; for the building of which, I furniſh'd them with good part of the Money. But the Purchaſe was made in the Name of a *Maronite* Merchant of *Aleppo*, whoſe name was *Chelebi*, of whom I have ſpoken in my *Perſian* Relations.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Customs, Money, Exchange, Weights and Measures of the INDIANS.

TO avoid Repetitions, which cannot be shunn'd in the Course of long Travels; it behoves me to let the Reader understand what belongs to the Custom-house, Money, Exchange, Weights and Measures of the *Indians*.

When your Commodities are unladen at *Suratt*, you must carry them to the Custom-house adjoyning to the Fort. They are very severe, and very exact in searching the People. Particular Merchants pay from four to five *per Cent.* at the Custom-house for all sorts of Ware. But for the *English* and *Holland*-Company, they pay less: But I believe if they did but cast up what it costs them in Deputations and Presents which they are oblig'd every year to send to the Court, they would not pay much less for their Wares, then particular Merchants.

Gold and Silver pay two in the hundred, and when it is brought into the Custom-house, the Master of the Mint comes and takes it, and Coins it into the Money of the Countrey. They agree with him upon the day wherein he will undertake to return the new Pieces: And for so many days as he makes them stay after that, he pays them Interest, according to the proportion of the Silver which he receives. The *Indians* are very subtil and crafty in matters of Money and Payments; three or four years after the Silver is coin'd, it loses half *per Cent.* and goes at the same rate as old Silver; for, say they, it is impossible but that it should lose in passing through so many hands. You may carry all sorts of Silver into the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*. For in all the Frontier Cities there is a Mint, where it is purified to the highest perfection, as is all the Gold and Silver in *India*, by the Kings Command, and coin'd into Money. Silver in Bars, or old Plate, which is bought without paying for the fashion, is the Silver by which you shall lose least: For as for coin'd Silver, there is no avoiding the loss of the Coinage. All their bargains are made, with a condition to pay in coin'd Silver within the present year. And if you make payment in old Silver, you must resolve to lose according to the time since it was first Coin'd. In all places far remote from Cities, where the vulgar People have no great knowledg in Silver: and where there are no Changers, they will not receive a piece of Silver, without putting it into the fire, to try whether it be good or no; And this is the common practice at all Ferries and Passages over Rivers. In regard their Boats are only made of Osier, covered over with an Ox-hide, and by consequence are very light; they keep them in the Woods, and will not take them upon their shoulders, till they have received their Money.

As for their Gold, the Merchants have so many cunning tricks to hide it, that it seldom comes to the knowledg of the Customers. They do all they can to shift off paying the Customs; and that, so much the rather, because they do not run so much hazard as at the Custom-house of *Europe*. For in the *Indian* Custom-houses, if a man be caught in the fraud, he is quitted by paying double; ten in the hundred, instead of five: the King comparing the venture of the Merchant to a game at Hazard, where he plays quit or double. The King had granted to the *English* Captains, that they should not be searched when they came a-shore. But one day one of the *English* Captains going to *Tata*, one of the greatest Cities in *India*, a little above the Mouth of the River *Indus*, as he was going to pass the River, he was stop'd by the Officers of the Custom-house, who search'd and rifl'd him, what-ever he could alledge to the contrary. They found Gold about him, of which he had already carried off several quantities, at several times, that he had gone from his Ship to the City; but they quitted him, upon paying the usual Custom. The *English*-man, vex'd at such an affront, resolv'd to revenge himself; which he did after a very pleasant manner. He caus'd a sucking-pig to be roasted, and putting it together with the dripping, and sawce, in a *China*-platter, covered with a linnen-cloath, he gave it a Slave to bring along after him to the City;

imagining what would fall out. As it pass'd before the Custom-house, while the Governors or the *Cha-bander*, and the Mint-Masters were sitting in the *Divan*, they fail'd not to stop him; and as the Slave went forward with the Plate cover'd, they told his Master that he must come into the Custom-house, and that they must see what he carried. The more the *English*-man cry'd, *that the Slave carried nothing that paid any Duties*, the less he was believ'd; so that after a long debate he took the Plate from his Slave, and carried it himself into the *Divan*; the Governour and the *Cha-bander*, gravely ask'd him, why he would not be obedient to the Laws? Upon which the *English*-man, replying in a great heat, that he carried nothing which paid any duty, threw the Pigg among them with such a fury, that the Sawce and Pigg flew all upon their Garments. Now in regard that Swines-flesh is an abomination to the *Mahometans*, who believe every thing defil'd that touches it; they were forc'd to change their Clothes, take down the Tapestry of the *Divan*, to pull down the *Divan* it self, and build another, not daring to say any thing to the *English* man; for the *Cha-bander*, and Mint-Master are very observant to the Company, by whom they reap a great deal of profit. As for what concerns the Heads of the Companies, as well *English*, as *Dutch*, and their Associates, they have so great a respect for them, that they never search them at all, when they come a-shore; though they will not stick to conceal their Gold, like particular Merchants, and to carry it about them. The Trade of *Tata*, formerly very great, begins now to decay, because the Mouth of the River grows more dangerous, and full of shallows every day more than other, the Sand-hills having almost choak'd it up.

The *English* finding they had learn'd the trick of rifling their Cloaths, studi'd out other little ways and contrivances to conceal their Gold: And the fashion of wearing Perriwigs being newly come out of *Europe*, they hid their *Jacobus's*, *Rose-Nobles*, and *Ducats* in the Net of their Perriwigs, every time they came a-shore.

There was a Merchant that had a mind to convey some Boxes of Coral into *Suratt*, without the knowledge of the Customers. He Swam then into the Town, some days before the Ship was unladen, when it might be done securely before the Customers had any suspition of any thing. But the Merchant repented him afterwards, the Commodity being spoyl'd. For the Water of *Suratt* River being always thick and muddy, there clung to the Coral, which had lain a long time in the Water, a slime like a white crust or skin, which was difficult to be got off; so that after the Coral was polish'd, he lost by it above twelve *per Cent.*

I come now to the Money which goes for currant through the whole extent of the Great *Mogul*'s Dominions; and to all the sorts of Gold and Silver, which is carri'd thither in *Ingots* to make profit thereof.

In the first place you must observe that it is very profitable to buy Gold and Silver which has been wrought, to melt it into *Ingots*, and to refine it to the highest purity: For being refin'd, you pay not for the Portage of the Alloy, which was mix'd with it before: And carrying the Gold and Silver in Wedges, you pay neither to the Prince nor to the Mint what they exact for Coinage. If you carry coin'd Gold, the best Pieces are *Jacobus's*, *Rose-Nobles*, *Albertus's*, and other ancient Pieces, as well of *Portugal*, as of other Countries, and all sorts of Gold that have been coin'd in former Ages. For by all those old Pieces the Merchant is sure to gain. You may also reckon for good Gold, and which is proper to be carri'd thither, all the *Ducats* of *Germany*, as well those coin'd by the several Princes, as by the Imperial Towns, together with the *Ducats* of *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Swedeland* and *Denemark*; and indeed all sorts of *Ducats* are taken to be of the same goodness. The *Venetian Ducats* of Gold formerly pass'd for the best, and were worth four or five of our *Sous*, more than any others; but about a dozen years ago they seem to have been alter'd, not going now for any more than the rest. There are also *Ducats* which the *Grand Seignior* Coins at *Cairo*, and those of *Sally*, and *Morocco*: But these three sorts are not so good as the others, and are not worth so much as they by four *Sous* of our Money.

Over all the Empire of the Great *Mogul*, all the Gold and Silver is weigh'd with Weights, which they call *Tolla*; which weigh nine Deneers, and eight grains of our Weights. When they have any quantity of Gold and Silver to sell, the *Indians* use yellow Copper-Weights, with the King's mark, to avoid cousenage. And with

with these Weights they weigh all the Gold and Silver at once, provided it amount not to above a hundred *Tolla's*. For the Changers have no other weights, but from one *Tolla* to a hundred; and a hundred *Tolla's* come to 38 Ounces, 21 Deneers, and 8 Grains. As for the Gold and Silver which is not coin'd, if there be much, they essay it; and having put it to the Touch, they bid to the utmost value to out-vye one another.

In regard there are some Merchants that have above forty or fifty thousand Ducats at a time, the *Indians* weigh them with a weight which is just the weight of a hundred Ducats, which is also mark'd with the Kings Mark; and if the hundred Ducats weigh less than the weights, they put in so many little stones till the Scales are even; and after all is weigh'd, they make good to the Changer the weight of those little stones. But before they weigh these Gold-Coins, whether they be Ducats or other Pieces, they put the whole quantity into a Charcoal-fire, till they be red-hot; and then quench the Fire with water, and take them out again. This they do to find out them which are false, and to melt off the Wax and Gum, which is cunningly dropt upon them to make them weigh the more. But because there are some Pieces so artfully hollow'd and stopt up again, that you cannot perceive it, though they have been in the fire, the Changers take the Pieces, and bend them; by which they know whether they be good or no; and those which they suspect they cut in pieces. After they have viewed them all, they refine those which they do not take to be good, and pay for so much as proves to be good, as for good Ducats. All this Gold they Coin into that sort of Money which they call *Roupies* of Gold; except those Ducats, which are stamp'd only upon one side, which they sell to the Merchants that come from *Tartary*, and other Northern Parts, as from the Kingdoms of *Boutan*, *Assen*, and other remote parts. With these Ducats the Women of those Countries chiefly adorn themselves, hanging them upon their Head-attire, and fixing them upon their foreheads. As for the other Ducats, that have no figures, they are not so much as enquir'd after by the Northern Merchants.

As for all the other Pieces of Gold, there are great quantities of them Sold to the Goldsmiths, to the Gold-wyar-drawers, and in general to all that work in Gold. For if they could put their Metal unmade into Roupies, they would never Coin; which they can only do at the Coronation of their Kings, to throw Silver Roupies among the People; or to sell them to the Governours of the Provinces, and other Grandees of the Court, who then want great quantities of them to present to the new King at his first coming to his Throne. For they have not always Jewels or other things rich enough to present him, as well at that time, as at another Festival, of which I shall speak in due place, when they weigh the King every year. At such times I say, they are very glad of Gold Roupies; as also to present to such Favourites at the Court, by whose interest they hope to gain higher Commands, and more considerable Governments.

In one of my Travels, I found by experience the vertue of these Roupies of Gold. *Cha-jehan*, Father of *Orang-zeb* who now Reigns, had given to one of the Lords of his Court, the Government of the Province of *Tata*, whereof *Symdi* is the Metropolis. Now though the very first year of his Government, there were very great complaints made against him, by reason of the Tyranny which he exercised over his People, and his great extortions, the King suffered him to continue four years, and then recalled him. All the People of *Tata* were overjoy'd, believing the King had called him away, only to put him to death; but it fell out quite otherwise; for the King caress'd him, and gave him the Government of *Halabas*, more considerable than that which he had quitted. This kind reception, which he had at the Kings hands, proceeded from this, that before he came to *Agra*, he had sent before him a present of 50000 Roupies of Gold, and about 20000 Roupies of Gold more to *Begum-Saheb*, who had then the whole Power in her hands; as also to other Ladies and Lords at the Court, to support his Reputation. All the Courtiers are very desirous to have a great quantity of Gold; because it lies in a little room, and then because they covet, as a great Honour, to leave vast Sums behind them, to their Wives and Children, of which the King must not know. For as I shall tell you in another place,

when any great Lord dies, the King is Heir to all his Eſtate; his Wife having no more then his Jewels.

But to return to our *Roupies* of Gold; you muſt take notice, that they are not ſo currant among the Merchants. For in regard one of them is not worth above fourteen *Roupies*, which make one and twenty Livres of our Money, at thirty Sous the *Roupie*, and that there are few of theſe *Roupies* of Gold to be had, but in the Houſes of Great Men; when it falls out that they make any payment, they will put them at a *Roupie* of Silver, or at leaſt at a fourth part of a *Roupie* more than it is worth, which will never turn to the Merchants profit. *Cha-Eſt-Kan* the King's Uncle, to whom I had ſold a parcel of Goods at 96000 *Roupies*, when he came to pay me, ask'd me what Money I would be content to take, whether Gold or Silver. Before I could return him an anſwer, he added, that if I would leave it to him, I ſhould take Gold *Roupies*: Nor did he give me this advice, but becauſe he believ'd it would turn to his advantage: I told him I would be rul'd by him; thereupon he caus'd his Servants to tell me out ſo many *Roupies* in Gold, as made up the juſt Sum which was due: But he would force me to take the *Roupie* in Gold for fourteen *Roupies* and an half in Silver, though among the Merchants they went but for fourteen. I was not ignorant of it; but I thought it beſt to receive my Money according to the Prince's humour, in hopes he might make me amends another time, either for the whole, or part of what I might loſe. I let him alone two days, after which I went to him again, and told him I had tried to put off his *Roupies* at the price I had received them; ſo that in the payment of 96000 *Roupies*, I had loſt 3428 and one *16th.* the *Roupie* of Gold which he forc'd me to to take at fourteen *Roupies* and an half of Silver, being worth but fourteen. Thereupon he fell into a paſſion, and told me he would ſee as many Laſhes beſtow'd upon the Changer, or *Holland*-Broker, whoſe fault ſoever it were; that he would teach them to underſtand Money; that they were old *Roupies*, and were worth more by a ſixteenth part of a Silver *Roupie*, than the *Roupies* which were coin'd at that time. In regard I knew the humour of the *Aſiatic* Princes, with whom there is no conteſting, I let him ſay what he pleas'd; but when he came to himſelf, and began to put on a ſmiling look, I deſir'd him that he would be pleas'd to let me return the Summ which I had received, the next day; or elſe that he would be plea'sd to pay me what was wanting, and that I would take a *Roupie* at 14 and one *16th.* ſince he aſſur'd me they were worth ſo much. The Prince for a while gave me a ſcurvy look, not ſo much as ſpeaking one word. At length he ask'd me, whether I had ſtill the Pearl, which he had refus'd to buy. I told him I had, and immediately pull'd it out of my Boſome, and gave it him. The Pearl was large, and of a good Water, but ill-ſhap'd; which was the reaſon he refus'd it before. When I had given it to him, well, ſaid he, let us talk no more of what is paſt; how much will you have, in a word, for this Pearl? I ask'd him ſeven thouſand *Roupies*, and indeed rather than I would have carri'd it into *France*, I would have taken three. If I give thee, ſaid he, ſeven thouſand *Roupies* for this Pearl, I ſhall make thee amends for the loſs thou complain'ſt of in the firſt bargain. Come to Morrow, and I will give thee five thouſand *Roupies*, and that's very fair: Thou ſhalt have alſo a Calaat and an Horſe. I made my obeyſance to him, and deſir'd him to give me an Horſe that ſhould be young, and fit for ſervice, becauſe I had a great journey to take. The next day he ſent me a Robe, a Cloak, two Girdles, and a Cap; which is all the Apparel that the Princes are wont to give to thoſe to whom they intend any Honour. The Cloak and Robe was of Satin purfled with Gold; the two Girdles ſtrip'd with Gold and Silver; the Cap was of Calicut, dy'd into a Flame-colour, with ſtripes of Gold: The Horſe had no Saddle, but was covered with a green Velvet foot-cloath, edg'd about with a ſmall Silver-fringe. The Bridle was very ſtrait, with Silver-ſtuds in ſome places. I believe the Horſe had never been Back'd; for ſo ſoon as I brought him to the *Holland*-Houſe, where I then lodg'd, a young man got upon his Back; but he was no ſooner on, but the Horſe flung and pranc'd at that rate, that having kick'd down an Hutt that ſtood in the Court, he had like to have kill'd the *Hollander*. Finding that ſuch a Reſty-Horſe was not for my turn, I ſent him back to *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, and relating the Story to him, I told him I did not believe that he deſir'd I ſhould return into my Countrey to bring

bring him back some rarities which I had promis'd him, as he made me believe he did. All the while I talk'd, he laugh'd, and afterwards sent for the Horse which his Father in his life time us'd to ride upon. It was a tall *Persian* Horse, that had formerly cost five thousand Crowns, but was then twenty eight years old. They brought him bridl'd and saddl'd, and the Prince would needs have me get up in his presence. He had one of the most stately walks that ever I knew in a Horse: and when I alighted, well, said he, art thou satisfied? I dare say, that Horse will never give thee a fall. I thank'd him, and at the same time took my leave of him; and the next day, before my departure, he sent me a great Basket of Apples. It was one of the six that *Chajehan* had sent him, as they came from the Kingdom of *Kachemir*; there was in the Basket also a great *Persian Melon*: All this might be worth a hundred Roupies, which I presented to the *Holland* Commanders Wife. As for the Horse I rode him to *Golconda*, where I sold him for five hundred Roupies, as old as he was, being a good lusty Beast.

To return to our discourse of Money, I will add this to what I have said already, that you must never carry *Louis's*, of Gold to the *Indies*, nor *Spanish* nor *Italian* Pistols, nor any other sort of Money coin'd within these few years; for there is great loss by it; for the *Indians* refine all, and count only upon the refinings. Lastly, every one strives to steal the custom of their Gold; and when the Merchant has got the knack of concealing it, he may gain five or six of our Sous in every Ducat.

I come now to the sorts of Silver Money; which you must distinguish into money of the Country, and Forreign Money: And first of the Forreign Coins.

The Forreign Silver Coins which are carried into the *Indies*, are the Rix-dollars of *Germany*, and the Reals of *Spain*. The first are brought by the Merchants that come from *Poland*, from the Lesser *Tartary*, and the Borders of *Muscovia*. The others by those that come from *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, and *Aleppo*, and the greatest part by the *Armenians*, who sell their Silk into *Europe*. All these merchants endeavour to convey their Silver through *Persia* without being discovered; for if the Customers find it out, they will be forced to carry their Silver to the Mint-Masters to be coined into *Abassi's*, which is the Kings Coin; these *Abassi's* being carried into *India*, are again coined into Roupies, whereby the Merchant loses ten and a quarter *per Cent.* as well by reason of the coinage, as by paying the Kings duties in *Persia*.

To let you understand in a few words, how they came to lose this ten and a quarter *per Cent.* from *Persia* to the *Indies*, and sometimes more, according to the nature of the Reals, which they usually carry into *Persia*; you must call to mind, what I have already said concerning the Money and Exchanges of *Persia*, in the first Volume. I observ'd, that a Real in *Persia* goes for 23 *Chaez*, which make three *Abassi's*, and a quarter; and that sometimes, when Silver is scarce, they will give a *Chaez* and a half for one. That the *Abassi* is worth four *Chaez*, and the *Toman* fifty *Abassi's*, or two hundred *Chaez*. If you carry six *Tomans* and a half to the *Indies*, you have for every *Toman* twenty nine *Roupies* and a half; and consequently for six *Tomans* and a half, a hundred and ninety-one *Roupies* and a quarter. If you carry to the *Indies* Reals of *Seville*, for a hundred you shall have from 213 to 215 *Roupies*. If you carry *Mexican* Reals, for a hundred you shall have no more than 212. So that when for a hundred Reals you have but two hundred and twelve *Roupies*, you gain ten Reals and a quarter, in an hundred Reals; but by the *Sevillian* Reals you profit eleven *per Cent.*

There are three or four sorts of *Spanish* Reals, and they give for a hundred according to their goodness, from 218 to 214 and 215 *Roupies*. The best of all are those of *Sevil* for when they are full weight, they will give for a hundred, 213 *Roupies*; and sometimes 215, according as Silver is either scarce or plentiful.

The Real of *Spain* ought to weigh three Drams, seven Grains and a half more than two *Roupies*. But the Silver of the *Roupies* is much better. For the *Roupy* is in weight eleven Deneers and fourteen Grains; but the *Sevil* Real,

Real, like our white Crown, is but just eleven Deneers. The *Mexican* Real goes at ten Deneers and twenty-one Grains. For the *Spanish* Real, that weighs seventy-three Vals, you have four Mamoudi's and a half, and one Mamoudi is worth twenty Pecha's; but they must be very good, and as I have said already, seventy-three Vals in weight: eighty-one Vals making an Ounce, one Val coming to seven Deneers.

For the Rixdollars of *Germany*, in regard they are heavier than the Reals, they will give you for an hundred, as high as an hundred and sixteen Roupies. Where you are to take notice, that in giving for an hundred Reals, or an hundred Rixdollars, two hundred and fifteen, or two hundred and sixteen Roupies, it seems that every Roupy ought to be worth less than thirty Sous. But if the Merchant count the Portage of the Silver, and the Customs, he will find that every Roupy will stand him in more. But that the Merchant may make his profit, he must take notice, that all the Reals of *Mexico*, and those of *Sevil*, are in weight one and twenty Deneers and eight Grains, that is, five hundred and twelve Grains; and for those that are no better then our white Crown, they are to be in weight one and twenty Deneers and three Grains, which makes five hundred and nine Grains. All Dollars and Reals are weigh'd, a hundred at a time, and when they are wanting in weight, they add little stones, as when they weigh Gold, according to what I shall tell you by and by.

We come now to the Money of the Country. The *Indian* Money is the Silver Roupy, the Half, Quarter, Eighteenth and Sixteenth part. The weight of the Roupy is nine Deneers and one Grain; the value of the Silver is eleven Deneers and fourteen Grains. They have also another sort of Silver Money, which they call Mamoudi's, but this goes no-where but in *Surat*, and in the Province of *Guzerat*.

The *Indians* have also a sort of small Copper Money, which is call'd Pecha; which is worth about two of our Liards, a Liard being the fourth part of a Sous. There is also the Half Pecha, Two Pecha's, and Four Pecha's. According to the custom of the Province where you Travel, you have for a Roupy of Silver more or less of these Pecha's. In my last Travels, a Roupy went at *Surat* for nine and forty Pecha's. But the time was, when it was worth fifty, and another time, when it went but for six and forty. At *Agra* and *Gehanabat*, the Roupy was valued at fifty-five and fifty-six Pecha's. And the reason is, because the nearer you go to the Copper Mines, the more Pecha's you have for a Roupy. As for the Mamoudi, it is always valued at forty Pecha's.

There are two other sorts of small Money in the Dominions of the Great *Mogull*, which are little bitter Almonds and Shells. These little bitter Almonds, which are brought out of *Persia*, are only made use of in the Province of *Guzerat*; as I have observed in the first part of my Relations. They grow in dry and barren places amongst the Rocks, and the Tree, that bears them, is almost like our Bastard *Spanish-Broom*. They call these Almonds *Baden*: Nor is there any *Coloquintida* so bitter. They give for a Pecha sometimes thirty five, and sometimes forty.

Their other small Money are the little Shells which they call *Cori*; the sides whereof turn circularly inward: Nor are they to be found in any part of the World, but in the *Maldives* Islands. They are the greatest part of the Revenue of the King of that Island. For they are transported into all the Territories of the Great *Mogull*; into the Kingdoms of *Visapour* and *Golconda*; and into the Islands of *America* to serve instead of Money. Near the Sea they give 80 for a Pecha. But the further you go from the Sea, the less you have; so that at *Agra*, they will not give you above 50 or 55 for a Pecha. As to what remains according to the Accompt of the *Indians*,

100000 Roupies make a Lekke.
100000 Lekks make a Kraur.
100000 Kraur's make a Padan.
100000 Padan's make a Ril.

In the *Indies*, the Village must be very small, where there does not reside a Banker, whom they call *Cheraff*; whose business it is to remit Money and Bills of Exchange.

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pay you in *Roupies* coin'd some fifteen or twenty years ago, and upward; whereby you will lose four in the hundred. For they will have one fourth, or at least one eighth *per Cent.* allow'd for those that were coin'd but two years before: So that the poor People that cannot read the year wherein the *Roupies* were coin'd, are subject to be cheated; for they will always abate a *Pecha* or a half a *Pecha* upon a *Roupie*, or three or four *Cori's* upon a *Pecha*.

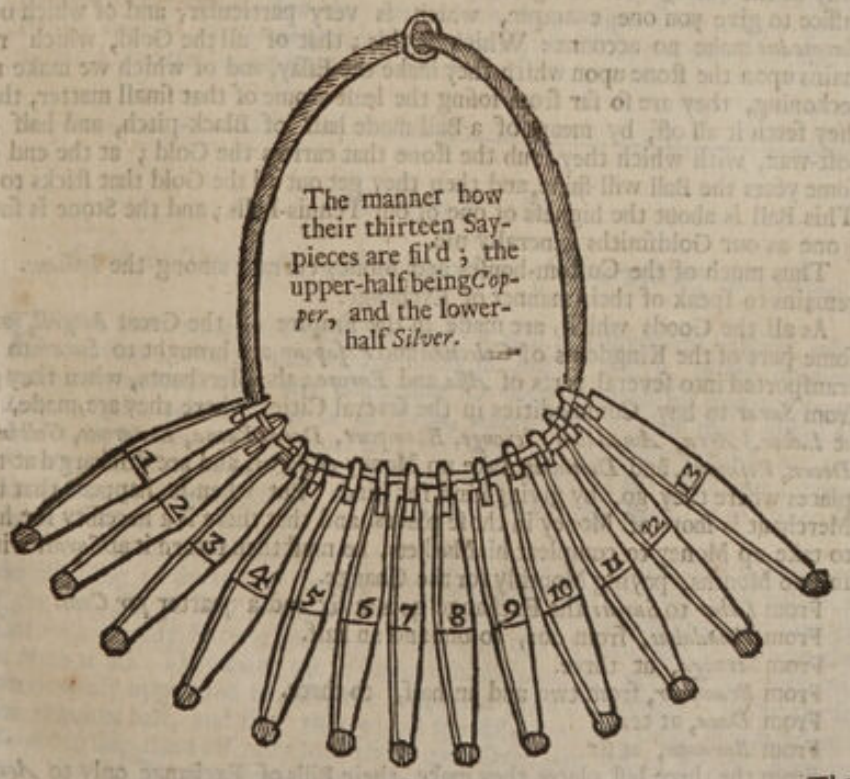
As for counterfeit Silver, there is very little amongst them. If you receive one false *Roupie* in a Bagg from any particular Person, 'tis better to cut it to pieces, and lose it, than to speak of it; for if it should come to be known, there might be danger in it. For you are commanded by the Kings Law to return the Bagg where you received it; and to return it from one to another, till you can find out the Counterfeiter; who if he be apprehended, is only sentenc'd to lose his hand. If the Counterfeiter cannot be found, and that it be thought that he who paid the Money is not guilty, he is acquitted upon some small amercement. This brings great profit to the Changers. For when there is any Sum of Money receiv'd or paid, the Merchants cause him to look it over, and for their pains, they have one sixteenth of a *Roupie* in the hundred.

As for the Money which is paid out of the *Sarguet*, or Kings Exchequer, there is never any found that is counterfeit: For all the Money that is carri'd in thither, is exactly view'd by the Kings Bankers: The Great Lords have also their particular Bankers. Before they put up the Money into the Treasury, they throw it into a great Charcoal-fire, and when the *Roupies* are red-hot, they quench the fire, by throwing water upon it; and then take out the Money. If there be any Piece that is white, or that has the least mark of Alloy, it is presently cut in pieces. As often as these *Roupies* are carried into the Treasury, they mark the Pieces with a Puncheon, which makes an hole, but not quite through; and there are some Pieces that have seven or eight holes made in that manner, to shew that they have been so many times in the Exchequer. They are all put, a thousand Pieces together, in a Bagg, seal'd with the Seal of the great Treasurer, and the number of years superscrib'd, since they were coin'd. And here you are to take notice, whence the Treasurers profit arises, as well that of the Kings Treasurer, as that of the particular Treasurers of the Great Lords of the Kingdom. When there is any bargain made, they agree for new *Roupies* coin'd the same year: but when they come to receive the payment, the Treasurers will make it in old *Roupies*, wherein there is a loss of six *per Cent.* So that if they will have new Silver, the Merchants must compound with the Treasurer. In my fifth Voyage, I went to visit *Cha-Est-Kan* according to my promise, to let him have the first sight of what I brought along with me. So that as soon as I arriv'd at *Suratt*, I sent him word; and received his Orders to meet him at *Choupart*, a City in the Province of *Decan*, to which he had laid Siege. Coming to him, in a little time, and a few words, I sold him the greatest part of what I had brought along with me out of *Europe*: And he told me that he expected every day, that Money should be sent him from *Surate* to pay the Army, and to pay me also at the same time for what he had bought of me. I could not imagin however, that so great a Prince as he, that commanded so great an Army, had not store of Money by him; but rather conjectur'd, that he had an intention to make me some abatement, upon those Pieces which he would put upon me in payment, as he had serv'd me before. It fell out, as I foresaw. But for Provisions for my self, my men, and my Horses, he took such order, that there was great plenty brought me, night and morning, and for the most part he sent for me my self, to his own Table. Ten or twelve days thus past away, and not a word of the Money that I expected: So that being resolv'd to take my leave of him, I went to his Tent. He appear'd to be somewhat surpriz'd, and looking upon me with a frowning-brow: wherefore will you be gone, said he, before you are paid? or who d'you think, shall pay you afterwards, if you go away before you receive your Money? Upon these words, with a countenance as stern as his, my King, replied I, will see me paid. For his goodness is such, that he causes all his Subjects to be paid, that have not receiv'd satisfaction for such Goods as they sell in Forreign Countries. And what course will he take, answer'd he in a great choler: with two or three stout Men of War, said I, which he will send either to the Port of *Surate*, or towards the Coasts to wait

wait for the Ships that come from *Mocca*. He ſeemed to be netled at the reply, but not daring to give any more way to his choler, he ordered his Treaſurer immediately to give me a Letter of Exchange to *Aurengabad*. I was the more glad of that, becauſe it was a place through which I was to paſs in my way to *Golcanda*; beſides that, it would ſpare me the carriage and the hazards of my Money. The next day I had my Bill of Exchange, and took leave of the Prince, who was nothing diſpleaſed, but told me, that if I return'd to the *Indies*, I ſhould not fail to come and ſee him, which I did in my ſixth and laſt Voyage. When I came to *Surat*, he was at *Bengala*, where I ſold him all the reſt of my Goods that I could not put off either to the King of *Perſia*, or great *Mogul*.

But to return to the payment of my Money, I was no ſooner arrived at *Aurengabat*, but I went to find the great Treaſurer; who no ſooner ſaw me, but he told me, he knew wherefore I came; that he had received Letters of advice three days before, and that he had already taken the Money out of the Treaſury to pay me. When he had brought me all the Baggs, I cauſed my Banker to open them, who ſaw them to be Roupies, by which I was to loſe two in the hundred. Upon that I thank'd the Treaſurer very heartily, telling him, I underſtood no ſuch dealing, and that I would ſend and complain of him to *Cha-Eſt-Kam*; and declare to him that he ſhould either give order that I ſhould be paid in new Silver, or elſe let me have my Goods again, which I preſently did. But not receiving an anſwer ſo ſoon as I knew I might have done, I went to the Treaſurer, and told him, I would go my ſelf, and fetch away my Goods. I believe he had received order what to do; for ſeeing I was reſolved to go; he told me he was very unwilling I ſhould put my ſelf to ſo much trouble, and that it would be better for us to agree among our ſelves. After many conteſts about the two in the hundred, which he would have made me loſe, I was contented to abate one, and had loſt the other, had I not happily met with a Banker who wanted Silver, and had a Bill of Exchange to pay at *Golconda*; ſo that he was glad to make uſe of mine, and gave me a Bill to be paid at *Golconda*, being my full Summ, at fifteen days ſight.

The Changers to try their Silver, make uſe of thirteen little pieces, one half Copper, and the other Silver, which are their Sayes.



The manner how their thirteen Say-pieces are fil'd; the upper-half being *Copper*, and the lower-half *Silver*.

These thirteen pieces differing all in goodness, they never make use of them, but when any question arises concerning a small quantity of Silver, or if any wrought Silver. For they refine all their great quantities. All that kind of Silver is brought by the weight which they call *Tolla*, which weighs nine Deneers, and eight Grains, or 32 Val's; 81 Val's, making an Ounce: So that an hundred Tolla's making 38 Ounces, 21 Deneers, and 8 Grains.

See here the differences of the thirteen Goodnesses of Silver.

THe first, which is the lowest goodness, they take at fifteen Pecha's to the Molla, which makes of our Money nine Sous, two Deneers.

The second, at eighteen Pecha's, which make ten Sous two Deneers.

The third, at ten Pecha's, which make twelve Sous, six Deneers.

The fourth, at thirteen Pecha's, which make fourteen Sous, six Deneers.

The fifth, at sixteen Pecha's, which make fifteen Sous, ten Deneers.

The sixth, at nineteen Pecha's, which make seventeen Sous, six Deneers.

The seventh, at thirty-three Pecha's, which make nineteen Sous, two Deneers.

The eighth, at thirty-five Pecha's, which make twenty Sous, ten Deneers.

The ninth, at thirty-eight Pecha's, which make twenty-two Sous, six Deneers.

The tenth at forty Pecha's, which make twenty-four Sous, ten Deneers.

The eleventh, at forty-three Pecha's, which make twenty-five Sous, ten Deneers.

The twelfth, at forty-six Pecha's, which make twenty-seven Sous, six Deneers.

The thirteenth, at forty-nine Pecha's, which make nineteen Sous, two Deneers.

Here it will not be amiss to give you an hint, how far the cunning extends, not only of the *Cheraffs* or Changers, but of all the *Indians* in general; and it shall suffice to give you one example, which is very particular, and of which our *Europeans* make no account: Which is this; that of all the Gold, which remains upon the stone upon which they make the Essay, and of which we make no reckoning, they are so far from losing the least atome of that small matter, that they fetch it all off, by means of a Ball made half of Black-pitch, and half of Soft-wax, with which they rub the stone that carries the Gold; at the end of some years the Ball will shine, and then they get out all the Gold that sticks to it This Ball is about the bigness of one of our Tennis-Balls; and the Stone is such a one as our Goldsmiths generally use.

Thus much of the Custom-houses and Money currant among the *Indians*. It remains to speak of their manner of Exchange.

As all the Goods which are made in the Empire of the Great *Mogull*, and some part of the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Visapour* are brought to *Surat* to be transported into several parts of *Asia* and *Europe*; the Merchants, when they go from *Surat* to buy Commodities in the several Cities where they are made, as at *Lahor*, *Agra*, *Amadabat*, *Seronge*, *Brampour*, *Daca*, *Patna*, *Banarous*, *Golconda Decan*, *Visapour*, and *Dultabat*, take up Money at *Surat*, and are discharg'd at the places where they go, by giving kind for kind. But when it happens that the Merchant is short of Money in those places, and that there is a necessity for him to take up Money to compleat his Markets, he must then return it at *Surat* within two Months, paying Monthly for the Change.

From *Lahor* to *Surat* the Exchange goes at six and a quarter *per Cent.*

From *Amadabat*, from one, to one and an half.

From *Seronge*, at three.

From *Brampour*, from two and an half, to three.

From *Daca*, at ten.

From *Banaron*, at six.

From the three last places they make their Bills of Exchange only to *Agra*; and

and at *Agra* they make others for *Suratt*, the whole at the same price as I have set down.

From *Golconda*, from four to five.
And for *Goa* the same.
From *Decan* at three.
From *Visapour* at three.
From *Dultabat*, from one to one and an half.

Some years the Exchange rises from one to two *per Cent.* by reason of certain Raja's or petty Vassal Princes that disturb Trade, every one pretending that the Mechandizes ought to pass through his Countrey, and pay Toll. There are two particularly between *Agra* and *Amadabat*, the one called the *Raja* of *Antivar*, and the other the *Raja* of *Bergam*, who very much molest the Merchants for this very cause. But you may avoid passing through the Territories of these Princes, taking another road from *Agra* to *Suratt*, thorough *Serongc* and *Brampour*. But they are fertil Lands, divided with several Rivers, without Bridges or Boats, and it is impossible to go that way, till two Months after the rains are fallen. Which is the reason that those Merchants who must be at *Suratt* when the season permits them to take the Sea, are forc'd to pass through the Territories of these two *Raja's*, because they can pass that way at all times, even in the time that the rains fall, which only knit and harden the Sand.

Nor are you to wonder that the Exchange runs so high; for they that trust out their Money, run the hazard, by obligation, of losing their Money, if the Merchants should be robb'd.

When you come to *Suratt* to Embarque, there is Money enough. For it is the greatest Trade of the Grandees of the *Indies* to venture their Money by Sea from thence for *Ormus*, *Balsara*, and *Mocca*; nay even as far as *Bantam*, *Achen*, and the *Philippine* Islands. For *Mecca* and *Balsara*, the change runs from 22 to 24 *per Cent.* And to *Ormus*, from 16 to 20. And to the other places which I have nam ed, the change runs proportionable to the distance.

I have but one word to say of their Weights and Measures; I have given you in the Margin the fifth part of an Ell of *Agra*, and the fourth part of an Ell of *Amadabat* and *Suratt*. As for their Weights, the *Men* is generally 69 Pound, and the Pound 16 Ounces. But the *Men* which they weigh their *Indigo* withal, is but 53 Pound. At *Suratt* they talk of a *Serre*, which is one and three fourths of a Pound, and the Pound is 16 Ounces.

CHAP. III.

Of their Carriages, and the manner of Travelling in India.

BEfore you set forward upon the road, it will be convenient to speak of their Carriages and manner of travelling in *India*, which, in my opinion, is more commodious than any thing that has been invented for ease in *France* or *Italy*. Quite otherwise it is in *Persia*, where they neither make use of Asses, Mules, or Horses, but transport all their Wares to the *Indies* upon Oxen, or in Wains, their Countries being so near to one another. If any Merchant carries an Horse out of *Persia*, 'tis only for shew, or to walk in his hand, or to sell to some *Indian* Prince.

They will lay upon an Oxes back 300, or 350 pound weight, and it is no wonderful thing to see ten or twelve thousand Oxen at a time all laden with Rice, Corn and Salt, in such places where they exchange those Commodities: Carrying Corn where only Rice grows, Rice where only Corn grows, and Salt where there is none at all. They make use of Camels sometimes, but very rarely, they being particularly appointed to carry the luggage of great Personages. When the season requires hast, and that they would speedily conveigh their Merchandize to *Surat* to ship them off, they load them upon Oxen, and not in Wains. And in regard that the Territories of the Great *Mogul* are very well manur'd. the Fields

are fenc'd with very good Ditches; and to every Field there belongs a Pond to preserve the water. This is this great inconvenience for Travellers; that when they meet with these numerous Caravans in streight places, they are forc'd to stay two or three days till they are all past by. They that drive these Oxen, follow no other Calling as long as they live, nor do they dwell in houses; yet they carry their Wives and Children along with them. There are some among them that have an hundred Oxen of their own, others more or less; and they have always one, who is their Chief, that takes as much state as a Prince, and has his Chain of Pearl hanging about his neck. When the Caravan that carries the Corn, and that which carries the Salt happen to meet, rather than yield the road, they frequently enter into very bloody Disputes. The Great *Mogull* considering one day that these quarrels were very prejudicial to Trade, and the transportation of necessary Provisions from place to place, sent for the two Chiefs of the Caravan, and after he had exhorted them, for the common good and their own interest, to live quietly together, and not to quarrel and fight when they met, gave to each of them a Leck, or an hundred thousand Roupies, and a Chain of Pearl.

That the Reader may the better understand the manner of Travelling in the *Indies*, he is to take notice, that among the Idolaters of that Country there are four Tribes, which are called *Manari's*, each of which may consist of an hundred thousand Souls. These people live always in Tents, and live only upon the transporting of Merchandize from Countrey to Countrey. The first of these Tribes carry nothing but Corn. the second Rice, the third Pulse, and the fourth Salt, which they fetch from *Suratt*, and all along from as far as *Cape-Camorin*. These Tribes are also distinguished in this manner: Their Priests, of whom I shall speak in another place, mark the forheads of the first, with a red-Gum, about the bredth of a Crown; and then they draw a streak all the length of his nose, sticking grains of Wheat upon it, sometimes ten, and sometimes twelve. Those of the second Tribe are mark'd with yellow Gum in the same place, with grains of Rice. Those of the third are mark'd with a grey-Gum, down to the shoulders, and grains of Millet. Those of the fourth Tribe carry tied about their necks a Bagg, with a great lump of Salt in it, weighing sometimes eight or ten pounds, (for the heavier it is, the more they glory in carrying it;) and with this Bagg they thump their stomacks, as a sign of repentance every morning before they say their Prayers. They have all in general a little line or twist, like a Scarf, about their necks, at the end whereof hangs a little Silver-box, like a Relique-box, wherein they enclose a little superstitious writing which their Priests give them; they tie them also about their Oxen and other Cattel, which are bred in their Herds, for which they have a particular affection, and love them as tenderly as children, especially if they have no children of their own. Their Women wear only a piece of Calicut white or painted, some six or five times doubled from their wasts downward. From their wasts upward they cut their flesh into several forms of Flowers, as they do that apply Cupping-glasses, which they paint in various colours with the juice of Grapes, that their skin seems to be all made of Flowers.

Every morning, while the men load the Beasts, and that the Women fold up the Tents, the Priests that follow them, set up in the most convenient place of the Plain where they lodg'd a certain Idol in the form of a Serpent in wreaths, upon a Perch six or seven foot high; to which they come all in files to worship, their Women going three times about. After the Ceremony is over, the Priests take care of the Idol, and load it upon an Ox particularly appointed for that purpose.

The Caravan of Waggons seldom exceeds the number of an hundred or two hundred at most. Every Waggon is drawn by ten or twelve Oxen; and attended by four Souldiers, which the Person that ows the Merchandize is oblig'd to pay. Two of them march upon each side of the Waggon, over which there are two Ropes thrown a-cross, the ends whereof they hold in their hands, to the end, that if the Waggon come to leane on one side in ill-way, the two Souldiers on the other side may keep it from over-turning by pulling the Ropes with all their strength.

All the Waggons that come to *Suratt*, either from *Agra*, or any other parts of the Empire, and which return through *Agra*, or *Janabatt*, are bound to carry back

back the Lime that comes from *Barocha*, which, after it is temper'd, and laid on, becomes as hard as Marble.

I come now to the manner of travelling in *India*, to which purpoſe they make uſe of Oxen inſtead of Horſes, and there are ſome, whoſe pace is as eaſy as the amble of our Hackneys. But you muſt take a care, when you either buy or hire an Ox to ride upon, that the horns be not a bove a foot in length. For if they be longer, when the flies beg in to ſting, he will chafe, and toſs back his horns, and ſtrike them into the ſtomack of the Rider, as oftentimes it has hapned. Theſe Oxen are rid like our Horſes, and inſtead of Snaffles or Bitts, they have only a Rope drawn through the muſcly part of the muzzle or noſtrils. In firm ground where there are no ſtones, they never ſhoe their Oxen; but only in rough places, where not only the ſtones, but the heat will waſt and chop the hoof. Whereas in *Europe* we tie our Oxen by the horns, the *Indians* only put a thick truſs upon their necks, that keeps faſt a Coller of Leather four fingers broad, which they have nothing to do but to put about their necks when they faſten them to the Waggon.

They uſe alſo for Travel little Coaches, but very light, that will hold two perſons; but generally they ride alone for more eaſe, carrying only their neceſſary Cloak-Bags along with them; with a ſmall Veſſel of Wine, and a ſmall quantity of Proviſions, for which there is a proper place under the Coach, where they tye the two Oxen. Theſe Coaches have their Curtains and Seats like ours, yet are not hung: But in my laſt Travels I caus'd one to be made after our manner; and the two Oxen that drew it, coſt me near upon ſix-hundred Roupies. Nor is the Reader to wonder at the price; for there are ſome of theſe Oxen that are very ſtrong, and that will travel upon the trot twelve or fifteen leagues a-day for ſixty days together. When they have gone half the days journey, they give them two or three Balls, as big as one of our two-penny-loaves, of Wheat kneaded up with butter and black-ſugar. The hire of a Coach comes to a Roupie a-day more or leſs. From *Suratt* to *Agra* is forty days journey, and you pay for the whole journey from forty to forty-five Roupies. From *Suratt* to *Golconda*, being almoſt the ſame diſtance, the ſame price is obſerved; and by the ſame proportion you may travel over all the *Indies*.

They who have more to ſpend, for their own eaſe make uſe of a *Pallanquin*, wherein they travel very commodiouſly. This is a ſort of little Couch ſix or ſeven foot long, and three broad, with baliſters round about it. A ſort of Cane, call'd *Bambouc*, which they bend like an Arch, ſuſtains the covering of the *Pallanquin*, which is either of Satin or Cloath of Gold; and when the Sun lies upon one ſide, a Slave that goes by the ſide, takes care to pull down the covering. Another Slave carries at the end of a long ſtick a kind of Target of Oſier, covered over with ſome gentile ſtuff, to preſerve the perſon that is in the *Pallanquin* from the heat of the Sun, when he turns and lies upon his face. The two ends of the *Bambouc* are faſtned on both ſides to the body of the *Pallanquin* between two ſticks join'd together like a *Saltir* or St. *Andrews-croſs*, every one of thoſe two ſticks being five or ſix foot long. There are ſome of theſe *Bambouc's* that coſt two hundred Crowns; I my ſelf have paid an hundred and twenty. Three men for the moſt part apply themſelves to each of theſe two ends to carry the *Pallanquin* upon their ſhoulders; ſome on the right, and ſome on the left, and they go ſwifter than our Sedan-men, and with a much more eaſy pace, as being that which they practice from their youth. You give to every one for all things not above four Roupies a Month; but it ſtands you in above five if the journey be long, and exceed ſixty days labour.

Whether it be in a Coach, or *Pallanquin*, he that will travel honourably in the *Indies*, muſt take along with him twenty or thirty armed men, with Bows and Arrows ſome, others with Muſquets; and they have the ſame rate with thoſe that carry the *Pallanquin*. Sometimes for more magnificence they carry a Banner, as the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* do, for the honour of their Companies. Theſe Souldiers are not only for ſhew, but they watch for your defence, keeping Centinels, and relieving one another, and are very ſtudious to give content. For you muſt know, that in the Towns where you take them into ſervice, they have a Chieftain, that is reſponſible for their fidelity, who for his good word has two Roupies a-piece of every one.

In

In the great Villages there is generally a *Mahumetan* that commands, of whom you may buy Mutton, Pullets, or Pidgeons. But where there live none but *Banians*, there is nothing but Flower, Rice, Herbs and Milk-meats to be had.

The great heats in *India* enforcing the Travellers, that are not accuſtomed to them, to travel by night, and reſt in the day-time; when they come into any fortified Towns, they muſt be gone before Sun-ſet, if they intend to travel that night. For night coming on, and the Gates being ſhut, the Commander of the place, who is to anſwer for all the Robberies that are committed within his Juriſdiction, will let no perſon ſtir forth, telling them that it is the King's order, to which he muſt be obedient. When I came to any of thoſe Towns, I brought my Proviſions, and went out again in good time, and ſtaid in the Field under ſome Tree, in the freſh air, till it was time to ſet forward.

They meaſure the diſtances of places in *India* by *Gos*, and *Coſtes*. A *Gos* is about four of our common leagues, and a *Coſte* is one league. It is now time to travel from *Surat* to *Agra*, and *Janabat*, and to obſerve what is moſt remarkable upon the Road.

CHAP. IV.

The Road from Surat *to* Agra, *through* Brampour *and* Seronge.

I Am no leſs well acquainted with all the principal Roads that lead to the chief Cities in *India*, than thoſe of *Turkey* and *Perſia*; for in ſix times that I have travell'd from *Paris* to *Iſpahan*, I have gone twice for one from *Iſpahan* to *Agra*, and many other places of the Great *Mogul*'s Empire. But it would be tireſome to the Reader to carry him more than once the ſame way, on purpoſe to make a relation of every particular journey, and the accidents that accompany them: And therefore let it ſuffice to give an exact deſcription of the Roads, without particularizing the diſtinct times that I went.

There are but two Roads from *Surat* to *Agra*, one through *Brampour* and *Seronge*, the other through *Amadabat*. The firſt ſhall be the Subject of this Chapter.

From *Surat* to *Barnoly*, coſtes 14

Barnoly is a great Borough-Town, where you are to ford a great River; and this firſt days journey you croſs a mixt Countrey, part Wood, through Fields of Wheat and Rice.

From *Barnoly* to *Bahor*, coſtes 10

Bahor is alſo a large Village upon a Lake, about a league in compaſs. Upon the ſide whereof is to be ſeen a good ſubſtantial Fortreſs; though there be no uſe made of it. Three quarters of a league on this ſide the Village you ford a ſmall River, though not without great difficulty, by reaſon of the Rocks and Stones that hazard the over-turning of the Coach. This ſecond days journey you travel almoſt altogether through Woods

From *Balor* to *Kerkoa*, or as it is call'd at this day, *Carvanſera de la Begum*, coſtes 5

This *Carvanſera* or Inn is very large and commodious; being built out of Charity by *Begum-ſaheb* the Daughter of *Cha-jehan*. For formerly the journey from *Balor* to *Navapoura* was too great: And this place being upon the Frontiers of thoſe *Raja's* that ſometimes will not acknowledge the Great *Mogul*, whoſe Vaſſals they are, there was no *Caravan* that paſt by which was not abuſed; beſides that it is a wooddy-Country. Between *Carvanſera* and *Navapoura* you ford a River; as alſo another very neer to *Navapoura*.

From *Kerkoa* to *Navapoura*, coſtes 15

Navapoura is a great Town full of Weavers; but Rice is the greateſt Commodity of that place. There runs a River through the Country, which makes it very fruitful, and waters the Rice, that requires moiſture. All the Rice which grows in this Country has one peculiar quality, that makes it more particularly eſteem'd

esteem'd. The grain of it is less by one half, than the grain of the common Rice; and when it is boil'd no snow is whiter; but besides all that, it smells of Musk; and all the Grandees of the *Indians* eat no other. When they would make an acceptable Present to any one in *Persia*, they send him a sack of this Rice. This River which passes by *Kerkoa* and those other places I have mention'd, empties it self into the River of *Surat*.

From *Navapoura* to *Nasarbar*, costes.
From *Nasarbar* to *Dol-medan*, costes. 9
From *Dol-medan* to *Senquera*, costes. 74
From *Senquera* to *Tallener*, costes. 7
At *Tallener* you are to pass the River, which runs to *Baroche*; where it is very large, and empties it self into the Golf of *Cambaya*. 10

From *Tallener* to *Choupre*, costes.
From *Choupre* to *Senquelis*, costes. 15
From *Senquelis* to *Nabir*, costes. 13
From *Nabir* to *Badelpoura*, costes. 10
At *Badelpoura* it is, where the loaded Waggons pay the duties of *Brampour*; but the Waggons that carry nothing but Passengers pay nothing. 9

From *Badelpoura* to *Brampour*, costes. 5

Brampour is a great City, very much ruin'd, the Houses being for the most part thatch'd with straw. There is also a great Castle in the midst of the City, where the Governour lies; the Government of this Province is a very considerable command; and is only conferr'd upon the Son or Unckle of the King. And *Aureng-zeb*, the present King, was a long time Governour of this Province in the Reign of his Father. But since they came to understand the strength of the Province of *Bengala*, which formerly bore the Title of a Kingdom, that Province is now the most considerable in all the *Mogul*'s Countrey. There is a great Trade in this City, and as well in *Brampore*, as over all the Province, there is made a prodigious quantity of Calicuts very clear and white, which are transported into *Persia*, *Turkey* and *Muscovia*, *Poland*, *Arabia*, to *Grand Cairo*, and other places. There are some which are painted with several colours, with flowers, of which the Women make Veils and Scarfs; the same Calicuts serve for Coverlets of Beds, and for Handkerchiefs. There is another sort of Linnen which they never dye, with a stripe or two of Gold or Silver quite through the piece, and at each end from the breadth of one inch to twelve or fifteen, in some more, in some less, they fix a tissue of Gold, Silver, and Silk, intermix'd with Flowers, whereof there is no wrong-side, both sides being as fair the one as the other. If these pieces, which they carry into *Poland*, where they have a vast utterance, want at each end three or four inches at the least of Gold or Silver; or if that Gold or Silver become tarnish'd in being carried by Sea from *Surat* to *Ormus*, and from *Trebizan* to *Mangala*, or any other parts upon the Black-Sea, the Merchant shall have much ado to put them off without great loss. He must take care that his goods be packt up in good Bales, that no wet may get in; which for so long a Voyage requires great care and trouble. Some of these Linnens are made purposely for Swathbands or Shashes, and those pieces are call'd *Ornis*. They contain from 15 to 20 Ells; and cost from an hundred to an hundred and fifty Roupies, the least, not being under ten or twelve ells. Those that are not above two ells long are worn by the Ladies of Quality for Veils and Scarfs, of which there is a vast quantity vended in *Persia* and *Turkey*. They make at *Brampour* also other sorts of Cotten-Linnen; for indeed there is no Province in all the *Indies* which more abounds in Cotton.

When you leave the City of *Brampoure*, you must pass another River, besides that which I have mention'd already. There is no Bridge, and therefore when the water is low, you ford it; when the rains fall, there are Boats attending.

From *Surat* to *Brampour* it is 132 Costes; and these Costes are very short in the *Indies*; for you may travel one of them in a Coach in less than an hour.

I remember a strange tumult at *Brampoure*, in the year 1641, when I returned from *Agra* to *Surat*; the cause whereof was thus, in short: The Governour of the Province, who was the King's Nephew by the Mother's-side, had among his Pages a young Boy that was very beautiful, and of a very good Family, who had a Brother in the City that liv'd as a *Dervich*; and for whom

all

all the Town had a very great veneration. One day the Governour, being alone in his Chamber, did all that lay in his power, by vertue of Gifts and Careſſes to have had the uſe of his Body; but the Boy deteſting his abominable purpoſe, made his eſcape from him, and came and told his Brother. The *Dervich*, without deliberating what Counſel he had to give his younger Brother, gave him a Sword, ſuch a one as he might eaſily hide under his Garment; and told him, that if the Governour urg'd him any more, that he ſhould make a ſhew of complying with him, but that when he went about to do the fact, he ſhould be ſure to run him into the Guts. The Governour, who knew nothing of what the Page had reveal'd to his Brother, ceas'd not every day to court him to conſent to his infamous luſt; and being one day alone with him in a ſmall Apartment of a Banquetting-Houſe, at the lower end of his Garden, he ſent for his Page to fan him, and to keep off the Flies, after the faſhion of the Countrey; for it was about noon, when every one goes to ſleep. Then did the Governour begin again to preſs the young Page; and finding that he made no reſiſtance, he thought he ſhould ſuddenly accompliſh his deſign. But the Page ſeeing him ready to commit the act, ſtab'd him three times into the Belly, before he could open his mouth to cry out for help. That done, the Page went out of the Palace, without any diſturbance in his countenance; ſo that the Guards believ'd that the Governour had ſent him out upon ſome errand. The *Dervich* underſtanding by his Brother what had paſs'd, to ſave him from the fury of the people, and to diſcover the Infamy of the Governour, caus'd the reſt of the *Dervichs* his Companions, to take the Banners of *Mahomet*, that were planted round the *Moſquee*; and at the ſame time with loud cries encourag'd all the reſt of the *Dervichs*, *Faquirs*, and others that were good *Mahumetans*, to follow him. In leſs than an hours time he had got together an infinite multitude of the Rabble, and the *Dervich* marching at the head of them, they made directly to the Palace, crying out with all their might, *Let us dye for* Mahomet, *or let us have that infamous perſon deliver'd up into our hands, to the end the Dogs may eat him after his death, not being worthy to be enterr'd among the Muſſelmen.* The Guard of the Palace was not in a condition to reſiſt ſo great a Multitude, ſo that they muſt have been forced to have yeilded to their fury, had not the *Deroga* of the Town, and ſome five or ſix Lords, found a way to make themſelves to be heard, and to appeaſe them, by repreſenting to them, that they ought to have ſome reſpect to the Nephew of the King; by that means obliging them to retire. That night the Body of the Governour was ſent to *Agra*, with his *Haram*; and *Cha-jehan*, who then reign'd, being inform'd of the accident, was not much troubl'd, becauſe he is Heir to all the goods of his Subjects; and at the ſame time he beſtow'd upon the Page a ſmall Government in the Province of *Bengala*.

From *Brampour* to *Piombi-ſera*, coſtes

Before we go any farther, you muſt take notice, that where-ever you meet with the word *Sera*, it ſignifies a great Encloſure of Walls and Hedges, within which are about fifty or ſixty Huts, cover'd over with Straw. There are ſome men and women that there put to ſale Flower, Rice, Butter, and Herbs, and make it their buſineſs to bake Bread and boil Rice. If there be any *Mahumetan* in that place, he will go to the City, and buy a little piece of Mutton, or a Fowl; and thoſe that ſell Victuals to the Travellers, always cleanſe the Hut which they take up, and put into it a little Bed with girths, to lay a Mattreſs or Quilt upon, which the Travellers carry along with them.

From *Piombi-ſera* to *Pander*, coſtes	3
From *Pander* to *Balki-ſera*, coſtes	6
From *Balki-ſera* to *Nevilki-ſera*, coſtes	5
From *Nevilki-ſera* to *Conſemba*, coſtes	5
From *Conſemba* to *Chenipore*, coſtes	3
From *Chenipore* to *Charava*, coſtes	8
From *Charava* to *Bich-ola*, coſtes	8
From *Bich-ola* to *Andy*, coſtes	4

At *Andy* you muſt paſs a River that falls into *Ganges*, between *Banarou* and *Patna*.

From

From *Andi* to *Onqueuas*, coſtes 4
From *Onqueuas* to *Tiquery*, coſtes 5
From *Tiquery* to *Tool-meden*, coſtes 4
From *Tool-meden* to *Nova-ſera*, coſtes 4
From *Nova-ſera* to *Ichavour*, coſtes 4
From *Ichavour* to *Signor*, coſtes 5
From *Signor* to *Chekaipour*, coſtes 3
From *Chekaipour* to *Dour-ay*, coſtes 3
From *Dour-ay* to *Aſer-kaira*, coſtes 3
From *Aſer-kaira* to *Telor*, coſtes 3
From *Telor* to *San-kaira*, coſtes 3
From *San-kaira* to *Seronge*, coſtes 13

Seronge is a great City, the moſt part of the Inhabitants whereof are *Banian* Merchants, and Handicraft-trades-men from Father to Son, which is the reaſon that there are in this City ſeveral Houſes of Stone and Brick. There is alſo a great Trade for all ſorts of painted Calicuts, which are called *Chites*, which is the cloathing of all the meaner ſort of people both in *Perſia* and *Turkey*: Of which in other Countreys alſo they make uſe, for Coverlets for Beds, and Table-napkins. They make the ſame ſort of Calicuts in other Countreys as well as at *Seronge*, but the colours are not ſo lively; beſides, that they wear out with often waſhing. Whereas thoſe that are made at *Seronge*, the more you waſh them, the fairer the colours ſhew. There runs a River by the City, the water whereof has that vertue, that it gives that beauty and livelineſs to the colours. And all the while the rains fall, the Workmen will make theſe prints upon their Cottons, according to the Patterns which the Forreign Merchants give them; for when the waters are ceas'd, the water is the thicker; and the oftener they dip their Calicuts, the better the colours hold.

There is alſo made at *Seronge* another ſort of Calicut, which is ſo fine, that when a man puts it on, his skin ſhall appear through it, as if he were naked. The Merchants are not permitted to tranſport it. For the Governour ſends it all to the *Seraglio* of the Great *Mogul*, and to the principal Lords of the Court. Of this, the Sultaneſſes, and great Noblemen's Wives make them Shifts and Garments in hot-weather: And the King and the Lords take great pleaſure to behold them in thoſe Shifts, and to ſee them Dance with nothing elſe upon their Bodies.

From *Brampore* to *Seronge* is an hundred and one coſtes, which are longer than thoſe from *Surat* to *Brampore*; for the Coach is a full hour, and ſometimes five quarters, going one of theſe coſtes. In theſe hundred leagues of the Countrey you travel whole days journeys along by moſt fertil Fields of Corn and Rice, being lovely Champaign, where you meet with very little Wood; and from *Seronge* to *Agra*, the Countrey is much of the ſame nature: And becauſe the Villages lye thick together, your journey is the more pleaſant; beſides, that you may reſt when you pleaſe.

From *Seronge* to *Madalki-ſera*, coſtes. 6
From *Madalki-ſera* to *Poulki-ſera*, coſtes. 2
From *Poulki-ſera* to *Kaſariki-ſera*, coſtes. 3
From *Kaſariki-ſera* to *Chadolki-ſera*, coſtes. 6
From *Chadolki-ſera* to *Callabas*, coſtes. 6

Callabas is a great Town, which was formerly the Reſidence of a *Raja*, who paid Tribute to the Great *Mogul*. But when *Orang-zeb* came to the Crown, he not only cut off his, but a great number of the heads of his Subjects. There are two Towers near the Town, upon the high-way, and round about the Towers are ſeveral holes, like windows; and in every hole, two foot diſtant one from another, there is fix'd a man's head. In my laſt Travels in the year 1665, it had not been long ſince that Execution had been done; for then all the Heads were whole, and caus'd a very ill ſmell:

From *Callabas* to *Akmate*, coſtes 2
From *Akmate* to *Collaſar*, coſtes 9

Collaſar is a little Town, all the Inhabitants whereof are Idolaters. As I paſt through it upon my laſt Travels, there were brought to it eight Pieces of Artillery, the one carrying 48 pound-Bullet, the reſt 36. Every Piece was drawn

by 24 Yoke of Oxen. A very ſtrong Elephant follow'd the Artillery, and when they came to any bad-way, where the Oxen were at a ſtand, they brought up the Elephant, who heav'd the Cannon forward with his Trunk. Without the Town, all along the high-way, there grows a vaſt number of great Trees, which they call *Mangues*; and in many places near the Trees are to be ſeen little Pagods, with every one an Idol at the door. The Elephant paſſing by one of the Pagods, before which I was lodg'd, at the door whereof there ſtood three Idols about five foot high; ſo ſoon as he came near one, he took it up in his trunk, and broke it in two pieces; the next he took, he threw it up ſo high, and ſo far, that he broke it in four pieces; and carried away the head of the third along with him. Some thought that the Governour of the Elephant had taught him what to do, and made ſigns to him, which however I did not obſerve; nevertheleſs the *Banians* were very much offended, though they durſt not ſay any thing; for there was a Guard of above two thouſand men that convoy'd the Artillery, all Souldiers of the King, and *Mahometans*, beſides *Franguis*, or *Franks*, *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* that were Cannoneers. The King ſent this Artillery to his Army in *Decan*, being at Wars with the *Raja Seva-gi*, who the year before had plunder'd *Surat*; of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in another place.

From *Collaſar* to *Sanſele*, coſtes 6
From *Sanſele* to *Dongry*, coſtes 4
From *Dongry* to *Gate*, coſtes 3

Gate is a ſtrait paſſage of the Mountains, a quarter of a League in length, the deſcent whereof leads from *Surat* to *Agra*. At the entery thereof you ſee the ruins of two or three Caſtles, and the Road is ſo narrow, that two Waggons can hardly go a breſt. They that come from the South to go to *Agra*, as from *Surat*, *Goa*, *Viſapore*, *Golconda*, *Maſulipatan*, and other places, cannot avoid theſe ſtreights, there being no other Road but this, eſpecially if you take the Road from *Amadabar*. Formerly there was a Gate at each end of the ſtreight, and at that end which is next to *Agra*, there are five or ſix Shops of *Banians*, that ſell Flower, Butter, Rice, Herbs and Pulſe. In my laſt Travels I ſtaid at one of theſe Shops, to tarry for the Coaches and Waggons, all the Paſſengers alighting at the foot of the Streights. Not far off there is a great Magazin full of ſacks of Rice and Corn; and behind every ſack lay a Serpent thirteen or fourteen foot long, and proportionable in bigneſs. A Woman that went to fetch Corn out of one of thoſe ſacks, was bitten by one of thoſe Serpents, and perceiving her ſelf wounded, ran out of the Magazin, crying out *Ram*, *Ram*, that is, *O God*, *O God*; whereupon ſeveral *Banians*, men and women came running to her relief, and bound her arm very hard above the wound, thinking to ſtop the venom from running any higher. But all in vain, for immediately her face ſwell'd and turn'd black, and ſhe dy'd in leſs than an hour. The *Ragipoot's*, who are the beſt Souldiers among the *Indians*, and are all Idolaters, came in juſt as the woman was expiring, and about four of them entring with their Skains, and Half-pikes in their hands into the Magaziu, kill'd the Serpent. The people of the Village took and threw it without the Town, and immediately there came a great number of Birds of prey, which lighting upon the Carrion, devour'd it in leſs than an hours time. The Parents of the woman took her body, carri'd it to the River, waſh'd it, and then burnt it. I was forc'd to ſtay two days at that place, becauſe there was a River to paſs, which inſtead of falling, ſwell'd at that time, by reaſon of the rains that fell for three or four days together: So that I was conſtrain'd to go half a league lower before I could croſs it. They always endeavour'd to ford this River; for otherwiſe they muſt be compell'd to unload the Wgagon into the Boats; and alſo to carry the Goods in their arms for above half a league, which is worſe way than can be imagin'd. The people get their livings by the Paſſengers, from whom they extort as much as they can, there being none but they that know the ways: Otherwiſe it would be an eaſy thing to make a Bridge, there being no want either of Wood or Stone near at hand. For the paſſage is nothing but thorough Rocks, that lie between the Mountain and the River; ſo that the waters when they ſwell, overflow all the Road, in-ſo-much that no-body can paſs it, but they who are very well acquainted with it.

From

From *Gate* to *Nader*, coſtes 4

Nader is a great City upon the deſcent of a Mountain, at the top whereof is a kind of Fortreſs; all the Mountain being encompaſt with walls. The greateſt part of the Houſes, as in all other Cities of *India*, are thatch'd with ſtraw, one Story high; but the Rich-men's Houſes, are two Stories, and terraſs'd. Round about the City are ſeveral great ponds to be ſeen, which were formerly encompaſt with hewn-ſtone, but now are not at all look'd after: yet there are very fair Monuments about them. The ſame River which we paſt the day before, and which we repaſs four or five *Coſtes* on this ſide *Nader*, encompaſſes three parts of the City and Mountain, like a *Peninſula*, and after a long winding-courſe which it takes, falls at length into *Ganges*. At *Nader* they make a great quantity of quilted-Coverlets, ſome white, others embroidered with Flowers of Gold, Silk and Satin.

From *Nader* to *Barqui-ſera*, coſtes 9

From *Barqui-ſera* to *Trie*, coſtes 3

From *Trie* to *Goualeor*, coſtes 6

Goualeor is a great City ill-built, like all the reſt, after the manner of the *Indians*; it is built all along the ſide of a Mountain that lies upon the Weſt-ſide of it; and which at the top is encompaſt with Walls and Towers. There are in this Encloſure ſeveral Ponds made by the rains; and what they ſow there is ſufficient to keep the Garriſon: For which reaſon it is eſteem'd one of the beſt in the *Indies*. Upon the deſcent of the Hill, which looks towards the North-eaſt, *Chajean* built an Houſe of Pleaſure; from whence there is a Proſpect over all the City, and indeed it may ſerve for a Garriſon. Below the Houſe are to be ſeen ſeveral Idols cut out of the Rock, repreſenting the ſhapes of their Gods: And among the reſt, there is one of an extraordinary heighth.

Since the *Mahometan* Kings became Maſters of this Countrey, this Fortreſs of *Goualeor* is the place where they ſecure Princes and great Noblemen. *Cha-jehan* coming to the Empire by foul-play, caus'd all the Princes and Lords whom he miſtruſted, to be ſeiz'd one after another, and ſent them to the Fortreſs of *Goualeor*; but he ſuffer'd them all to live, and enjoy their Eſtates. *Aureng-zeb* his Son acts quite otherwiſe; For when he ſends any great Lord to this place, at the end of nine or ten days he orders him to be poiſon'd; and this he does that the people may not exclaim againſt him for a bloody Prince. So ſoon as he had in his clutches Prince *Morat-Bakſhe* his youngeſt Brother, whom he engaged to take Arms againſt his Father *Cha-jehan*; and who being Governor of the Province of *Guzerat*, took upon him the Title of King, he ſent him to this Fortreſs, where he dy'd. They have made him a moſt magnificent Monument in the City in a *Moſquee*, which they built on Purpoſe, with a great *Piazza* before it all ſurrounded with Vaults and Shops over them. For it is the cuſtom of the *Indians*, when they rear any publick building, to make a great *Piazza* before it, where they keep their Markets, with a Foundation for the Poor, to whom they give Alms every day, as being to pray to God for him that rais'd the Fabrick.

Five *Coſs* from *Goualeor*, you ford a River which is called *Lamké*.

From *Goualeor* to *Paterki-ſera*, coſtes 3

From *Paterki-ſera* to *Quariqui-ſera*, coſtes 10

There is a Bridg at *Paterki-ſera*, conſiſting of ſix wide Arches; and the River you go over is call'd *Quarinado*.

From *Quariki-ſera* to *Dolpoura*, coſtes 6

At *Dolpoura* there is a great River which is call'd *Chammelnadi*, to which there belongs a Ferry-Boat: The River it ſelf falls into the *Gemena* between *Agra* and *Halabas*.

From *Dolpoura* to *Minaſqui-ſera*, coſtes 6

At *Minaſqui-ſera* there is a River which is call'd *Jagounadi*. You paſs it over a very long Bridg, built of Stone, the name whereof is *Jaoulcapoul*.

From *Minaſqui-ſera* to this Bridg, coſtes 8

Not far from this Bridg it is, that they view the Merchants Goods, that when they come to *Agra* they may not be deceiv'd of their duties. But more particularly to ſee whether among the Casks of Fruits pickl'd in Vinegar, in pots of Claſs, there be no flasks of Wine.

From the Bridg *Jaoulcapoul* to *Agra*, coſtes 4
So that from *Seronge* to *Agra* it is an hundred and ſix *Coſtes*, which are ordinary leagues; and from *Surat* to *Agra*, 339.

CHAP. V.

The Road from Surat *to* Agra *through* Amadabat.

FRom *Surat* to *Baroche*, coſtes 22
All the Countrey between theſe two Cities is full of Corn, Rice, Millet, and Sugar-Canes. Before you enter into *Baroche*, you muſt Ferry over the River which runs to *Cambaya*, and falls into the Golf that carries the ſame name.

Baroche is a great City, to which there belongs a Fortreſs, of which there is no uſe made at this time. But the City has been always very famous, by reaſon of the River, which has a particular quality to whiten their Cottons; which are brought thither from all parts of the Great *Mogul*'s Territories, where they have not that convenience. In this place are made a great quantity of Baffa's, or long and large pieces of Cotton. Theſe Cottons are very fair, and cloſe woven; and the price of theſe pieces is from four to an hundred Roupies. You muſt pay Cuſtom at *Baroche* for all Goods that are brought in and carri'd out. The *Engliſh* have a very fair Houſe in the City; and I remember once, that coming thither one day in my return from *Surat* to *Agra* with the Preſident of the *Engliſh*, preſently the Mountebanks came about him, and ask'd him if he would ſee any of their tricks. The firſt thing they did was to light a great fire, and to heat certain Iron-chains red-hot, and wind them about their bodies, making as if they felt a great deal of pain, but in truth receiving no harm at all. Then they thruſt a piece of a ſtick into the ground, and ask'd the Company what Fruit they would have. One told them, he would have *Mengues*; then one of the Mountebanks hiding himſelf in the middle of a Sheet, ſtoopt to the ground five or ſix times one after another. I was ſo curious to go up ſtairs, and look out of a window, to ſee if I could ſpy what the Mountebank did; and perceived, that after he had cut himſelf under the armpits with a Razor, he rubb'd the ſtick with his Blood. After the two firſt times that he rais'd himſelf, the ſtick ſeem'd to the very eye to grow. The third time there ſprung out branches with young buds. The fourth time the Tree was covered with leaves; and the fifth time it bore flowers. The Preſident of the *Engliſh* had then his Miniſter with him, having brought him from *Amadabat* to Chriſten the Commander of the *Hollander*'s Child, to which he had promiſed to be Godfather. The *Engliſh* Miniſter Proteſted that he could not give his conſent that any Chriſtian ſhould be a ſpectator of ſuch deluſions. So that as ſoon as he ſaw that thoſe Mountebanks had of a dry-ſtick, in leſs then half an hour, made a Tree four or five foot high, that bare leaves and flowers as in the Spring-time; he went about to break it, proteſting he would not give the Communion to any perſon that ſhould ſtay any longer to ſee thoſe things. Thereupon the Preſident was forc'd to diſmiſs the Mountebanks, who wander about the Countrey with their Wives and Children juſt like Gipſies; and having given them to the value of ten or twelve Crowns, they went away very well contented.

They that are curious to ſee *Cambaya*, never go out of their way above five or ſix Coſtes, or thereabout. For when you are at *Baroche*, inſtead of going to *Broudra*, you may go directly forward to *Cambaya*, from thence afterwards to *Amadabat*. But whether it be for buſineſs, or out of curioſity, the latter Road is never to be taken; not only becauſe it is the longeſt way, but becauſe of the danger in croſſing the mouth of the Golf.

Cambaya is a great City at the bottom of the Golf that bears its name. Here it is that they ſhape thoſe fair *Agats*, that come from the *Indies*, into Cups, Hafts of Knives, Beads, and other ſorts of Workmanſhip. In the parts adjacent to the City, they alſo make *Indigo* of the ſame nature of that of

Sur-

Sarquess; and it was famous for traffick at the time when the *Portugueses* flouriſh'd in *India*. There are to be ſeen at this day, in the Quarter next the Sea, very fair Houſes, which they had built, with very rich Furniture, after the *Portugal* manner; but now they are uninhabited, and fall to decay every day more and more. There were then ſuch good Orders obſerv'd in *Cambaya*, that two hours after day was ſhut in, every Street was lock't up with two Gates, which are ſtill to be ſeen; and ſtill they continue to lock up the principal Streets, as alſo the Streets that lead into the Town. One of the chief reaſons why the Town has loſt the greateſt part of its Trade is, becauſe that formerly the Sea run cloſe up to *Cambaya*, ſo that little Veſſels eaſily anchor'd by it; but afterwards the Sea daily loſt in that part, ſo that a ſmall Ship could not ride within five or ſix Leagues of the City.

There are a great number of Peacocks in the *Indies*, eſpecially in the Territories of *Baroche*, *Cambaya*, and *Broudra*. The fleſh of the young ones is white and well-taſted like ours, and you ſhall ſee vaſt numbers of them all day in the Fields, for at night they rooſt upon the Trees. 'Tis a hard matter to come near them in the day, for as ſoon as they perceive themſelves hunted, they fly away as ſwift as a Partridg among the Buſhes; ſo that it is impoſſible for any man to follow them without tearing his Cloaths all to rags; therefore are they only to be taken in the night time, to which purpoſe they have this invention. They approach the Tree with a kind of a Banner, upon which there is a Peacock painted to the life on both ſid... at the top of the ſtick are faſtn'd two lighted Candles, the brightneſs whereof ... zing the Peacock, cauſes him to ſtretch out his Neck toward the end of the ſtick, to which there is a Rope ty'd with a ſliding knot, which he that holds the Banner draws, when he finds that the Peacock has put his Neck into it. But you muſt have a care of killing either Bird or any other Animal in the Territories, of which the idolatrous *Rajah's* are Maſters; which is nothing dangerous to do in thoſe parts of the *Indies*, where the Governors are *Mahometans*, and give liberty to Fowl or Hunt. It happen'd one time that a rich *Perſian* Merchant, paſſing through the Territories of the *Raja* of *Dantivar*, ſhot a Peacock upon the road, and kill'd it, either out of raſhneſs, or ignorance of the Cuſtoms of the Country. The *Bannians* incens'd at the attempt, which is accounted among them a moſt abominable ſacriledg, ſeiz'd upon the Merchant, and all his Money to the value of 300000. Roupies, and tying him to a Tree, whipt him in ſo terrible a manner for three days together, that the Man dy'd.

From *Cambaya* you go to a little Village diſtant ſome three Coſtes, where there is a Pagod, to which all the *Indian* Curtiſans come to make their Offerings. This Pagod is full of a great number of naked Images, among the reſt, there is a large Figure of one that ſeems to reſemble *Apollo*, with his privy parts all uncover'd. When the old Curtiſans have got together a good ſum of Money in their youth, they buy young Slaves, whom they teach to Daunce, and ſing wanton Songs, and inſtruct in all the myſteries of their infamous Art. And when theſe young Girls are eleven or twelve years old, their Miſtreſſes ſend them to this Pagod, believing it will bring them good fortune, to offer and ſurrender up themſelves to this Idol.

From this Pagod to *Chiidabad* you have ſix Coſtes. This is one of the faireſt Houſes of the great *Mogul*, with a wide Encloſure, wherein he has vaſt Gardens, and large Ponds, with all the pleaſures and curioſity whereof the Genius of the *Indians* is capable.

From *Chiidabad* to *Amadabad* you have but five Coſtes; and ſo I return to *Baroche*, and the common Road.

From *Baroche* to *Broudra*, Coſtes 22

Broudra is a great City ſtanding in a fertil Soil, wherein there is a vaſt Trade for Calicuts.

From *Broudra* to *Neriade*, coſtes 18

From *Neriade* to *Amadabat*, coſtes 20

Amadabat is one of the greateſt Cities in *India*; and where there is a mighty Trade for Silk-Stuffs, Hangings of Gold and Silver, and others mix'd with Silk, for *Saltpeter*, *Sugar*, *Ginger* candid and raw; *Tamarins*, *Mirobolans*; and flat

Indigo,

Indigo, which is made at a great Town, not far from *Amadabat*, called *Sarqueſs*. There was in that place a *Pagod*, which the *Mahumetan's* have pull'd down, and built a *Moſquee* in the place. Before you enter into it, you muſt croſs three large Courts pav'd with Marble, and encompaſt with Galleries; nor muſt you enter into the third Court till you have pull'd off your ſhooes. The inſide of the *Moſquee* is adorn'd with *Moſaick*-work, the greateſt part whereof is of *Agats* of divers colours, which they fetch from the Mountains of *Cambaya*, not above two days journey off. There are ſeveral Sepulchres of the ancient Idolatrous Kings, that look like little Chappels, of *Moſaick*-work, built upon a Vault that is under the Sepulchre. There runs a River from *Amadabat* toward the North-weſt, which during the rainy-ſeaſons that continue three or four Months together, is very wide and rapid, and does much miſchief every year. It is ſo with all the other Rivers in *India*; and after the rains are fallen, you muſt ſtay ſix weeks or two months before you can ford *Amadabat*-River, where there is no Bridg. There are two or three Boats; but they are of no uſe, when the ſtream is ſo ſwift; ſo that you muſt ſtay till the waters are fall'n. But the people of the Countrey will not ſtay ſo long; for to croſs from one River to another, they only make uſe of Goat-skins, which they blow up and fill with wind, and then tye them between their ſtomacks and their bellies. Thus the poor men and women ſwim croſs this River, and when they would carry their children along with them, they put them in certain round pots of Earth, the mouth whereof is four fingers wide, and drive the Pots before them. This puts me in mind of a Paſſage, when I was at *Amadabat* in the year 1642, which is too remarkable to be omitted.

A Countrey-man and a Countrey-woman one day paſt the River as I have related, and having a child about two years old, they put it into one of theſe Pots, ſo that there was nothing but the head appear'd. Being about the middle of the River, they met with a little bank of Sand, where there lay an huge Tree, which the ſtream had carry'd thither; whereupon the Father ſhov'd the Pot toward that part, to reſt himſelf awhile. When he came near the Tree, the trunk whereof lay ſomewhat above the water, a Serpent leapt out from among the roots, into the Pot where the Infant was. The Father and the Mother frighted at the accident, and having almoſt loſt their ſenſes, let the Pot go a-drift where the ſtream carri'd it, and lay almoſt dead themſelves at the bottom of the Tree. About two leagues lower, a *Banian* and his Wife with a little Infant, were waſhing themſelves in the River before they went to eat. They deſcry'd the Pot a-far-off, with the half of the Infant's-head that appear'd above the hole. The *Banian* immediately ſwims to the relief of the child, and having ſtopp'd the Pot, drives it to the ſhoar. The Mother follow'd by her own, comes preſently to take the other child out of the Pot, at what time the Serpent that had done no harm to the other child, ſhoots out of the Pot, and winding about hers, ſtings it, and infuſes its venom into the Infant, ſo that it dy'd immediately. However, the accident being ſo extraordinary, did not trouble theſe poor people; who rather believ'd it to have happen'd by the ſecret diſpoſal of their Deity, who had taken from them one child, to give them another for it, with which opinion they preſently comforted themſelves. Some time after, the report of this accident coming to the ears of the firſt Country-man, he comes to the *Banian* to tell him how the miſchance had happen'd, and to demand his child of him; the other *Indian* affirming that the child was his, and that his God had ſent it him, in the place of that which was dead. To be ſhort, the buſineſs made ſo loud a noiſe, that it was at length brought before the King, who order'd, that the child ſhould be reſtor'd to the Father.

At the ſame time there happen'd another very pleaſant accident in the ſame City of *Amadabat*. The Wife of a rich Merchant *Banian*, nam'd *Saintidas*, never having had a child, and manifeſting her eager deſire to have one, a ſervant of the Houſe took her a-ſide one day, and told her, that if ſhe would but eat that which he would give her, ſhe ſhould be with child. The woman deſirous to know what ſhe was to eat, the ſervant told her it was a little fiſh, and that ſhe ſhould eat but three or four. Now the Religion of the *Banians* forbidding them to eat any thing that has life, ſhe could not at firſt reſolve to yield to his propoſal; but the ſervant having promiſed her that he would ſo order the matter, that ſhe

ſhould

ſhould not know whether it were fiſh or no that ſhe eat, ſhe reſolv'd to try his receit, and went the next night to lie with her Husband, according to the inſtruction which ſhe had received from the Servant. Some time after, the woman perceiving that ſhe was big, her Husband happen'd to die, and the kindred of the deceaſed would have his Eſtate. The Widow oppoſed them, and told them that it behov'd them to ſtay, till they ſaw whether the Child ſhe went withal, would live or no. Her kindred were ſurpriz'd to hear ſuch news that they ſo little expected, and tax'd her for one that either ly'd or jeſted with them; knowing that the woman had liv'd fifteen or ſixteen years with her Husband, yet never had been with Child. Seeing therefore that her kindred ſtill tormented her, ſhe went and threw her ſelf at the Governour's feet, to whom ſhe related all that had paſt; who thereupon order'd that the kindred ſhould ſtay till the woman was deliver'd. Some days after ſhe had lain-in, the kindred of the deceas'd Merchant, who were Perſons of Credit, and gap'd after ſo fair an inheritance, affirm'd that the child was not Legitimate, and that ſhe had it not by her Husband. The Governour, to underſtand the truth of the matter, calls for the Phyſicians; who concluded, that the Infant ſhould be carried to the *Bath*, ſaying, that if the Receit which the Mother had made uſe of, were real, the ſweat of the Child would ſmell of Fiſh; which was done accordingly, and the Experiment prov'd true. Thereupon the Governour order'd that the Child ſhould have the Eſtate, the Merchant being ſo proud to be his Father: But the kindred, troubl'd that ſuch a fat Morſel had eſcap'd their mouths, appeal'd to the King. Upon their relation of the ſtory, the King wrote to the Governour to ſend him the Mother and the Infant, to the end the Experiment might be made in his preſence: which having the ſame ſucceſs as before, the kindred ſurceas'd their claim, and the Eſtate remain'd to the Mother and the Infant.

I remember alſo another pleaſant Story which was related to me at *Amadabat*, where I have been ten or twelve times. A Merchant with whom I often dealt, and who was very well belov'd by *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, Governour of the Province, and the King's Uncle, had the reputation never to have told a lye. *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, after the three years of his Government were expir'd, according to the cuſtom of the Great *Mogul*, and that *Aureng-zeb*, the King's Son was come into his place, retir'd to *Agra*, where the Court then was. One day, diſcourſing with the King, he told him, that he had ſeen many rare things in the Government, with which his Majeſty had honour'd him, but that one thing above all the reſt had aſtoniſh'd him, to have met with a Rich Merchant that had never told a lye, and yet he was above threeſcore and ten years of age. The King ſurpriz'd at a thing ſo extraordinary, ſignified to *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, his deſire to ſee the perſon, and commanded him to ſend for him to *Agra*, which he did. The Old-Man was very much troubl'd, as well in regard of the length of the way, it being a journey of 25 or 30 days, as for that he was to make a Preſent to the King. In ſhort, he provided one, eſteem'd at fourty-thouſand Roupies, to carry *Betle* in, enchas'd with Diamonds, Rubies, and Emraulds. When he had made his obeyſance to the King, and given him his Preſent, the King ask'd him only what was his name, to whom he replyed, that he was call'd the man that had never told a lye. Then the King ask'd him who was his Father? Sir, ſaid he, I cannot tell; his Majeſty ſatisfi'd with an anſwer, ſtopt there, and unwilling to trouble him any farther, commanded an Elephant to be given him, which is a very great Honour, and ten thouſand Roupies to bear his charges home.

The *Banians* have a great Veneration for Apes, and there are ſome which they breed up in their Pagods to worſhip. There are three or four Houſes in *Amadabat* which they make uſe of for Hoſpitals for Cowes, Oxen, Apes, and other ſick or maim'd Beaſts; and they carry all they can find thither to preſerve them. This is alſo very remarkable, that every *Tueſday* and *Friday*, all the Apes in the places adjoyning to *Amadabat*, of their own accord come to the City, and get upon the tops of their Houſes, where they lye, during the exceſſive heats. And therefore upon thoſe days the People never fail to ſet ready in their Terraſſes, Rice, Millet, Sugar-Canes in their ſeaſons, and other ſuch-like things. For if the Apes did not find their proviſion when they came, they would break the Tiles where-with the reſt of the Houſe is cover'd, and do a great deal of miſchief.

chief. And you muſt here take notice alſo, that the Ape never eats any thing which he does not very well like the ſcent of before-hand; and before he ſwallows any-thing, he lays up his Magazin againſt future hunger; filling his bags with proviſion, which he keeps till next day.

I have ſaid, that the *Banians* have a particular Veneration for the Ape; of which I will give you one Example, among many, that I could bring. Being one day at *Amadabat*, at the Houſe belonging to the *Hollanders*, a young man of that Nation newly arriv'd to ſerve in the Factory, not knowing the cuſtom of the Countrey, and ſeeing a great Ape upon a Tree in the Court, would needs ſhew a piece of activity, or rather a trick of youth, to kill the Ape with a ſmall Gun. I was at the Table then with the *Dutch*-Commander; and we no ſooner heard the blow, but we heard as ſoon a loud noiſe of *Banians*, that wait upon the *Holland*-Company, who came to complain bitterly of him that had kill'd the Ape. They would all have been gone; ſo that the Commander had much ado, and made many excuſes before he could appeaſe them, and oblige them to ſtay.

In the Neighbourhood about *Amadabat*, there are a great number of Apes. And this is obſervable, that where there are a great number of thoſe Animals, there are very few Crows. For as ſoon as they have built their Neſts and laid their Eggs, the Apes get upon the Trees and throw their Eggs to the Ground. One day returning from *Agra*, and departing out of *Amadabat* with the *Engliſh* Preſident, who came hither about ſome buſineſs, and was returning to *Surat*, we paſs'd through a little Forreſt of Trees, call'd *Mangues*, ſome four or five Leagues from *Amadabat*; there we ſaw a vaſt number of great Monkeys, male and female, and many of their females holding their young ones in their Arms. We had each of us our Coach, and the *Engliſh* Preſident cauſing his to ſtop, told me he had an excellent and very neat Harquebuſs, that was preſented him by the Governor of *Daman*, and knowing I could aim well, he deſir'd me to try it, at one of thoſe Apes. One of my Servants, who was born in the Country, making me a ſign not to venture, I endeavoured to diſſwade the Preſident from his deſign; but it was impoſſible; ſo that I took the Harquebuſs, and kill'd a female Monkey, who lay ſtretch'd out upon the Boughs, letting her little ones fall to the ground. But it fell out as my Servant had forewarn'd me. For immediately all the Monkeys that were upon the Trees, to the number of ſixty, came down in a great fury, to have leap'd into the Preſidents Coach, where they would ſoon have ſtrangled him, had we not prevented them by cloſing the Shutters, and had we not had a great number of Servants, that with much ado kept them off. And though they came not to my Coach, yet I was very much afraid of my ſelf; for they purſued the Preſident's Coach above a League, and they were ſtout luſty Monkeys.

From *Amadabat* to *Panſer*, coſtes 13
From *Panſer* to *Maſana*, coſtes 14
From *Maſana* to *Chirpour*, coſtes 14

Chirpour is a very good City, ſo called by reaſon of the great Trade for painted-Calicuts, which are called *Chites*: Near which, ſome four or five-hundred paces toward the South, there runs a ſmall River. Arriving at *Chirpour* in one of my Voyages, I pitch'd my Tent under two or three Trees at the end of a wide-place neer the Town. A little while after I ſaw four or five Lions appear, which were brought to be tam'd; which they told me took them up five or ſix months; and their way to do it, is this: They tye the Lions at twelve paces diſtance one from another by the hinder-legs, with a Rope faſten'd to a great woodden-ſtake ſet deep in the ground, with another cord about the neck, which the Maſter holds in his hand. Theſe ſtakes are planted in the ſame Line, and in another Parallel they ſtretch out another Cord as long as the ſpace, which the bodies of the Lions ſo diſpos'd of, as I have deſcrib'd, take up. The two Cords which hold the Lion ty'd by the two hinder-feet, give him liberty to ſpring out as far as that long Cord; which is a mark to thoſe that ſtand to provoke and incenſe the Lions, by throwing ſtones and pieces of wood at them, not to venture any farther: The people run to ſee the fight, and when the Lion, provok'd, gives a ſpring towards the Cord, the Maſter holds

holds another in his hand, ty'd about his neck, that pulls him back. Thus they accuſtom the Lion by degrees to be familiar with the people, and at my coming to *Chiapour*, I ſaw this Divertiſement without ſtirring out of my Coach.

The next day I had another, meeting with a knot of *Faquirs*, or *Mahometan Dervichs*. I counted fifty-ſeven, among whom, he that was the Chief or Superior, had been Grand Eſquire to *Chu-jehan-guir*, having left the Court, when *Sultan Boulaki*, his youngeſt Son, was ſtrangl'd by Order of *Cha-jehan*; there were four others, who next to the Superior, were chief of the Company, who had been alſo great Lords in the ſame *Cha-jehan*'s Court. All the Cloaths thoſe five *Dervichs* had, were only four ells of Orange-colour-Calicut to hide what modeſty will have hid before and behind, and every one of them a Tygers-skin over their ſhoulders ty'd together under their chins. They had led before them eight fair Horſes ſadd'l'd and bridl'd; three whereof had Bridles of Gold, and Saddles cover'd with Plates of Gold, and the other five had Bridles of Silver cover'd with Plates of Silver, and a Leopard's-skin upon every one. The other *Dervichs* had only a Cord for their Girdle, to which was faſten'd a piece of Calicut only to cover their private parts. Their hair was ty'd in wreaths round about their heads after the manner of a Turbant. They were all well-arm'd, the moſt part with Bows and Arrows, ſome with Muskets, and others with Half-pikes, with another ſort of weapon which we have not in *Europe*; that is to ſay, a ſharp piece of Iron like the ſide of a Platter without a bottom, which they wind eight or ten times about their necks, and carry like a Calves Chaldron. They draw out theſe Iron-Circles as they intend to make uſe of them; and they will throw them with ſuch a force againſt a man, that they ſhall fly as ſwift as an Arrow, and go very neer to cut a man in two in the middle. They had every one, beſides all this, an Hunting-Horn, which they wind, making a prodigious noiſe when they come to any place, and when they go away; together with a Grater or Raſp, being an Iron-Inſtrument, made like a Trowel. This is an Inſtrument which the *Indians* carry generally about them when they travel, to ſcrape and make clean the places where they intend to reſt; and ſome of them, when they have ſcrap'd all the duſt together into an heap, make uſe of it inſtead of a Mattreſs or Pillow to lie eaſily upon. There were ſome of them that were arm'd with long Tucks; which they had bought either of the *Engliſh* or *Portugals*. Their Luggage conſiſted of four great Cheſts full of *Perſian* and *Arabian* Books, and ſome Kitchen-houſhold-ſtuff: They had alſo ten or twelve Oxen to carry their ſick. When the *Dervichs* came to the place where I lay with my Coach, having about fifty perſons with me, as well of the people of the Countrey, as of my own ſervants; the Chief or Superior of the Troop ſeeing me ſo well-attended, enquir'd what *Aga* that was; and deſir'd me to let him have that place which I had taken up, as being the moſt convenient in all that place, for him and his *Dervichs* to lodg. When they told me the quality of the Chief, and the four *Dervichs* that attended him, I was willing to be civil, and to yield to their requeſt; and thereupon I left them the place free. After they had well-water'd the place, and laid the duſt, they lighted two fires, as if it had been in the froſt and ſnow for the five principal *Dervichs*, who ſate and chaf'd themſelves before and behind. That very evening, after they had ſupp'd the Governour of the Town came to complement the principal *Dervichs*, and during their ſtay, ſent them Rice and other things, which they are accuſtom'd to eat. When they come to any place, the Superior ſends ſome of his Crew a begging into the Towns and Villages, and what Alms they get, is preſently diſtributed equally among them; every one of them taking care to boil his own Rice. What is over and above they give to the Poor in the evening; for they reſerve nothing till next day.

From *Chilpour* to *Balampour*, coſtes 12
From *Balampour* to *Dantivar*, coſtes 11
From *Dantivar* to *Bargant*, coſtes 17

Bargant is in the Territories of a *Raja*, to whom you pay duties. In one of my journeys to *Agra*, paſſing through *Bargant*, I did not ſee the *Raja*, but only his Lieutenant, who was very civil to me, and made me a Preſent of Rice, Butter, and Fruit in ſeaſon. To make him amends, I gave him three Shaſhes of Gold

and Silk, four Handkerchiefs of painted Linnen, and two Bottles, the one full of *Aquavita*, and the other full of *Spaniſh*-Wine. At my departure he ſent a Convoy of twenty Horſe four or five leagues along with me.

One evening being about to lodg upon the Frontiers of the Territories of the *Raja* of *Bargant*, my people came to me and told me, that if we took the Road through *Bargant*, we ſhould go neer to have all our throats cut, for that the *Raja* of that place liv'd altogether upon Robbery. So that unleſs I hir'd an hundred more of the Country-people, there was no likelihood of eſcaping thoſe Free-booters. At firſt I argu'd with them, and tax'd their Cowardice, but fearing to pay for my raſhneſs afterwards, I ſent them to hire fifty more, for three days only, that we croſs'd the *Raja*'s Country: for which they ask'd me every one four Roupies, which is as much as you give them for a whole Month. The next day as I was about to ſet forward, my Guard came and told me they would leave me, and that they would not venture their lives, deſiring me not to write to *Agra* to their Captain, who was reſponſible for them, that they had left me againſt my will. Three of my ſervants alſo did as they did, ſo that I had no body left with me, but a man that lead an Horſe in his hand, my Coachman, and three other ſervants, and ſo I ſet forward under the protection of God. About a league from the place which I had left, I perceived ſome part of my Convoy following me. Thereupon I ſtopt my Coach to ſtay for them, and when they came neer, I bid them advance if they intended to go along with me. But ſeeing them fearful, and unreſolv'd, I bid them go about their buſineſs, telling them I had no need of ſuch Cowards as they were. About a league from thence I diſcover'd upon the brow of an Hill about fifty Horſe, four of which came riding up to me; when I perceived them, I alighted out of my Coach, and having with me ſome thirteen Spit-fires, I gave to every one of my men an Harquebuſs. The Horſe-men approaching, I kept my Coach between them and me, and had my Gun ready cockt, in caſe they ſhould aſſail me. But they made me a ſign, that I ſhould fear nothing; only that the Prince was a-Hunting, and had ſent to know what Strangers paſt through his Territories: I made anſwer, that I was the ſame *Franguy* that had paſt by five or ſix weeks before. By good luck, the very ſame Lieutenant to whom I had made the Preſent of *Aquavita* and *Spaniſh*-Wine, follow'd thoſe four Horſemen. And after he had teſtify'd how glad he was to ſee me, he ask'd me if I had any Wine; I told him I never travell'd without that: For indeed the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* had preſented me with ſeveral Bottles at *Agra*. So ſoon as the Lieutenant was return'd to the *Raja*, the *Raja* himſelf came to me, and told me I was welcome; and bid me reſt my ſelf in a ſhady-place which he pointed to, about a league and an half from the place where we were. In the evening he came, and we ſtaid together two days to make merry; the *Raja* bringing alone with him certain Morrice-dancers, without which the *Perſians* and *Indians* can never think themſelves heartily merry. At my departure the *Raja* lent me 200 Horſe, to convoy me to the Frontiers of his Territories, for three days together; for which I only gave them three or four pound of Tobacco. When I came to *Amadabat*, the people would hardly believe that I had had ſo kind a reception from a Prince, that was noted for abuſing ſtrangers that paſt through his Countrey.

From *Bargant* to *Bimal*, coſtes 15
From *Bimal* to *Modra*, coſtes 15
From *Modra* to *Chalaour*, coſtes 10

Chalaour is an ancient Town upon a Mountain, encompaſt with Walls, and very difficult to come to. There is a Lake at the top of the Mountain, and another below; between which and the foot of the Mountain lies the Road to the Town.

From *Chalaour* to *Cantap*, coſtes 12
From *Cantap* to *Setlana*, coſtes 15
From *Setlana* to *Palavaſeny*, coſtes 14
From *Palavaſeny* to *Pipars*, coſtes 11
From *Pipars* to *Mirda*, coſtes 16

From *Dantiuar* to *Mirda* is three days journey, being a mountainous Countrey the belongs to *Raja*'s, or particular Princes that pay tribute to the Great *Mogul*.

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In recompence whereof the Great *Mogul* gives them Commands in his Armies; by which they gain much more than they loose by the tribute which they pay.

Mirda is a great City, but ill-built. When I came thither in one of my *Indian*-journeys, all the Inns were full of Passengers, in regard that *Cha-jehan*'s Aunt, the Wife of *Cha-Est-Kan*, was going that way to marry her Daughter to *Sultan Sujah*, the second Son of *Cha-jehan*; I was forc'd to set up my Tent upon a Bank, with Trees on both sides: But I was not a little surpriz'd two hours afterward, to see fifteen or twenty Elephants loose, that tore down the boughs as far as they could reach, breaking off the huge Arms of Trees, as if they had been but small faggot-sticks. This spoil was done by the order of the *Begum*, in revenge of the Affront which the Inhabitants of *Mirda* had put upon her, who had not waited on her, and made her a Present as they ought to have done.

From *Mirda* to *Boronda*, costes	12
From *Baronda* to *Coetchiel*, costes	18
From *Coetchiel* to *Bander-Sonnery*, costes	14
From *Bandar-Sonnery* to *Ladona*, costes	16
From *Ladona* to *Chasou*, costes	12
From *Chasou* to *Nouali*, costes	17
From *Nouali* to *Hindoo*, costes	19
From *Hindoo* to *Baniana*, costes	10

These two last places are two Towns, where, as in all the Country round about, they make *Indigo*-Plate, which is round; and as it is the best of all the *Indigo's*, so is it double the price.

From *Baniana* to *Vettapour*, costes	14

Vettapour is an ancient Town where they make woollen-Hangings.

From *Vettapour* to *Agra*, costes	12
From *Surat* to *Agra* is in all, costes	415

If you could divide your journeys equally into thirteen *Costes* a-piece, you might go to *Surat* in thirty-three days; but because you rest, and stay at some places, it is generally thirty-five or forty days journey.

CHAP. VI.

The Road from Ispahan *to* Agra, *through* Candahar.

I Have made an exact description of some part of the Road, and brought the Reader as far as *Candahar*; it remains, that I carry him from *Candahar* to *Agra*; to which there are but two ways to go, either through *Caboul*, or through *Multan*. The latter way is the shorter by ten days journey. But the Caravan never goes that way. For from *Candahar* to *Multan* you travel almost all the way through Desarts; and sometimes you travel three or four days without meeting any water. So that the most ordinary and beaten Road, is through *Caboul*. Now from *Candahar* to *Caboul*, is twenty-four days journey; from *Caboul* to *Lahor*, twenty-two; from *Lahor* to *Dehly*, or *Gehanabat*, eighteen; from *Dehly* to *Agra*, six; which with the sixty days journey from *Ispahan* to *Farat*, and the twenty from *Farat* to *Candahar*, makes in all from *Ispahan* to *Agra*, an hundred and fifty days journey. But the Merchants that are in haste, take Horses, three or four together in a company, and ride the whole journey in sixty, or sixty-five days at most.

Multan is a City where there is made a vast quantity of Linnen Calicuts, which was all transported to *Tuta*, before the Sands had stop'd up the mouth of the River; but since that, it is carry'd all to *Agra*, and from *Agra* to *Surat*, as is the greatest part of the Merchandize which is made at *Lahor*. But in regard carriage is so dear, very few Merchants traffick either to *Multan* or at *Lahor*; and many of the Workmen have also deserted those places, so that the Kings Revenues are very much diminished in those Provinces. *Multan*

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From *Roupate* to *Toulapeca*, coſtes 16
From *Toulapeca* to *Keraly*, coſtes 19
From *Keraly* to *Zerabad*, coſtes 16
From *Zerabad* to *Imiabad*, coſtes 18
From *Imiabad* to *Lahor*, coſtes 18

Lahor is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon one of the five Rivers that deſcend from the Mountains of the North to ſwell the River *Indus*; and give the name of *Peniab* to all the Region which they water. This River at this time flows not within a league of the Town, being ſubject to change its Channel, and many times does very great miſchief to the adjoyning Fields, through the rapid deluges which it makes. The City is large, and extends it ſelf above a league in length. But the greateſt part of the Houſes, which are higher than thoſe of *Agra* and *Deli*, fall to ruine, by reaſon of the exceſſive rains that have overflowed a great number of them. The King's Palace is an indifferent fair one, and is not, as formerly it was, upon the River, which is fall'n off above a quarter of a league from it. There is Wine to be had at *Lahor*.

I muſt obſerve by the by, that after you have paſt *Lahor*, and the Kingdom of *Kakemir*, that lies upon it toward the North, none of their Women have any hair upon any part of their bodies, and the Men but very little upon their chins.

From *Lahor* to *Menat-kan*, coſtes 12
From *Menat-kan* to *Faty-abad*, coſtes 15
From *Faty-abad* to *Sera-dakan*, coſtes 15
From *Sera-dakan* to *Sera-balour*, coſtes 15
From *Sera-balour* to *Sera-dourai*, coſtes 12
From *Sera-dourai* to *Serinde*, coſtes 17
From *Serinde* to *Sera-Mogoul*, coſtes 15
From *Sera-Mogoul* to *Sera-Chabas*, coſtes 14
From *Sera-Chabas* to *Dirauril*, coſtes 17
From *Dirauril* to *Sera-Crindal*, coſtes 14
From *Sera-Crindal* to *Guienaour*, coſtes 21
From *Guienaour* to *Dehly*, coſtes 24

Before you go any farther, you are to take notice that all the way from *Lahor* to *Dehly*, and from *Dehly* to *Agra*, is a continual walk ſet on both ſides with fair Trees; an object moſt pleaſing to the ſight: But in ſome places the Trees are decay'd, and there is no care taken to Plant others in their ſtead.

Dehly is a great City near the River *Gemna*, which runs from the North to the South, afterwards from the Weſt to the Eaſt; and after it has paſt by *Agra* and *Kadione*, empties it ſelf into the *Ganges*. After *Cha-jehan* had built the new City of *Gehanabad*, which is call'd by his own Name; and where he choſe rather to keep his Court, than at *Agra*, becauſe the Climate is more temperate. *Dehly* is almoſt come to ruine, and indeed is nothing but an heap of Rubbiſh; there being no other Houſes remaining but only for poor people. The Streets are narrow, and the Houſes of *Bambone*, as over all the reſt of the *Indies*. Neither are there above three or four Lords of the Court that reſide at *Dehly*, where they ſet up their Tents in great Encloſures, and in the ſame manner lodg'd the Reverend Jeſuit that was at Court.

Gehanabad, as well as *Dehly*, is a great City; and there is nothing but a ſingle Wall that make the ſeparation. All the Houſes of particular men conſiſt of great Encloſures, in the midſt whereof is the place for Lodgings. The greateſt part of the Lords do not live in the City, but have their Houſes without, for the conveniency of the water. As you enter into *Gehanabad* from *Dehly*, you meet with a long and broad Street, on each ſide whereof are Vaults, where the Merchants keep ſhops, being only plat-form'd at the top. This ſtreet ends in the great *Piazza* before the King's Houſe; and there is another very fair and large Street, that runs toward another Gate of the ſame Palace, in which live the great Merchants that keep no Shops.

The King's Palace takes up above half a league circuit: The Walls are of fair cut-Stone with Battlements. The Moats are full of water, pav'd with Free-ſtone. The great Gate of the Palace has nothing in it of magnificence; no more than the firſt Court, into which the great Lords may enter upon their Elephants.

Having

Having paſt that Court, you enter into another long and large paſſage, with fair Portico's on both ſides. Under which are ſeveral little Chambers, where part of the Horſe-Guard lies. Theſe Portico's are rais'd ſome two foot above the ground, and the Horſes which are ti'd without, feed upon the ſteps. In ſome places there are great Gates that lead to ſeveral Apartments; as to the Womens Lodgings, and to the Seat of Juſtice. In the midſt of the paſſage runs a Cut full of water, leaving a fair Walk on each ſide, where, at equal diſtances, are little Baſons or Fountains.

This long Paſſage carries you into a great Court, where the *Omra*'s, that is to ſay, the great Lords of the Kingdom, ſuch as the *Baſha*'s in *Turkey*, and the *Kan*'s in *Perſia*, keep Guard in Perſon. They have low Lodgings round about the Court, and their Horſes are ti'd to their doors.

From this ſecond Court you paſs into a third, through a great Portal; on one ſide whereof there is a little Hall, rais'd ſome two or three ſteps high from the ground. This is the Wardrobe where the Royal Garments are kept; and from whence the King ſends for the *Calaat*, or a whole Habit for a man, when he would honour any Stranger or any one of his own Subjects. A little farther, under the ſame Portal, is the place where the Drums, Trumpets, and Hautboys are laid up; which they ſound and beat a little before the King enters into his Judgment-Seat, to give notice to the *Omrah*'s; and they make the ſame noiſe when the King is ready to riſe. Entring into the third Court, you ſee the *Divan* before you, where the King gives Audience. This is a great Hall rais'd ſome four-foot-high above the ſuperficies of the Court, with three ſides open. Thirty-two Pillars ſuſtain as many Arches; and theſe Columns are about four-foot-ſquare, with Pedeſtals and Mouldings. When *Cha-jehan* firſt began to build this Hall, he intended to have enrich'd it, and inlaid it all over with thoſe Stones that ſeem to be naturally painted, like thoſe in the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*'s Chappel. But having made a trial upon two or three Pillars, about two or three-foot-high, he found that there would not be Stones enough, of that ſort, in the World to finiſh the work; beſides the vaſtneſs of the Sum it would come to. So that he left off his deſign, contenting himſelf with a Painting of ſeveral flowers.

In the middle of this Hall, next to the ſide which looks toward the Court, there is a Throne erected upon a kind of Theater, where the King gives Audience, and pronounces Judgment. The Throne is a little Bed with four Columns, about the bigneſs of one of our Field-beds, with a Canopy, Backpiece, Boulſter and Counterpoint, all embroider'd with Diamonds. Beſides all this, when the King comes to ſit upon the Throne, they throw over the Bed a Coverlet of Cloath of Gold, or ſome other richly-embroider'd Silk; and he aſcends by three little ſteps, two-foot-broad. On one ſide of the Bed is erected an *Umbrello* upon a Staff, as long as an Half-Pike. Upon one of the Pillars of the Throne hangs one of the King's Weapons; upon another his Buckler; upon another his Scimetar; and then his Bow and Quiver of Arrows, and other things of the ſame nature.

Below the Throne there is a place ſome twenty-foot-ſquare, encompaſt with Baluſters which at ſome times are cover'd with Plates of Silver, at other times with Plates of Gold. At the four-Corners of this ſmall encloſure ſit the four Secretaries of State, who as well in Civil as Criminal Cauſes, do the duty of advocates. Many Lords ſtand about this Baluſtrade; and there is alſo the Muſick plac'd, that plays all the while the King is in the *Divan*. This Muſick is ſo ſweet and ſoft, that it never takes off the mind from the ſerioufneſs of buſineſs at that time manag'd. The King being ſat upon his Throne, ſome great Lords ſtand by him; generally it is ſome one of his own Children. Between eleven a Clock and Noon, the *Nabab*, who is the chief Miniſter of State, like the *Grand Vizier* in *Turkey*, makes a report to the King of what has paſt in the Chamber where he Preſides, which is at the Entry of the firſt Court; and when he has done ſpeaking, the King riſes. For you muſt take notice, that from the time that the King is ſate upon his Throne, till he riſes, no perſon whatſoever is permitted to ſtir out of the Palace; and yet I can ſay that the King diſpenc'd with my performance of this Law ſo generally obſerv'd by all the Court: The occaſion whereof was thus in ſhort.

Being

Being one day going out of the Palace, while the King was ſitting in the *Divan*, upon ſome urgent buſineſs that would admit of no delay, the Captain of the Guards held me by the arm, and told me I ſhould go no farther; I conteſted and argued the Caſe with him for ſome time, but finding his uſuage to be very boiſterous, I lifted up my Cane, and had certainly ſtrook him in my paſſion, had not two or three of the Guards that ſaw all the paſſages, held my hand. Happily for me at that time, the *Nahab*, who was then the King's Uncle, came by, and being informed of the ground of our quarrel; order'd the Captain of the Guards to let me go. After that he made a report to the King how the matter ſtood; and toward evening the *Nahab* ſent me one of his Servants to tell me, it was his Majeſty's pleaſure, that I might come in or go out of the Palace, though he were ſitting in the *Divan*, as I pleas'd my ſelf; for which I went the next day, and return'd thanks to the *Nahab*.

Toward the middle of the ſame Court there is a ſmall Channel ſome five or ſix inches broad, where while the King is ſitting upon the Seat of Juſtice, they that have buſineſs are to ſtand. Further it is not lawful for them to go, till they are call'd; and Embaſſadours themſelves are not exempted from this cuſtom. When an Embaſſadour, comes as far as this Channel, the Maſter of the Ceremonies calls out toward the *Divan* where the King is ſitting, that ſuch an Embaſſadour craves Audience of his Majeſty. Then one of the Secretaries of State declares it to the King; who oftentimes makes as if he did not hear: But ſome time after lifting up his eyes, he caſts them upon the Embaſſadour, making him a ſign by the ſame Secretary, that he may approach.

From the Hall of the *Divan*, turning to the left, you walk upon a Terraſs, where you diſcover the River. Over this Terraſs the King paſſes into a little Chamber, from whence he goes into his *Haram*. In this little Chamber it was that I had my firſt Audience of his Majeſty; as I ſhall relate in another place.

Upon the left-hand of the Court where the *Divan* is built, ſtands a little *Moſquee* neatly built; the *Cupola* whereof is cover'd with Lead perfectly guilded. Here the King goes to hear Prayers every day, except it be Fridays, when he is to go to the great *Moſquee*, which is a very fair one, and plac'd upon an high Platform, rais'd higher than the Houſes of the City, and there is a noble aſcent to it. That day that the King goes to the *Moſquee*, they place huge rails of wood round about the ſteps, as well to keep off the Elephants, as out of reſpect to the *Moſquee*.

The right ſide of the Court is taken up with Portico's, that make a long Gallery, rais'd from the ground about half a foot; and theſe are the King's Stables into which you have many doors to enter. They are alſo full of ſtately Horſes, the worſt whereof ſtands the King in three-thouſand Crowns; and there are ſome that coſt him ten-thouſand. At the door of every one of theſe Stables, hangs a kind of Mat made of *Bambouc*, that cleaves like our Oſiers. But whereas we bind our Oſier-twigs with the ſame Oſier, they bind their *Bambouc's* with wreath'd-Silk, which is delicate work, but very tedious. Theſe Mats are to hinder the Flies from tormenting the Horſes; there being two Grooms to an Horſe, one of which is ſtill employ'd in fanning the Beaſt. There are alſo Mats ſpread before the Portico's, and before the Stable-door; which they ſpread or take away as occaſion requires. And the Floor of the Gallery is cover'd with fair Carpets, which is taken away in the evening, and the Horſes Litter ſtrow'd in the ſame place. Which litter is nothing but the Horſe-dung dri'd in the Sun, and then ſqueez'd a little flat. The Horſes that are brought into *India* either out of *Perſia*, *Arabia*, or the Country of *Uſbech*, change their food: For in *India* they never give them Hay nor Oats. Every Horſe in the morning having for his proportion three loaves made of Meal, Wheat, and Butter, as big as one of our ſix-penny-loaves. 'Tis an hard matter to bring them to this diet at firſt; it being ſometimes three or four Months before they can do it. The Groom is forc'd to hold their tongue in one hand, and to thruſt down the bread with the other. When Sugar-Canes or Millet are in ſeaſon, they give them that diet about noon; and in the evening, two hours before Sun-ſet they give them a meaſure of Garden-Chiches which the Groom ſqueezes between two ſtones, and mixes with wa-

ter

ter. This is instead of Barley and Oats. As for the King's other Stables, where he has also very fine Horses, they are scurvy places, ill-built, which deserve not to be mention'd.

The *Gemene* is a fair River that bears good big Boats, which running to *Agra* loses its name, falling into *Ganges* at *Hallabas*. The King has several small *Brigantines* at *Gehanabad* upon the River, to take his pleasure in; and they are very curiously trimm'd after the manner of the Countrey.

CHAP. VII.

The continuance of the same Road from Dehly *to* Agra.

From *Dehly* to *Badelpoura*, costes 8
From *Badelpoura* to *Pelvel-ki-sera*, costes 18
From *Pelvel-ki-sera* to *Corki-sera*, costes 15
From *Corki-sera* to *Cheki-sera*, costes 16

At *Cheki-sera* is one of the greatest Pagods of the *Indians*, together with an Hospital for Apes; as well for those that breed there-abouts, as for those that come from the neighbouring-parts, which the *Banians* are very careful to feed. This Pagod is call'd *Matura*, and it was formerly in far greater veneration than it is at this day. The reason is, because the *Gemene* ran then just at the very foot of the Pagod; wherein the *Banians*, as well those of the Countrey, as those that came from remote parts in Pilgrimage, had the convenience to wash themselves before they went to their Devotions; and when they had perform'd them, to wash again before they eat; which they are not to do ere they have wash'd; believing also that if they wash in running-water, their sins will be the more easily defac'd. But some years since the River, changing its course more to the Northward, comes not within a good league of the Pagod, which is the reason that the Pilgrims have deserted it.

From *Cheki-sera* to *Goodki-sera*, costes 5
From *Goodki-sera* to *Agra*, costes 6

Agra lies in 27 deg. 31 min. of Lat. and in a Sandy-soil, which causes extremity of heat. It is the biggest City in *India*, and formerly the Residence of their Kings. The Houses of great Persons are fair, and well built; but the Houses of the meaner-sort are as plain, as in all the other Cities of *India*. They are built a good distance one from another, and hid by the height of their Walls, to keep their Women from being seen: So that it may be easily conjectur'd that their Cities are nothing so pleasant as ours in *Europe*. Add to this, that *Agra* being encompast round with the Sands, the heats are there very excessive, which constrain'd *Cha-jehan* to remove from thence, and to keep his Court at *Gehanabad*.

All that is remarkable in *Agra* is the King's Palace; and some Monuments as well near the City, as in the parts about it. The Palace of the King is a vast piece of ground encompast with a double-wall, which is terrass'd in some parts, and in those parts are built certain Lodgings for some of the Officers of the Court: The *Gemene* runs before the Palace; but between the Wall and the River there is a large space of ground, where the King causes his Elephants to fight. This Field is on purpose near the water, because that the Elephant which gets the victory, being in a fury, they could not bring him to himself, did they not drive him into the River: to which end they are forc'd to have recourse to Policy, by tying Squibs and Crackers to the end of an Half-Pike, and then giving fire to them to fright him into the water: for when he is in but two or three foot-deep, he is presently appeas'd.

There is a wide *Piazza* upon one side of the City before the Palace, and the first Gate, wherein there is nothing of magnificence, is guarded by a few Souldiers. Before the King removed his Court from *Agra* to *Gehanabad*, when he went into the Countrey for some time, he gave to some one of his greatest *Omrah's*, who was his Confident, the Guard of his Palace, where his Treasure lay; and

and till the return of the King he never ſtirr'd out of the Gate, where he lodg'd, neither by night nor day. At ſuch a time that it was, that I was permitted to ſee the Palace of *Agra*. The King being departed for *Dehanabad*, whither all the Court followed him, together with the Women, the Government of the Palace was given to one that was a great Friend of the *Hollanders*, and indeed to all the *Franguis*. *Menheir Velant*, chief of the *Holland Factory* at *Agra*, ſo ſoon as the King was departed, went to viſit the Lord, and to preſent him according to cuſtom. The Preſent was worth about 6000 Crowns, and conſiſted in Spices, Cabinets of *Japan*, and fine *Holland*-Cloath. He deſir'd me to go along with him when he went to Compliment the Governour. But the Lord being offended that he had put himſelf to ſo much charge, forc'd him to carry the Preſent back again, taking only one *Japan*-Cane, of ſix that were in the Preſent, telling him he would have no more, out of the kindneſs which he had for the *Franguiz*. Nay, he would not ſo much as take the Gold-head and *Ferula*, but caus'd them to be taken off. The Complements being over, the Governour ask'd *Menheir Velant*, wherein he might ſerve him: whereupon he deſiring the favour, than ſince the Court was gone, he might ſee the inſide of the Palace, the Governour granted his requeſt, and order'd ſix men to attend him.

The firſt Gate where the Governor of the Palace lies, is a long blind Arch, which leads you into a large Court all environ'd with Portico's; like our *Piazza* in *Covent-Garden*. The Gallery in front is larger and higher than any of the reſt, ſuſtain'd by three ranks of Pillars, and under thoſe Galleries on the other ſide of the Court which are narrower and lower, are little Chambers for the Souldiers of the Guard. In the midſt of the large Gallery, is a Nich in the Wall, into which the King deſcends out of his *Haram* by a private pair of Stairs, and when he is in, he ſeems to be in a kind of a Tomb. He has no Guards with him then, for he has no reaſon to be afraid of any thing; there being no way to come at him. In the heat of the day he keeps himſelf there only with one Eunuch, but more often with one of his Children, to fan him. The Great Lords of the Court ſtay below in the Gallery under the Nich all the while.

At the farther end of this Court is another Gate that leads into a ſecond Court encompaſt with Galleries, underneath which, are little Chambers for ſome Officers of the Palace. The ſecond Court carries you into a third, which is the King's Quarter. *Cha-jehan* had reſolv'd to cover with Silver all the Arch of a Gallery upon the right-hand. And a french-man, *Auſtin de Bordeaux* by name, was to have done the work: but the King not finding any one in his whole Kingdom ſo capable as the *French*-man was to treat with the *Portugals* at *Goa* about ſome important affair he had at this time; the deſign was laid aſide: For they being afraid of *Auſtin*'s Parts, poiſon'd him upon his return to *Cochin*. This Gallery is painted with branch'd-work of Gold and Azure, and the lower-part is hung with Tapeſtry. There are ſeveral doors under the Gallery that lead into little ſquare-Chambers; of which we ſaw two or three open'd, and they told us all the reſt were ſuch. The other three ſides of the Court lie all open, there being nothing but a ſingle Wall, no higher than for a man to lean over. On the ſide that looks toward the River there is a *Divan*, or a kind of out-jutting Balcony, where the King ſits to ſee his Brigantines, or to behold his Elephants fight. Before the *Divan* is a Gallery, that ſerves for a Portico; which *Cha-jehan* had a deſign to have adorn'd all over with a kind of Lattice-work of Emraulds and Rubies that ſhould have repreſented to the life Grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this deſign which made ſuch a noiſe in the World, and requir'd more Riches, than all the World could afford to perfect, remains unfiniſh'd; there being only three Stocks of a Vine in Gold, with their leaves, as the reſt ought to have been; and enamel'd in their natural colours, with Emralds, Rubies and Granates wrought into the faſhion of Grapes. In the middle of the Court ſtands a great Fat to bath in, 40 foot in Diameter, cut out of one entire grey-ſtone, with ſteps wrought out of the ſame ſtone within and without.

As for the Monuments which are in and about *Agra*, they are very fair ones, for there is ſcarce an Eunuch belonging to the King's *Haram*, that is not very ambitious of leaving a fair Monument behind him. Indeed, when they have

heap'd together great Sums, they would fain be going to *Mecca*, and making rich Presents to *Mahomet*. But the Great *Mogul*, unwilling to let his Money go out of his Country, will seldom permit them leave to undertake that Pilgrimage: and therefore not knowing what to do with their Money, they employ a great part thereof in Monuments to perpetuate their Memories.

Of all the Monuments that are to be seen at *Agra*, that of the Wife of *Cha-jehan* is the most magnificent; she caus'd it to be set up on purpose near the *Tasimacan*, to which all Strangers must come, that they should admire it. The *Tasimacan* is a great *Bazar*, or Market-place, compos'd of six great Courts, all encompassed with *Portico's*; under which there are Warehouses for Merchants; and where there is a prodigious quantity of Calicuts vended. The Monument of this *Degum*, or *Sultaness*, stands on the East-side of the City, upon the River side, in a great place enclosed with Walls, upon which there runs a little Gallery, as upon the Walls of many Cities in *Europe*. This place is a kind of Garden with Compartiments, like our Garden-plots; but whereas our Walks are made with Gravel, here the Walks are black and white Marble. You enter into this place through a large Portal; and presently upon the left hand you espy a fair Gallery, that looks towards *Mecca*; wherein there are three or four Niches, wherein the *Mufti* comes at certain hours to pray. A little beyond the middle of the place, toward the Water, are three great Platforms, one rais'd above another, with four Towers at the four Corners of each, and Stairs within, upon the top whereof they call the people before the time of their prayer. On the top there is a *Cupola*, little less magnificent than that of *Val de Grace* in *Paris*; it is cover'd within and without with black marble, the middle being of Brick. Under this *Cupola* is an empty Tomb; for the *Begum* is interr'd under the Arch of the lowest Platform. The same change of Ceremonies which is observ'd under ground, is observ'd above. For they change the Tapestries, Candles, and other Ornaments at several times, and there are always *Mollah's* attending to pray. I saw the beginning and compleating of this great work, that cost two and twenty years labour, and twenty thousand men always at work; so that you cannot conceive but that the Expence must be excessive. *Cha-jehan* had begun to raise his own Monument on the other side of the River; but the Wars with his Son, broke off that design, nor did *Aurengzeb*, now reigning, ever take any care to finish it. There is an *Eunuch* who commands two thousand men, that is entrusted to guard not only the Sepulcher of the *Begum*, but also the *Tasimacan*.

On another side of the City, appears the Sepulcher of King *Akabar*. And as for the Sepulchers of the *Eunuchs*, they have only one Platform, with four little Chambers at the four Corners. When you come to *Agra* from *Dehly*, you meet a great *Bezar*; near to which there is a Garden, where King *Jehanguire*, Father of *Cha-jehan*, lies interr'd. Over the Garden Gate you see the Tomb it self, beset with Portraitures, cover'd with a black Hearse-Cloath, or Pall, with Torches of white Wax, and two *Jesuits* attending at each end. There are some who wonder, that *Cha-jehan* against the practice of the *Mahumetans*, who abhor Images, did permit of carving; but the reason conjectur'd at is, that it is done upon the consideration that his Father and himself learnt from the *Jesuites* certain principles of Mathematicks and Astrology. Though he had not the same kindness for them at another time; for going one day to visit an *Armenian*, that lay sick, whose name was *Corgia*, whom he lov'd very well and had honor'd with several Employments, at what time the *Jesuites*, who liv'd next to the *Armenians* house, rang their Bell; the sound thereof so displeas'd the King, as being a disturbance to the sick person, that in a great fury he commanded the Bell to be taken away, and hung about his Elephants neck. Some few days after, the King seeing his Elephant with that great Bell about his neck, fearing so great a weight might injure his Elephant, caus'd the Bell to be carried to the *Conteval*, which is a kind of a rail'd place, where a Provost sits as a Judg, and decides differences among the people of that Quarter, where it has hung ever since. This *Armenian* had been brought up with *Cha-jehan*; and in regard he was an excellent Wit, and an excellent Poet,

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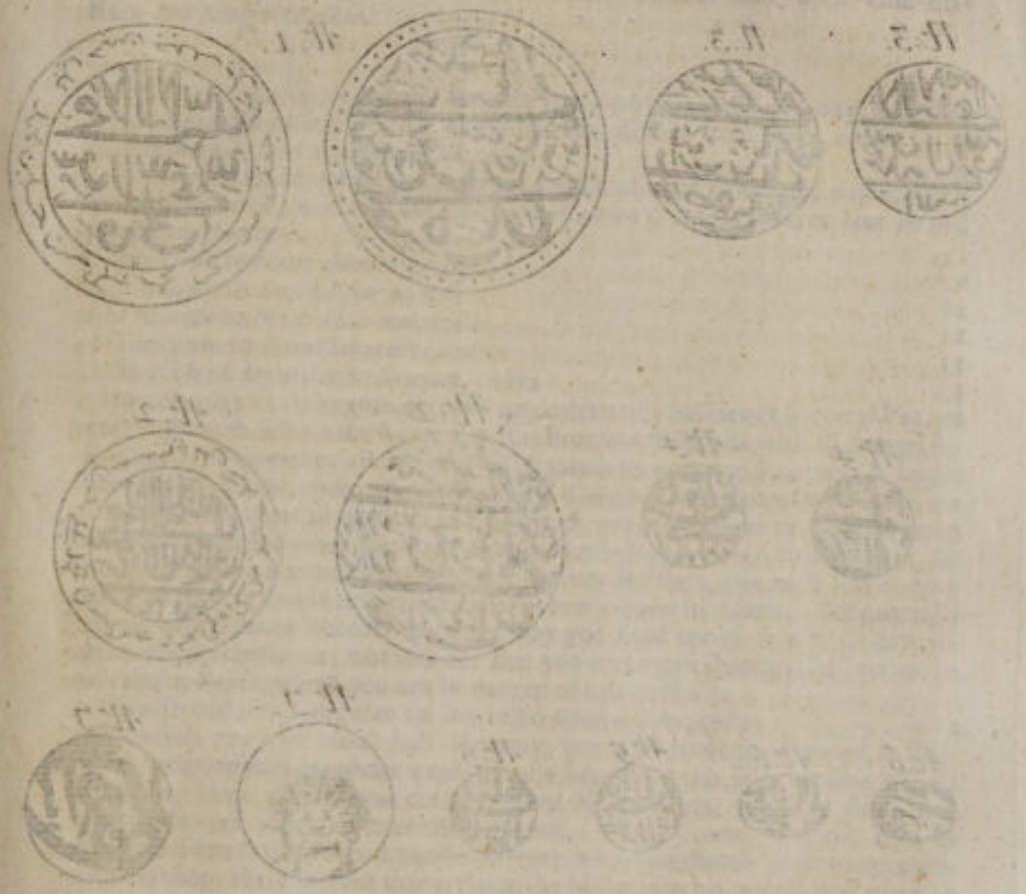

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N. 4. N. 4. N. 2. N. 2.

N. 6. N. 6. N. 5. N. 5. N. 7. N. 7.

he was very much in the Kings favour, who had confer'd upon him many fair Commands, though he could never either by threats or promises win him to turn *Mahometan*.

CHAP. VIII.

The Road from Agra *to* Patna, *and* Daca, *Cities in the Province of* Bengala, *and of the Quarrel which the Author had with* Cha-Est-Kan, *the King's Uncle.*

I Departed from *Agra* toward *Bengala* the 25*th* of *November* 1665, and that day I reach'd no farther than a very bad Inn, distant from *Agra*, costes 3

The 26*th* I came to *Beruzabad*, costes 9

This is a little City where, at my return, I received eight thousand Roupies, being the remainder of the Money which *Giafer-Kan* ow'd me for Wares that he had bought at *Janabat*.

The 27*th* to *Serael Morlides*, costes

The 28*th* to *Serail Estanja*, costes 9

The 29*th* to *Serail Hati-mal*, costes 14

The 30*th*. to *Serail Sekandera*, costes 12

The 1*st* of *December* to *Sanqual*, costes 13

I met that day 110 Waggons, every Waggon drawn by six Oxen, & in every Waggon 50000 Roupies. This is the Revenue of the Province of *Bengala*, with all charges defraid, and the Governor's Purse well-fill'd, comes to 5500000 Roupies. A league beyond *Sanqual*, you must pass a River call'd *Saingour*, which runs into *Gemine*, not above half a league distant from it. You pass over this River of *Saingour* upon a Stone-bridg, and when you come from toward *Bengala* to go to *Seronge* or *Surat*, if you have a mind to shorten your journey ten days, you must leave *Agra*-Road, and come to this Bridg, and so Ferry over *Gemine* in a Boat. But generally *Agra*-Road is taken, because the other way you must travel five or six days together upon the stones; and also for that you are to pass through the Territories of certain *Raja's*, where you are in danger of being robb'd. 14

The second day I came to an Inn call'd *Cherourabad*, costes 12

When you are got about half the way, you pass through *Gianabad*, a little City, near to which, about a quarter of a League on this side, crossing a Field of Millet, I saw a *Rhinoceros* feeding upon Millet-Canes, which a little Boy of nine or ten years old gave him to eat. When I came near the Boy, he gave me some Millet to give the *Rhinoceros*; who immediately came to me, opening his chops three or four times; I put the Millet into his mouth, and when he had swallow'd it, he still open'd his mouth for more.

The 3*d* I came to *Serrail Chajeada*, costes 10

The 4*th* to *Serrail Atakan*, costes 13

The 5*th* to *Aureng-Abad*, costes 9

Formerly this Village had another name; but being the place where *Aurengzeb* gave Battel to his Brother *Sultan Sujah*, who was Governor of all the Province of *Bengala*; *Aureng-zeb*, in Memory of the Victory he had won, gave it his own name, and built there a very fair House, with a Garden, and a little *Mosquee*.

The 6*th* to *Alinchan*, costes 9

Two leagues on this side *Alinchan*, you meet the River *Ganges*. *Monsieur Bernier* the King's Physitian, and another person whose name was *Rachepot*, with whom I travell'd, were amaz'd to see, that a River had made such a noise in the World, was no broader than the River *Seine* before the *Lovre*; believing before, that it had been as wide as the *Danaw* above *Belgrade*. There is also so little water in it from *March* to *June* or *July*, when the rains fall, that it will not bear a small Boat. When we came to *Ganges*, we drank every one of us a

Glaſs of Wine, mixing ſome of the River-water with it; which caus'd a griping in our bellies: But our Servants that drank it alone, were worſe tormented than we. The *Hollanders*, who have an Houſe upon the Bank of *Ganges*, never drink the water of this River, until they have boil'd it. But for the natural Inhabitants of the Countrey, they are ſo accuſtom'd to it from their youth, that the King and the Court drink no other. You ſhall ſee a vaſt number of Camels every day, whoſe buſineſs only it is to fetch water from the *Ganges*.

The 7th, I came to *Halabas*, coſtes 8

Halabas is a great City, built upon a point of Land where *Ganges* and *Gemine* meet. There is a fair Caſtle of hew'n Stone, with a double Moat; where the Governour reſides. He is one of the greateſt Lords in *India*; and being very ſickly, he has always about him ten *Perſian* Phyſicians. He had alſo in his ſervice, *Claudius Maille* of *Bourges*, who practiſes Chyrurgery and Phyſick both together. This was he that adviſ'd us not to drink of *Ganges* Water, which would put us into a looſeneſs; but rather to drink Well-water. The chief of theſe *Perſian* Phyſicians, whom this Governour hires with his Money, one day threw his Wife from the top of a Battlement to the ground; prompted to that act of cruelty, by ſome jealouſies he had entertain'd. He thought the fall had kill'd her, but ſhe had only a Rib or two bruis'd; whereupon the Kindred of the Woman came and demanded juſtice, at the feet of the Governour. The Governor ſending for the Phyſician, commanded him to be gone, reſolving to retain him no longer in his ſervice. The Phyſician obey'd, and putting his maim'd Wife in a *Pallanquin*, he ſet forward upon the Road with all his Family. But he was not gone above three or four days journey from the City, when the Governour finding himſelf worſe than he was wont to be, ſent to recall him; which the Phyſician perceiving, ſtab'd his Wife, his four Children, and thirteen female Slaves, and return'd again to the Governour, who ſaid not a word to him, but entertain'd him again into his ſervice.

The eighth, day I croſs'd the River in a large Boat, having ſtay'd from morning till noon upon the bank-ſide, expecting Monſieur *Maille*, to bring me a Paſſport from the Governour. For there ſtands a *Derega*, upon each ſide of the River, who will not ſuffer any perſon to paſs without leave; and he takes notice what ſort of Goods are tranſported; there being due from every Waggon four Roupies, and from every Coach one; not accounting the charge of the Boat, which you muſt pay beſide. The ſame day I went to *Sadoul-ſerail*, coſtes 16

The ninth, to *Yakedel--ſera*, coſtes 10

The tenth, to *Bouraki-ſera*, coſtes 10

The eleventh, to *Banarou*, coſtes 10

Banarou is a large City, and handſomly built; the moſt part of the Houſes being either of Brick or Stone and higher than in any other Cities of *India*; but the inconveniency is, that the Streets are very narrow. There are many Inns in the Town; among the reſt, one very large, and very handſomely built In the middle of the Court are two Galleries, where are to be ſold Calicuts, Silks, and other ſorts of Merchandiſe. The greateſt part of the Sellers, are the Workmen themſelves; ſo that the Merchants buy at the firſt hand. Theſe Workmen, before they expoſe any thing to ſale, muſt go to him that has the ſtamp, to have the King's Seal ſet upon their Linnen and Silks; otherwiſe they would be fin'd, and lambaſted with a good Cudgel. This City is ſcituated upon the North ſide of *Ganges*, that runs by the Walls, and into which there falls alſo another River, ſome two leagues upward toward the Weſt. In *Banarou* ſtands one of the Idolaters principal Pagods, whereof I ſhall ſpeak in my ſecond Book, when I come to treat of the Religion of the *Banians*.

About five hundred paces from the City Northward, there is a *Moſquee*, where are to be ſeen many *Mahometan* Sepulchers; whereof ſome are very curious pieces of Architecture. The faireſt are every one in the middle of a Garden encloſed with Walls, wherein there are Holes ſome half a foot ſquare, through which Paſſengers may have a ſight of the Tomb within. The moſt conſiderable of all is as it were four ſquare Pedeſtal, every ſquare whereof is forty paces wide. In the midſt of this Platform riſes a Column thirty-two or thirty-five foot high, all of a piece, which three men can hardly embrace.

The

The Stone is of a grey colour, and ſo hard that I could not ſcrape it with my Knife. As it is Pyramidical, there is a great Bowl at the top, which is encompaſs'd at the upper end with huge Grains of Wheat. All the fronts of the Tomb are full of figures of Animals cut in the Stone; and it has been higher above ground than now it ſeems to be, for ſeveral old men, that look'd to ſome of the Sepulchers, aſſur'd me, that within theſe fifty years it had ſunk above thirty foot into the Earth. They tell you moreover, that it is the Sepulcher of one of the Kings of *Boutan* who was interr'd here after he had left his own Countrey to conquer this Kingdom, out of which he was driven by the Succeſſors of *Tamerlane*. The Kingdom of *Boutan* is the place from whence they fetch Musk, and I will give you a deſcription of it in my third Book.

I ſtay'd at *Banaron* the 12*th* and 13*th*; and during thoſe two days it rain'd continually, but not ſo as to ſtop my journey; ſo that the evening of the thirteenth day I croſs'd the *Ganges*, with the Governours Paſs port. Before you go into the Boat, they ſearch the Travellers baggage; wearing Apparel however pays nothing of Cuſtome, but only Merchandiſe.

The 13*th*, I went to *Baterpour*, coſtes 2

The 14*th*, to *Satragny-ſera*, coſtes 8

The 15*th*, to *Moniarky-ſera*, coſtes 9

The ſame day in the morning, after I had travel'd two Leagues, I croſs'd a River call'd *Carnaſarſou*; and three Leagues from thence I croſs'd another, which they call *Saode-ſou*; both which I foarded.

The 16*th*, to *Gourmabad*, coſtes 8

This is a Town upon a River call'd *Goudera-ſou*, which is croſs'd over a Stone-Bridg.

The 17*th*, to *Saſeron*, coſtes. 4

Saſeron is a City at the foot of certain Mountains, near to which there is a great Lake. In the middle whereof there is a ſmall Iſland, with a fair *Moſquee* built upon it; wherein is to be ſeen, the Sepulcher of a *Nabab* or Favourite, call'd *Selim-Kan*; who built it when he was Governour of the Province. There is a fair Bridg to croſs over into the Iſland, pav'd and lin'd with large free-Stone. Upon one ſide of the Lake is a great Garden, in the middle whereof is another fair Sepulcher of the Sun of the ſame *Nabab*, *Selim-Kan*, who ſucceeded his Father in the Government of the Province. If you would go to the Mine of *Soulwelpour*, whereof I ſhall ſpeak in the laſt Book of theſe Relations you muſt leave the great Road to *Patna*, and bend to the South through *Exberbourgh*, and the famous Fortreſs of *Rhodes*, of which I ſhall treat in the ſame place.

The 18*th*, I ferry'd in a Boat over the River, *Sonſou*, which deſcends from the Southern Mountains; after you have croſs'd it, the Merchandiſe pays, a certain Toll.

The ſame day I travel'd on to *Daoud-Nagarſera*, where there is a fair Tomb, coſtes.

The 19*th*, to *Halva-ſera*, coſtes 9

The 20*th*, to *Aga-ſera*, coſtes 10

In the morning I met a hundred and thirty Elephants, great and ſmall, which they were leading to *Debli* to the great *Mogul*. 9

The one and twentieth, to *Patna*, coſtes 10

Patna is one of the greateſt Cities of *India*, upon the Bank of *Ganges*, toward the Weſt; not being leſs than two Leagues in length. But the Houſes are no fairer than in the greateſt part of the other Cities of *India*; being cover'd with *Bambouc*, or Straw. The *Holland* Company have a Houſe there, by reaſon of their Trade in Saltpeter, which they refine at a great Town call'd *Chonpar*, which is alſo ſcituated upon *Ganges*, ten Leagues above *Patna*.

Coming to *Patna*, we met the *Hollanders*, in the Street returning from *Chonpar*, who ſtop'd our Coaches to ſalute us. We did not part, till we had emptied two Bottles of *Schiras* Wine in the open Street; which is not taken notice of in that Country, where people meet with an entire freedom without any Ceremony.

I ſtay'd eight days at *Patna*, during which time there fell out an accident, which

which will let the Reader understand, that *Sodomy* does not go altogether unpunish'd among the *Mahumetans*. A *Mimbachi*, who commanded a thousand Foot, went about to abuse a young Boy in his service; and who had several times resisted his attempts; complaining also to the Governour, and telling him withall, that if his Master persisted to urge him any more, he would certainly kill him. At length the Captain took his opportunity, at a House which he had in the Country, and forc'd the Boy. The Boy o'rewhelm'd with grief and rage, took his opportunity also to revenge himself; and being one day hunting with his Master, about a quarter of a League from any of his other Servants, he got behind him, and cleft his head with his Hanger. After he had done, he rode full speed to the City, crying out all the way, that he had kill'd his Master for such a reason; and went immediately to the Governours Lodging; who sent him to prison; but he let him out at the end of six months; and notwithstanding all the endeavours which the Captains Kindred us'd to have had him put to death, the Governour durst not condemn him, for fear of the people, who affirm'd that the Boy had done well.

I parted from *Patna* in a Boat for *Daca*, the nine and twentieth of *January*, between eleven and twelve at noon; and had the River been deep, as it uses to be after the Rains, I had taken Boat at *Hallabas*, or at least at *Banaron*.

The same day I came to lyé at *Sera-Beconcour*, costes 15

Five Leagues on this side *Beconcour*, you meet with a River call'd *Pomponson*, which comes from the South, and falls into *Ganges*.

The thirtieth to *Sera-d' Erija*, costes 17

The one and thirtieth, after we had travel'd four Leagues, or thereabout, we met with the River *Kaoa*, which comes from the South. Three Leagues lower, you meet with another River call'd *Chanon*, which comes from the North. Four Leagues farther, you discover the River *Erguga*, which runs from the South; and at length, six Leagues beyond, the River *Aquera*, falling from the same part of the World; all which four Rivers lose their Names in the *Ganges*. All that day I saw great Mountains toward the South, distant from *Ganges* sometimes ten, and sometimes fifteen Leagues, till at length I came to lodg in *Monger*-City, costes 18

The first day of *January*, 1666, after I had gone by Water two hours, I saw the *Gander* fall into the *Ganges*, flowing from the North. This is a great River, that carries Boats.

That evening I lay at *Zangira*, costes 8

But in regard of the winding of *Ganges* all that days journey, I might well reckon them by Water two and twenty Leagues.

The second day, from between six in the morning till eleven, I saw three Rivers that threw themselves into *Ganges*; all three descending from the North. The first is call'd *Ronova*, the second *Tae*, the third *Chanan*.

I came to lye at *Baquelpour*, costes 18

The third, after four hours upon the *Ganges*, I met the River *Katare*, which comes from the North; and lay at a Village call'd *Pongangel*, at the foot of certain Mountains that descend to *Ganges* it self, costes 13

The fourth, an hours rowing beyond *Pongangel*, I met a great River, call'd *Mart-Nadi*, coming from the South; and I lay at *Rage-Mehale*, costes 6

Rage-Mehale, is a City upon the right hand of *Ganges*; and if you go by Land, you shall find the high-way, for a League or two, pav'd with Brick to the Town. Formerly the Governors of *Bengala* resided here; it being an excellent Country for hunting, besides that it was a place of great Trade. But now the River having taken another course, above a good half League from the City, as well for that reason, as to keep in awe the King of *Aracan*, and several *Portugueſe Banditi*, who are retir'd to the mouths of *Ganges*, and made excursions even as far as *Daca* it self; both the Governour and the Merchants have remov'd themselves to *Daca*, which is at present a large City, and a Town of great Trade.

The sixth, being arriv'd at a considerable Town, call'd *Donapour*, six Leagues from *Rage-Mehale* I parted with Monsieur *Bernier*, who was going to *Casembasar*, and

and thence to *Ogouli* by land; for when the River is low, there is no going by Water, by reason of a great Bank of Sand that lies before a City call'd *Santiqui*.

I lay that night at *Touripour*, distant from *Rage-mehale*, costes 12

I saw there at Sun-rising a great number of Crocodiles lying upon the Sand.

The seventh, I came to *Acerat*, costes 25

From *Acerat* to *Daca*, it is counted by Land forty-five Leagues. All that day I saw such a vast number of Crocodiles, that I had a great desire to shoot at one, to try whether the vulgar report were true, that a Musket-shot would not pierce their skin. The bullet hit him in the jaw, and made the blood gush out; however it would not stay in the place, but plung'd into the River.

The eight, I saw again a great number lying upon the bank of the River, and made two shot at two with three bullets at a time. As soon as they were wounded, they turn'd themselves upon their backs, opening their throats, and di'd upon the spot.

That day I came to lie at *Doulondia*, costes 17

The Crows were here the cause that we found a very fair Fish, which the Fishermen had hid among the Osiers by the side of the River; for when our Water-men saw the Crows in great numbers hovering, and making an hideous noise about the Osiers, they presently conjectur'd that there was something more than ordinary: and they made so diligent a search, that at length they found an excellent dish of meat.

The ninth two hours after noon, we met with a River call'd *Chativor*, that runs from the North, and we lay at *Dampour*, costes 16

The tenth, we lay by the River-side in a place remote from Houses, and we travell'd that day, costes 15

The eleventh, toward evening, being come to that part where *Ganges* divides it self into three Arms, whereof one runs to *Daca*; we lay at a large Town, upon the entry of the great Channel, which Town is call'd *Jatrapour*, costes 20

They that have no luggage, may make a short-cut from *Jatrapour* to *Daca*, and save much ground, by reason of the many windings of the River.

The twelfth, about noon, we past by a large Village call'd *Bagamara*, and came to lie at *Kasiata*, another great Town, costes 11

The thirteenth, about noon we met with a River, two leagues from *Daca*, call'd *Laquia*, which runs from the North-East. Just against the Point where the two Rivers join, there stands a Fortress of each side, with several pieces of Cannon. Half a league lower, appears another River call'd *Pagalu*, upon which there is a fair Bridg of Brick, which *Mirza-Mola* caus'd to be built. This River comes from the North-East; and half a league upward appears another River call'd *Cadamtali*, that runs from the North, over which there is a nother Bridg of Brick. On both sides of the River are several Towers, as it were inchas'd with several heads of men, executed for robbing upon the high way.

About evening we came to *Daca*, having travell'd by water that day, costes 9

Daca is a great Town, that extends it self only in length; every one coveting to have an House by the *Ganges*-side. The length of this Town is above two leagues. And indeed from the last Brick-Bridge which I mention'd to *Daca*, there is but one continued row of Houses separated one from the other; inhabited for the most part by Carpenters, that build Galleys and other small Vessels. These Houses are properly no more than paltry Huts built up with *Bambous*, and daub'd over with fat Earth. Those of *Daca* are not much better built: The Governours Palace is a place enclos'd with high Walls, in the midst whereof is a pitiful House, built only of Wood. He generally lodges in Tents, which he causes to be set up in a great Court of that Enclosure. The *Hollanders* finding that their Goods were not safe in the ordinary Houses of *Daca*, have built them a very fair House; and the *English* have another, which is reasonably handsom. The Church of the *Austin-Friers* is all of Brick, and is a very comely Pile.

When I travell'd last to *Daca*, the *Nahab Cha-Est-Kan*, who was then the Governor of *Bengala*, was at War with the King of *Arakan*, whose Naval-Force consists generally of 200 Galeasses, attended by several other smaller Vessels. These Galeasses run through the Gulf of *Bengala*, and enter into the mouth of *Ganges*, the

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great danger, by reaſon of the high Winds that had blown for two days together.

The fifteenth, the *Hollanders* lent me a Pallekis, to go to *Madeſou-baſarki*. This was a great Town three Leagues from *Caſen-baſar*, where lay *Cha-Eſt-Kan*'s Receiver General, to whom I preſented my Bill of Exchange. He told me it was very good, and that he would willingly have paid me, had he not receiv'd order the night before, not to pay me, in caſe he had not paid me already. He did not tell me the reaſon that mov'd *Cha-Eſt-Kan* to act in that manner; ſo that I went home to my Lodging infinitely ſurpriz'd at his proceeding.

The ſixteenth, I wrote to the *Nabab*, to know the reaſon why he had forbad his Receiver General to pay me.

The ſeventeenth in the evening, I took water for *Ougueli*, in a Bark of fourteen Oars, which the *Hollanders* lent me; and that night and the next I lay upon the River.

The ninteenth toward evening, I paſs'd by a large Town call'd *Nendi*, farther than which the Sea does not flow. Here the Wind blew ſo fiercely, and the water grew ſo rough, that we were forc'd to ſtay three or four hours, and ly by the ſhore.

The twentieth, I arriv'd at *Ougueli*, where I ſtay'd till the ſecond of *March*. During which time the *Hollanders* bid me very welcome, and made it their buſineſs to ſhew me all the divertiſements which the Country was capable to afford. We went ſeveral times in Pleaſure-Boats upon the River, and we had a Banquet of all the Delicacies that the Gardens of *Europe* could have afforded us. Salads of all ſorts, Colewarts, Aſparagus, Peaſe, but our chiefeſt Diſh was *Japon* Beans; the *Hollanders* being very curious to have all ſorts of Pulſe and Herbs in their Gardens, though they could never get Artichokes to grow in that Country.

The ſecond of *March* I left *Ougueli*, and the fifth arriv'd at *Caſenbaſar*.

The next day I went to *Madeſou-Barſaki*, to know whether the *Nabab* had ſent any other orders to his Receiver. For I told you a little before, that I wrote upon the place to *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, to complain of his proceedings, and to know the reaſon why my Bill of Exchange was not paid. The Director of the *Holland* Factories writ a Letter alſo in my behalf, which I encloſed, wherein he repreſented to the *Nabab*, that I was too well known to him, as having been formerly with him at *Amadabat*, in the Army in *Decan*, and other places, do deſerve ſuch hard uſuage. That he ought to conſider, that I being the only perſon that brought the chiefeſt rarities of *Europe* to the *Indies*, it was not the way to make me eager of returning any more, as he himſelf had invited me to do, to ſend me away in a diſcontent. Beſides, that the credit of my report would diſcourage others from coming to the *Indies*, fearing the ſame uſuage as I had receiv'd. Neither mine nor the Directors Letter produc'd that effect which we expected. Nor was I much better ſatisfi'd with the new order which the *Nabab* ſent to his Receiver; which was to pay me, abating twenty thouſand Roupies of the ſum which we had agreed upon; and if I would not take the remainder, that I might come and fetch my goods again.

This ill dealing of the *Nabab*, proceeded from a ſcurvy trick that was play'd me by three Canary-birds at the Great *Mogul*'s Court. The ſtory whereof was thus in ſhort.

Aurengzeb, that now reigns, at the inſtigation of two *Perſians* and a *Banian*, has brought up a cuſtom very much to the diſadvantage of Merchants, that come out of *Europe*, and other parts, to ſell Jewels at Court. For whether they come into *India* either by Land or Sea, the Governour of the place where they firſt arrive, has order to ſend them to the King, together with their goods, whether they will or no. As the Governour of *Surat* dealt by me, in the year 1665, ſending me to *Debli*, or *Jehanabad*, where the King was There were then attending upon his Majeſty, two *Perſians* and a *Banian*, who are entruſted to view and examine all the Jewels which are to be ſold to the King. One of thoſe *Perſians* is call'd *Nabab-Akel-Kan*, that is, the *Prince of the Spirit*; who keeps all the Kings Jewels. The name of the other is

Mirza-Mouſon, whoſe buſineſs is to rate every ſtone. The *Banian*, whoſe name is *Nalikan*, is to ſee whether the Stones be falſe or not, or whether they have any defect. Theſe three men have obtain'd a Licence from the King, to view, before ever he does, whatever forreign Merchants ſhall bring to Court, and to preſent their goods to him themſelves. And though they are under an Oath not to take any thing from the Merchants, yet they extort whatever they can get from them, though it be their ruine. When they ſee any thing that is lovely, and likely to bring great profit, they would perſwade you to ſell it to them for leſs by half than the King is worth; and if you refuſe to let them have it, when they are in the Kings preſence, they will ſet a price upon it at half the value; knowing that *Aurengzeb* is not very covetous of Jewels, loving his Money far better. Upon the Kings Feſtival-day, of which I ſhall ſpeak in another place, all the Princes and Nobility of the Court preſent him with moſt magnificent gifts. And when they cannot meet with Jewels, they ſend him Roupies of Gold, which the King likes far better than Stones; though Jewels are the more honourable preſent. Therefore when this Feſtival draws nigh, he iſſues out of his Treaſury, a great quantity of Diamonds, Rubies, Emraulds, and Pearls, which he who is entruſted to prize the Stones, delivers to ſeveral Merchents to ſell to the Nobility, who are bound to preſent the King; by which means the King gets the Money and his Jewels again.

There is alſo another thing very diſadvantageous to a Merchant Jeweller, which is, that when the King has ſeen the Stones, no Prince nor Nobleman that knows of it, will ever buy them. Beſides, while theſe three perſons, who are entruſted to view the Jewels, are conſidering and examining them at their Lodgings, ſeveral *Banians* reſort thither, who are expert, ſome in Diamonds, ſome in Rubies, ſome in Emraulds, and others in Pearls, who write down the weight, goodneſs, cleanneſs, and colour of every piece. So that when a Merchant goes afterwards to any Prince or Governour of any Province, theſe people ſend them a note of what he has, and the price, which they ſet down at half the value. For in trade theſe *Banians* are a thouſand times worſe than the *Jews*; more expert in all ſorts of cunning tricks, and more maliciouſly miſchievous in their revenge. Now you ſhall hear what a trick theſe unworthy people ſerv'd me.

When I arriv'd at *Gehanabad*, one of them came to my Lodging, and told me, he had order from the King to ſee what I had brought, before I expos'd my goods in the Kings preſence. They would have rather that the King had not been at *Gehanabad*, for they would have then endeavour'd to have bought them themſelves, to gain thereby, by ſelling them again to the King, or the Nobility upon occaſion; which they could never perſwade me to. The next day they came to ſee me all three, one after another; and they would needs have of me, amongſt other things, a Jewel of nine great Pearls, in the faſhion of a Pear, the biggeſt whereof weigh'd thirty Carats, and the leaſt ſixteen; together with another ſingle Pearl like a Pear, of fifty-five Carats. As for the Jewel, the King took it; but for the ſingle Pearl, they finding that whatever they could ſay, I would not be wrought upon to ſell them any bargains, ſo order'd it, that before I had ſhew'd my Jewels to the King, *Giafer-Kan* the Kings Unckle ſaw, and kept it, telling me he would give me as good a price as the King; and deſir'd me not to ſpeak of it, for indeed he had a deſign to make a preſent to the King.

When the King had made choice of ſuch of my Jewels as he pleas'd, *Giafer-Kan* bought of me ſeveral pieces, and at the ſame time agreed with me for the great Pearl. Some days after he paid me, according as we had agreed, except for the Pearl, upon which he would have abated me ten thouſand Roupies. For the two *Perſians* and the *Banian* had malitiouſly inform'd him, that at my firſt arrival, they could have bought the Pearl for eight or ten thouſand Roupies leſs than I had valu'd it to him; which was abſolutely falſe. Thereupon *Giafer-Kan* telling me, that if I would not take his Money, I might have my Jewel again; I took him at his word, aſſuring him, he ſhould never ſee it again as long as he liv'd. And I was as good as my word. And indeed that which made me the more reſolute was, that I was reſolv'd to carry ſome-

thing

something which was considerable to *Cha-Eſt-Kan*; for could I have had my liberty upon my arrival at *Surat* to have gone to him, I would never have ſeen the King at *Gehanabad*; about which I had a very great quarrel with the Governour of *Surat*. For when I came to viſit him, he told me preſently, that the caſe was alter'd from what it had been ſince my laſt being there, for that the King was reſolv'd to have the firſt view of all Curioſities imported into his Kingdom. I was above four Months contending in vain with the Governour; but nothing would ſerve; I muſt go to the King, and for fear I ſhould take another Road, he ſent fifteen Horſemen along with me as far as *Shalaour*.

When I went for *Bengala*, theſe Overſeers of the Jewels, out of meer ſpite, and, it may be, ſet on by *Giafer-Kan*, to be reveng'd of me for denying to let him have my Jewel, writ to *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, that I intended to ſhew him certain Jewels, among the reſt a very fair Pearl, which I had ſold to *Giafer-Kan*; but that he had given it me again, becauſe he underſtood that I would have made him pay for it, ten thouſand Roupies more than it was worth. They wrote alſo the particular proportion of all the other Stones which I carry'd. And upon this falſe and malicious advice it was, that *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, who receiv'd not this information till he had deliver'd me my Bill of Exchange, would abate me for my whole parcel, twenty thouſand Roupies, which he reduc'd at length to ten thouſand; and well I had it too.

Since I told you before, what a Preſent I gave to *Cha-Eſt-Kan*; I think it not amiſs to tell you, what I gave the King, to *Nabab Giafer-Kan*, to the Eunuch of the Grand *Begum*, *Aurengzeb*'s Siſter, the Great Treaſurer, and the Porters of the Treaſury. For you muſt take notice, that whoever he be, that craves Audience of the King, they ask him in the firſt place, where the Preſent is which he intends for the King; and examine whether it be fitting to preſent to his Majeſty. For no man muſt come into his preſence empty handed, though it be an honour dearly purchas'd. Coming then to *Gehanabad*, I went to make my obeiſance to the King; and this is the Preſent which I made him.

In the firſt place, a Buckler of Braſs highly emboſs'd, and very richly guilt, the coſt of the Guilding alone amounting to two hundred Ducats of Gold, or eighteen hundred Livres; the value of the whole piece coming to four thouſand three hundred ſeventy eight Livres. In the middle thereof was the ſtory of *Curtius*, who threw himſelf and his Horſe into the *Barathrum*, when the Earth gap'd, near *Rome*. Round the outermoſt Circle of the Buckler, was repreſented the ſiege of *Rochel*. It was wrought by one of the beſt Workmen in *France*, by the order of the Cardinal *Richlieu*. All the great Lords that were about *Aurengzeb* at that time, were charm'd at the beauty of the Workmanſhip, and told him, he could not do better, than to put it upon the great Elephant, which carry'd the Standard before his Majeſty when he march'd into the Field.

I preſented him alſo with a Battle-Axe of Chryſtal of the Rock, the ſides whereof were ſet with Rubies and Emraulds, enchas'd in Gold in the body of the Chryſtal, which coſt three thouſand one hundred and nineteen Livres.

Moreover, I preſented him with a Saddle after the *Turky* faſhion, embroider'd with little Rubies, Pearls, and Diamonds, which coſt two thouſand eight hundred and ninety-two Livres.

I preſented him alſo with another Saddle and Foot-cloath, embroider'd with Gold and Silver, to the value of one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty Livres. The whole Preſent amounting to twelve thouſand one hundred and nineteen Livres.

The Preſent which I made to *Giafar-Kan*, the Great *Mogul*'s Unkle, was a Table, with other nineteen pieces to make a Cabinet, all natural Stones, of divers colours, repreſenting the ſhapes of ſeveral Birds and Flowers. The work was made at *Florence*, and coſt two thouſand one hundred and fifty Livres.

A perfect Ruby Ring, which coſt one thouſand and three hundred Livres.

To the great Treaſurer, I preſented a Watch in a Gold Caſe, ſet with ſmall Emraulds, at ſeven hundred and twenty Livres.

To the Porters of the Kings Treasury, and those that deliver out the Money out of the Treasury, two hundred Roupies, at three hundred Livres.

To the Eunuch of the Great *Begum*, Sister to *Aurengzeb*, a Watch in a painted Case, which cost two hundred and sixty Livres.

All these Presents which I made, as well to the Great *Mogul*, as to *Cha-Est-Kan*, *Giafer-Kan*, his Majesties Uncles; as also the Great Treasurer, to the Stewards of the Houses of the *Kan*'s, and those that brought me twice the *Calaat*, or Habit of Honour from the King, and as many times from the *Begum* his Sister, and once from *Giafar Kan*; all these Presents, I say, came to twenty-three thousand one hundred fourscore and seven Livres. So true it is, that they who have any business to do at the Court of the great Princes, as well in *Turky* as in *Persia* and in the *Indies*, must not pretend to do any thing in reference to their affairs, till they have their Presents, and those very considerable, ready. Besides, that his Purse must be continually open to divers Officers of meaner reputation, who may be able to serve him. I did not mention in my first Volume the Present which I made to him that brought me the *Calaat* from the King of *Persia*, to whom I gave two hundred Crowns.

CHAP. IX.

The Road from Surat *to* Golconda.

I Have made several journeys to *Golconda*, and have taken several Roads; sometimes by Sea embarking from *Ormus* for *Malispata*; sometimes setting out from *Agra*, but most often from *Surat*, which is the chiefest landing-place of *Indolstan*. But in this Chapter I will only speak of the common Road from *Surat* to *Golconda*; wherein I comprehend that of *Agra*; which Road comes in at *Dultabat*, as I shall afterwards relate, making mention only of two journeys which I made in 1645, and 1652, for fear of tiring the Reader.

I departed from *Surat* in the year 1645, upon the nineteenth of *January*, and came to lye at *Cambari*, costes 3

From *Cambari* to *Barnoli*, costes 9

From *Barnoli* to *Beara*, costes 12

From *Beara* to *Navopour*, costes 16

This is the place where grows the best Rice in the World, that smells like Musk.

From *Navapour* to *Rinkula*, costes 18

From *Rinkula* to *Pipelnar*, costes 8

From *Pipelnar* to *Nimpour*, costes 17

From *Nimpour* to *Patane*, costes 14

From *Patane* to *Secoura*, costes 14

From *Secoura* to *Baquela*, costes 10

From *Baquela* to *Discon*, costes 10

From *Discon* to *Dultabat*, costes 10

Dultabat is one of the best Fortresses in the Kingdoms of the Great *Mogul*, upon a Mountain every way steep; the only way to it being so narrow, that but one Horse, or one Camel can go at a time. This City is at the foot of the Mountain, very well wall'd. And this place of such importance, which the *Mogul*'s lost, when the Kings of *Golconda* and *Visapour* revolted from them, was retaken in the Reign of *Jehan-guire*, by a subtle stratagem. *Sultan Courom*, who was afterwards call'd *Cha-jehan*, commanded in *Decan* the Army of the King his Father; and *Ast-Kan*, Father in Law to *Cha-Est-Kan*, who was one of the Generals, gave the Prince some sort of language which so highly offended him, that immediately sending for one of his Papouche's, or Shoo's, he caus'd him to have six blows given him upon the Bonnet; which among the *Indians* is the highest

higheſt indignity can be put upon a man, after which he is no more to appear in the Prince's preſence. This was done by conſent between the Prince and the General, to deceive the World, more eſpecially any Spies which the King of *Viſapour* might have in the Prince's Army. The report of *Aſt-Kan's* diſgrace was immediately ſpread abroad: and he himſelf flying for Sanctuary to the King of *Viſapour*, who had not cunning enough to diſcern the impoſture, was welcom'd by the ſame King, and aſſur'd of his protection. *Aſt-Kan* ſeeing himſelf ſo well receiv'd, begg'd leave of the King, that he might retire with ten or twelve of his Women, and as many of his Servants, into the Fortreſs of *Dultabat*, which was granted. He enter'd the Town with eight or ten Camels, the two *Cajava's* or Litters on each ſide of the Camel being cloſe ſhut, to keep the Women from being ſeen. But inſtead of Women, he had put into every *Cajava* two Souldiers, all bold and reſolv'd men, as were alſo every one of the ſuppos'd Eunuchs that led the Camels: ſo that he had no great difficulty to cut the Garriſon in pieces, not being upon their guard; and to make himſelf Maſter of the place, which has been ever ſince under the Power of the Great *Mogul*. There are in the place a great number of excellent Pieces of Cannon, and the Cannoniers are generally *Engliſh* or *Hollanders*. True it is, that there is one little Mountain higher than the Fortreſs; but there is hardly any way to it, but through the ſame Fortreſs. There was a *Dutch* Engineer, who after he had ſerv'd the King fifteen or ſixteen years, deſir'd leave to be gone, and the *Holland*-Company it ſelf, that had recommended him to the Service, did all they could to obtain it; but they could never procure it; becauſe he was an excellent Cannonier, and very skilful in makeing Fire-works. The *Raja Jeſſeing*, who is the moſt Potent of all the Idolatrous Princes of *India*, and who was moſt powerfully Inſtrumental to put the Crown upon *Aureng-zeb*'s Head, was ſent as *Generaliſſimo* of the Army of this King, againſt the *Raja Seva-gi*; and paſſing by the Fortreſs of *Dultabat*, this *Dutch*-Cannonier went to wait upon him, all the Cannoniers of the Army being *Franguis*, as well as he. The *Hollander* laying hold of this opportunity, told the *Raja*, that if he would procure him a Licence to depart, he would ſhew him a way to get up Cannon, and to mount them upon that Mountain which commanded the Fortreſs: for they had already wall'd it about, and put Souldiers upon it to keep it ſecure. The *Raja* pleas'd with his propoſal, aſſur'd him that he would procure him the King's Licence, if he perform'd what he had propos'd. Thereupon the *Hollander* undertaking and accompliſhing his deſign, the *Raja* was as good as his word, and obtain'd of the King to diſmiſs the *Dutch*-Cannonier: who came to *Surat* when I was there, about the beginning of the year 1667; whence he embark'd for *Holland*.

From *Dultabat* to *Aureng-abat*, coſtes 4

Aureng-abat was formerly but a Village, till *Aureng-zeb* made it a City, though it be not wall'd. It grew to be thus enlarg'd, as well by reaſon of a Lake two leagues about, upon which the Village is built, as for the Memorys-ſake of his firſt Wife, who is dead, by whom he had his Children. She is Interr'd toward the end of the Lake, upon the Weſt-ſide, where the King has built a *Moſquee*, with a ſtately Monument, and a fair Inn. The *Moſquee* and the Monument were rear'd at a great expence, being cover'd with white-Marble, which is brought from *Lahor* by Waggon; being a journey of four Months. Going one time from *Surat* to *Golconda*, I met five days journey from *Aureng-abat*, more than three hundred Waggons laden with this Marble, the leaſt wherof was drawn by twelve Oxen.

From *Aureng-abat* to *Pipoli*, coſtes 8
From *Pipoli* to *Aubar*, coſtes 12
From *Aubar* to *Guiſemner*, coſtes 10
From *Guiſemner* to *Aſti*, coſtes 12
From *Aſti* to *Sarver*, coſtes 16
From *Sarver* to *Leſona*, coſtes 16
From *Leſona* to *Nadour*, coſtes 12

At *Nadour* you muſt croſs a River which runs into *Ganges*; and pay for every Waggon four Roupies; beſides that, you muſt have a paſs from the Governour.

From

From *Nadour* to *Patonta*, coſtes 9
From *Patonta* to *Kakeri*, coſtes 10
From *Kakeri* to *Satapour*, coſtes 10
From *Satapour* to *Sitanaga*, coſtes 12
From *Sitanaga* to *Saranagar*, coſtes 10

At *Saranagar* you begin to enter upon the Territories of the King of *Golconda*.

From *Saranagar* to *Melvari*, coſtes 16
From *Melvari* to *Girbalti*, coſtes 12
From *Girbalti* to *Golconda*, coſtes 14
So that from *Surat* to *Golconda*, there are, coſtes 324

All this I travell'd in twenty-ſeven days. I made five journeys more in my Travels in the year 1653. And I alſo took another Road from *Piplenar*, where I arriv'd the eleventh of *March*, ſetting out from *Surat*, the ſixth.

The twelfth, to *Birgam*.

The thirteenth, to *Omberat*.

The fourteenth, to *Enneque-Tenque*, a ſtrong Fortreſs, that bears the name of two *Indian* Princeſſes. It ſtands upon a Mountain ſteep every way; there being but one aſcent to it upon the Eaſt-ſide. Within the enclоſed compaſs of the Walls there is a large Pond, and Ground enough to ſow for the maintenance of five or ſix-hundred men. But the King keeps no Garriſon therein, ſo that it falls to ruine.

The fifteenth, to *Geroul*.

The ſixteenth, to *Lazour*, where you are to croſs a River; upon which, about a Cannons-ſhot from the fording-place, are to be ſeen ſeveral large Pagods of the Countrey, whither great numbers of Pilgrims repair every day.

The ſeventeenth, to *Aureng-abad*.

The eighteenth, to *Pipelgan*, or *Piply*.

The nineteenth, to *Ember*.

The Twentieth, to *Deogan*.

The one and twentieth, to *Patris*.

The two and twentieth, to *Bargan*.

The three and twentieth, to *Palam*.

The four and twentieth, to *Candear*, a large Fortreſs, but upon one ſide commanded by an high Mountain.

The five and twentieth, to *Gargan*.

The ſix and twentieth, to *Nagooni*.

The ſeven and twentieth, to *Indove*.

The eight and twentieth, to *Indelvai*.

The nine and twentieth, to *Regivali*. Between theſe two laſt places there is a little River which ſeparates the Territories of the Great *Mogul*, from the Dominions of the King of *Golconda*.

The thirtieth, to *Maſapkiper*.

The one and thirtieth, to *Mirel-mola-kiper*.

To go from *Agra* to *Golconda*, you muſt go to *Brampour*, according to the Road already deſcrib'd from *Brampour* to *Dultabat*, which is five or ſix days journeys off; and from *Dultabat* to thoſe other places before ſet down.

You may alſo take another Road to go from *Surat* to *Golconda*; that is to ſay, through *Goa* and *Viſapour*; as I ſhall inform you in the particular relation of my journey to *Goa*. I come now to what is moſt worthy of obſervation in the Kingdom of *Golconda*: And to relate what happen'd in the laſt Wars the King maintain'd againſt his Neighbours, during the time that I have known the *Indies*.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Kingdom of Golconda, *and the Wars which it has maintain'd for some few years last past.*

THE whole Kingdom of *Golconda*, take it in general, is a good Country, abounding in Corn, Rice, Cattel, Sheep, Poultry, and other neceſſaries for human life. In regard there are great ſtore of Lakes in it, there is alſo great ſtore of Fiſh. Above all the reſt, there is a ſort of Smelt, that has but one bone in the middle, which is moſt delicious food. Nature has contributed more than Art, toward the making theſe Lakes, whereof the Country is full; which are generally in places ſomewhat rais'd, ſo that you need do no more than make a little Dam upon the plain-ſide to keep in the water. Theſe Dams or Banks are ſometimes half a league long: and after the rainy ſeaſons are over, they open the Sluces from time to time to let out the water into the adjacent Fields, where it is receiv'd by divers little Channels to water particular grounds.

Bagnager is the name of the Metropolis of this Kingdom; but vulgarly it is call'd *Golconda*, from the name of a Fortreſs, not above two leagues diſtant from it, where the King keeps his Court. This Fortreſs is about two leagues in circuit, and by conſequence requires a numerous Guard. It is as it were a Town where the King keeps his Treaſure: having left *Bagnagar*, ever ſince it was ſack'd by the Army, which *Aureng-zeb* brought againſt it.

Bagnagar is then the City, which they vulgarly call *Golconda*; and it was founded by the great Grandfather of the preſent King; upon the importunity of one of his Wives, whom he paſſionately lov'd, whoſe name was *Nagar*. Before that, it was only a place of Pleaſure, where the King had very fair Gardens, till at length his Wife continually repreſenting to him the delicacies of the ſituation for the building a City and a Palace, by reaſon of the River; he laid the foundations, and order'd that it ſhould bear the name of his Wife, calling it, *Bag-Nagar*, that is to ſay, the Garden of *Nagar*. This City lies in ſeventeen degrees of Elevation, wanting two minutes. The Country round about is a flat Country, only neer the City are ſeveral Rocks, as you ſee about *Fontain-Bleau*. A great River waſhes the Walls of the City upon the South-weſt-ſide, which, neer to *Maſlipatan*, falls into the Gulf of *Bengala*. At *Bagnagar* you croſs this River over a Bridg no leſs beautiful than *Pont-Neuf* at *Paris*. The City is little leſs than *Orleans*, well-built, and full of Windows. There are many fair large Streets, but not being well-pav'd, they are duſty, as are all the Cities of *Perſia* and *India*, which is very offenſive in the Summer.

Before you come to the Bridg, you muſt paſs through a large Suburb, call'd *Erengabad*, about a league in length; where live all the Merchants, the Brokers, Handicraft-Trades, and in general, all the meaner ſort of people; The City being inhabited only by perſons of Quality, Officers of the King's Houſe, Miniſters of Juſtice, and Officers of the Army. From ten or eleven in the forenoon, till four or five in the evening, the Merchants, Brokers, and Workmen come into the City to trade with the Forreign Merchants; after which time they return to their own Houſes. In the are Suburb two or three fair *Moſques*, which ſerve for Inns for the Forreigners, beſides ſeveral Pagods in the Neighbouring-parts. Through the ſame Suburb lies the way to the Fortreſs of *Golconda*.

So ſoon as you are over the Bridg, you enter into a large Street, that leads you to the King's Palace. On the right-hand are the Houſes of ſome Lords of the Court; and four or five Inns two Stories-high: wherein there are fair Halls and large Chambers to let in the freſh Air. At the end of this Street there is a large *Piazza*; upon which ſtands one of the ſides of the Palace; in the middle whereof there is a Balcony, wherein the King comes to ſit, when he pleaſes to give Audience to the People. The great Gate of the Palace ſtands not upon this *Piazza*, but upon another very neer adjoyning; and you enter firſt into a large

Court

Court surrounded with Portico's, under which lies the King's Guards. Out of this Court you pass into another, built after the same form, encompast with several fair Apartments, the Roofs whereof are terrass'd. Upon which, as upon those where the Elephants are kept, there are very fair Gardens, wherein there grow Trees of that bigness, that it is a thing of great wonder, how those Arches should bear so vast a burthen.

About fifty years since, they began to build a magnificent Pagod in the City; which would have been the fairest in all *India*, had it been finish'd. The Stones are to be admir'd for their bigness: And that wherein the Nich is made, which is on that side where they say their Prayers, is an entire Rock, of such a prodigious bulk, that it was five years before five or six-hunder'd men, continually employ'd, could hew it out of its place. They were forc'd also to rowl it along upon an Engine with Wheels, upon which they brought it to the Pagod; and several affirm'd to me, that there were fourteen-hunder'd Oxen to draw it. I will tell you hereafter the reason it remains imperfect: For had it been finish'd, in all reason it had excell'd all the boldest Structures of *Asia*.

On the other side of the City, as you go to *Maslipatan*, there are two great Lakes, being each about a league in compass, wherein there ride several Pinks richly adorn'd for the King's Pleasure; and upon the Banks are several fair Houses that belong to the Principal Lords of the Court.

Upon three sides of the City stands a very fair *Mosquee*, wherein are the Tombs of the Kings of *Golconda*: and about four in the afternoon there is a Dole of Bread and *Pilau* to all the Poor that come. If you would see any thing that is rare, you must go to view these Tombs upon a Festival-day. For then from morning till night they are hung with rich Tapestry.

As for the Government and Policy which is observ'd in this City: In the first place, when a stranger comes to the Gates, they search him exactly, to see if he have any Salt or Tobacco about him; for those Commodities bring the King his greatest Revenue. Sometimes a Stranger shall wait a day or two, before he shall have leave to enter. For a Souldier first gives notice to the officer that commands the Guard, and then he sends to the *Deroga*, to know what he shall do. Now, because it many times happens that the *Deroga* is busy, or gone to take a walk out of the City, or else for that sometimes the Souldier himself pretends he cannot find the *Deroga*, only, to create himself more errands, to get the more Money; a Stranger is forc'd to endure all this delay, sometimes, as I have said before, for a day or two.

When the King sits to do Justice, I observe that he comes into the Balcone that looks into the *Piazza*, and all that have business stand below, just against the place where the King sits. Between the People and the Walls of the Palace are fix'd in the ground three rows of Poles, about the length of an Half-Pike, to the ends whereof they tye certain ropes a-cross one upon another. Nor is any person whatsoever permitted to pass beyond those bounds, unless he be call'd. This Bar, which is never set up, but when the King sits in Judgment, runs along the whole bredth of the *Piazza*; and just against the Balcone there is a Bar to open, to let in those that are call'd. Then two men, that each of them hold a Cord by the end, extended all the bredth of the passage, have nothing to do but to let fall the Cord, for any person that is call'd to step over it. A Secretary of State sits below under the Balcone, to receive all Petitions; and when he has five or six together, he puts them in a Bag, and then an Eunuch, who stands in the Balcone neer the King, lets down a string, to which the Bag being ty'd, he draws it up, and presents it to his Majesty.

Every Munday the chiefest of the Nobility mount the Guard, every one in their turn, and are never reliev'd till at the eight days end. There are some of these Lords that have five or six thousand men under their command; and they lye encamp'd in their Tents round about the City. When they mount the Guard, every one goes from his own Habitation to the Rendevouz; but when they are reliev'd, they march in good order over the Bridg, thence through the long Street into the *Piazza*, where they draw up before the Balcone. In the first place, march ten or twelve Elephants, more or less, according to the quality of the Captain of the Guard. There are some of these

Elephants

Elephants that carry Cages, which in ſome ſort reſemble the Body of a little Coach; there are others that have but one man to guide them, and another in the Cage who carries a Banner.

After the Elephants, follow the Camels by two and two, ſometimes to the number of thirty or forty. Every Camel carries a kind of Packſaddle, upon which is faſten'd a little Culverine, which a certain Engineer, clad in a skin from head to foot, and ſitting upon the Crupper of the Camel, with a lighted Match in his hand, dextrouſly manages from one ſide to another before the Balcone, where the King ſits.

After them come the Coaches, attended by the Domeſtick Servants of the Commander: Next to them follow the lead-Horſes, and then the Lord appears, to whom all this Equipage belongs, attended by ten or twelve Curtiſans, that ſtay for him at the end of the Bridg, an skip and dance before him to the *Piazza*. Behind him the Cavalry and infantry march in good order: which being a ſhew, wherein there was much of delight and ſtate, all the while I ſtaid at *Bagnabar*, which was about four Months, I had the divertiſement to ſee them out of my Lodging in the great Street every week as they march'd by.

The Souldiers wear no other Clothes than only three or four ells of Calicut, with which they cover half their Bodies behind and before. They wear their hair very long, and tie it up in a knot upon the top of the crown, like the women, who have no other Headgear than only a piece of Linnen with three corners, one that comes to the middle of the head, and the other two, which they tie under their chins. The Souldiers do not wear Hangers or Scimitars like the *Perſians*; but broad Swords like the *Switzers*, as well for a thruſt, as a blow, which they hang in a Girdle. The Barrels of their Muskets are ſtronger than ours, and much neater; for their Iron is better, and not ſo ſubject to break. Their Cavalry carry Bows and Arrows, a Buckler and a Battel-Ax, an Headpiece and a Jacket of Mail, that hangs down from the Head-piece over their Shoulders.

There are ſo great a number of common Women as well in the City as in the Suburbs, and in the Fortreſs, which is like another City, that there are generally above twenty thouſand ſet down in the *Deroga*'s Book; without which licence, it is not lawful for any Woman to profeſs the Trade. They pay no tribute to the King; only they are oblig'd to come, a certain number of them, with their Governeſs, and their Muſick every Friday, and preſent themſelves before the Balcone. If the King be there, they dance before him. if he intend not to come, an Eunuch comes into the Balcone, and makes them a ſign to retire. In the cool of the evening they ſtand at the doors of their Houſes, which are for the moſt part little Huts; and when night comes, they ſet up a Candle or a lighted Lamp for a Signal: Then it is alſo that they open all the Shops where they ſell *Tari*; which is a certain drink made of the juice of a Tree, and is as Sweat as our new Wines. They fetch it ſome five or ſix league off, upon Horſes, that carry two earthen-Bottles of each ſide, and trot at a great rate; of which there come every day to the City above five or ſix hunder'd. This King has a conſiderable Revenue by the Impoſt which he lays upon this *Tari*. And for that reaſon he permits ſo many common Women, in regard it is for their ſake that ſo much *Tari* is conſum'd; thoſe that ſell it, for that cauſe, keeping their Shops by thoſe Houſes.

Theſe ſort of Women are ſo nimble and active, that when the preſent King went to ſee *Maſſipatan*, nine of them undertook to repreſent the figure of an Elephant; four making the four feet, four the body, and one the trunk; upon which the King, ſitting in a kind of Throne, made his entry into the City.

All the Men and Women of *Golconda* are well proportion'd, and of comely, ſtatures; and fair enough in their countenances; only the Country-people are a little more ſwart.

The preſent King of *Golconda* bears the Name of *Abdoul-Coutou-Sha*; and I will tell the Reader in a few words, from whence he drew his Original. In the Reign of *Axbar* King of *India*, the Father of *Jehan-Guir*, the Territories of the Great *Moguls* did not extend farther Southward then *Narbider*; ſo that the River which runs by it, and which coming from the South, empties it ſelf into *Ganges*, ſeparated their Dominions from the Territories of the *Raja* of *Narſingue*, that

ſtretch'd as far as *Cape-Comorin*, the other *Raja's* being only his Subjects and depending upon him. This *Raja* and his Succeſſors have been always at Wars with them that ſucceeded to *Tamerlane* or *Temur-leng* in *India*; and their Power was ſo great, that the laſt *Raja*, who was at War with *Akbar*, brought into the Field four Armies under as many Generals. The moſt conſiderable of his Armies lay in thoſe Provinces, which at this day are call'd the Kingdom of *Golconda*; the ſecond was quarter'd in the Provinces of *Viſapour*, the third in the Province of *Dultabat*, and the fourth in the Territories of *Brampour*. The *Raja* of *Narſingue* dying without Children, the four Generals divided among themſelves the Countries which they poſſeſs'd with their Army, and took upon them the title of Kings, the one of *Golconda*, the other of *Viſapour*, the other of *Brampour*, and the fourth of *Dultabat*. Though the *Raja* were an Idolater, nevertheleſs his four Generals were *Mahumetans*; and he of *Golconda* was of the Sect of *Haly*, deſcended from an Ancient Family of the *Turcomans*, which inhabit the Country of *Hamadan* in *Perſia*. This General, as I have ſaid, was more conſiderable than any of the reſt; and ſome few days after the death of the *Raja*, they won a famous Victory from the *Mogul*; ſo that he could not hinder them from aſſuming their ſeveral Sovereignties. But after that, *Jehan-Guir*, the Son of *Akbar*, conquer'd again the Kingdom of *Brampour*, *Cha-jehan* the Son of *Jehan-Guir* recover'd the Kingdom of *Dultabat*, and *Aureng-zeb* the Son of *Cha-jehan* recover'd ſome part of the Kingdom of *Viſapour*. As for the King of *Golconda*, neither *Cha-jehan*, nor *Aureng-zeb* diſturb'd him, but let him reſt in peace, upon condition that he ſhould pay to the *Mogul* an annual tribute of 200000 Pagods. At preſent the greateſt *Raja* on this ſide *Ganges* is the *Raja* of *Velour*, whoſe Territories extend to *Cape-Comorin*, and who ſucceeded to ſome part of the Territories of the *Raja* of *Narſingue*: But in regard there is no Trade in his Country, and by conſequence no concourſe of ſtrangers, there is little notice taken of him. The preſent King of *Golconda* has no Sons, but three Daughters, who are all married.

The eldeſt Eſpous'd one of the Kinſmen of the *Grand-Chek* of *Mecca*. Nor muſt we forget ſome paſſages that fell out before this Marriage. The *Chek* coming to *Golconda* in the habit of a *Faquir*, for ſome Months lodg'd without the Gate of the Palace, diſdaining to give any anſwer to ſeveral Courtiers, that demanded what his buſineſs was. At length the thing being made known to the King, he ſent his chief Phyſitian, who ſpoke good *Arabick*, to know of the *Chek* what he had to requeſt, and the reaſon of his coming. The Phyſitian, and ſome other Lords of the Court that diſcours'd him alſo, finding him to be a perſon of great Wit and Learning, brought him to the King, who was very well ſatisfi'd with his aſpect and his preſence. But at length the *Chek* declaring to him, that he came to Eſpouſe the Princeſs; that propoſal very much ſurpriz'd the Prince, and was look'd upon by the greateſt part of the Court, as made by a perſon not well in his wits. At firſt the King only laugh'd at him. But when he found him obſtinately perſevering in his demand, in-ſo-much that he threatn'd the Countrey with ſome ſtrange Calamity, if the Princeſs were not given to him in Marriage, he was committed to Priſon, where he lay a long time. At length the King thinking it more to the purpoſe to ſend him back into his own Countrey, caus'd him to be ſhip'd away at *Maſlipatan*, in a Veſſel that carri'd Goods and Pilgrims to *Moeca*, whence they travel by land to *Mecca*. About two years after the ſame *Chek* return'd again to *Golconda*, and order'd his affairs ſo well, that he Eſpous'd the Princeſs, and won an high reputation in the Kingdom, which he governs at this day, and is very Potent. He it was that kept the King from ſurrendring the Fortreſs of *Golconda*, whither he was retir'd, when *Aureng-zeb* and his Son took *Bagnabar*, as I ſhall tell you by and by, threatning to kill him, if he would not reſolve to hold it out, and not deliver the keys to the enemy. This bold action was the reaſon which made the King love him ever afterwards; and that he takes his counſel in all weighty affairs, not as he is the King's Son-in-Law, but as he is a great Miniſter of State, and the chiefeſt perſon, next the King, in all the Court. He it was that has put a ſtop to the finiſhing the great Pagod in *Bagnagar*, having threaten'd the whole Kingdom with ſome great Calamity, if they went forward with the work. This Prince is a paſſionate Lover of all thoſe that profeſs the Mathematicks, and underſtands them as well. For which reaſon, though he be a Ma-

a Mahumetan, he is a great Favourer of all the Christians, who are vers'd in that Science, as he has particularly testifi'd to Father *Ephraim*, a *Capuchin*, passing through *Golconda* for *Pegu*, whither he was sent by his Superiors. He did all he could to oblige him to stay in the Country, and offer'd to build him a House and a Church at his own expences; telling him, he should neither want employment, nor Hearers, in regard there were several *Portugueſe* Christians, and several *Armenians* that came thither to trade. But Father *Ephraim* having a particular Order to go to *Pegu*, could not accept of his Offer; yet when he went to take his leave of the *Check*, he presented him with a *Calaat*, the most noble that was in his Wardrobe; being the whole habit; the Cap, the *Cabay* or large Vest, the *Arcalou* or short Cassock, two pair of Drawers, two Shirts, and two Scarfs, which they wear about their necks, and over their heads to keep off the heat of the Sun. The Friar was surpriz'd at the present, and gave the *Check* to understand, that it was not proper for him to wear it: however the *Check* would force him to take it, telling him he might accommodate some of his Friends with it. Two months after Father *Ephraim* bestow'd the same Present upon me, being at *Surat*; for which I return'd him thanks.

The *Check* seeing he could not detain the Father, and unwilling he should go a-foot from *Golconda* to *Maſulipatan*, oblig'd him to take an Oxe, with two Men to lead it; and because he could not perswade him to take also thirty Pagods, which he presented the Father withall, he commanded the two men, when they came to *Maſulipatan*, to leave the Oxe and the thirty Pagods with him, which they did very punctually; for otherwise at their return to *Golconda*, they had forfeited their lives. I will finish the History of Father *Ephraim*, when I come to the description of *Goa*, which is the principal place that the *Portugals* have in the *Indies*.

The second Daughter of the King of *Golconda* was married to *Sultan Mahumad*, the eldest Son of *Aurengzeb*; the occasion whereof was this: *Mirgimola*, Generaliſſimo of the King of *Golconda*'s Army, and who had been very serviceable to his Master, to settle the Crown upon his head, according to the custom, left with the King as a mark of his fidelity, both his Wife and Children in Hostage; for he was sent to reduce certain *Raja's* in *Bengala*, that were in Rebellion. He had several Daughters, but only one Son, who had a great train, and made a great noise at Court. The reputation and riches which *Mirgimola* had gain'd, rais'd him up several Enemies, who endeavour'd in his absence to ruine him, and to put him out of the Kings favour. They pretended that the great power of *Mirgimola* was very much to be suspected; that all his designs tended to dethrone him, and to settle the Kingdom of *Golconda* upon his own Son; that it behov'd him not to stay till the remedy were past cure, but to rid himself of an Enemy, so much the more to be fear'd, the closer he kept his intentions; and that the shortest and best way was to poyson him. The King being easily perswaded, gave them leave and authority to act as they pleas'd for his security; but having miss'd of their design for three or four times together, *Mirgimola's* Son began to smell the plot; and immediately gave advice thereof to his Father. It is not known what instructions he receiv'd from his Father; but so soon as he had his answer, he went to the King, and spoke boldly to him, taxing him with the services which his Father had done him, and that without his assistance he had never come to the Crown. The young Lord, naturally of a fiery disposition, kept on this discourse, so displeasing to the King, till at length his Majesty flung away; and the Lords that were present, fell upon the young man, and basely miss'd him. At the same time also he was arrested and committed to prison, together with his Mother and Sisters. Which action, as it made a great noise at Court, coming to *Mirgimola's* ears, so incens'd him, that having an Army under his command, and being belov'd by the Soldiers, he resolv'd to make use of the advantages he had, to revenge himself for the injury done him. He was then not far from *Bengala*, being sent, as I said before, to reduce certain *Raja's* to obedience, whose Territories lye upon the *Ganges*; and *Sultan-Sujah*, *Cha-jehan*'s second Son, being then Governour of *Bengala*, the General thought it his best way to address himself to him; as being the next Prince, with whom he might join his Forces against

the King of *Golconda*, whom he look'd upon now no more as his Master, but as one of his most inveterate Enemies. Thereupon he wrote to the Prince to this effect: That if he would join with him, he would give him an opportunity to possess himself of the whole Kingdom of *Golconda*; and that he should not neglect so fair an opportunity to enlarge the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*, the succession whereof might as well concern him, as any of the rest of his Brothers. But the answer which *Sultan-Sujah* sent him, was contrary to his expectation; who told him, that he could not tell how to trust a person, who as he went about to betray his King, might more easily be drawn to betray a Foreign Prince, whom he had inveigl'd only for the sake of his Revenge; and that therefore he should not rely upon him. Upon *Sultan-Sujah*'s refusal, *Mirgimola* wrote to *Aurengzeb*, who was then in his Government of *Brampoure*, who being not so nice as his Brother, accepted of the proposal that was made him. Thus while *Mirgimola* advanc'd with his Troops toward *Bagnabar*, *Aurengzeb* hasten's toward *Decan*, and both Armies being join'd, they came to the Gates of *Bagnabar* before the King was in a posture to receive them. He had only time to retreat into his Fortress of *Golconda*, to which *Aurengzeb*, after he had riff'd the City of *Bagnabar*, and plunder'd the Palace, lay'd a close Siege. The King seeing himself thus vigorously press'd, sent away to *Mirgimola* his Wife and Children very honourably. For there is vertue and generosity in the *Indians*, as well as in the *Europeans*; of which I will give you an illustrious Example in the person of the King of *Golconda*. Some days after the Enemy had besieg'd the Fortress, a Canoneer espying *Aurengzeb* upon his Elephant, riding about to view the Fortifications of the Castle, told the King, being then upon the Bastion, that if he pleas'd he would fetch off *Aurengzeb* with a Canon-shot; and at the same time was about to give fire; but the King holding his hand, told him he perceiv'd it well enough, but that it behov'd Kings to be better Husbands of the Lives of Princes. The Canoneer obey'd the King, and instead of shooting at *Aurengzeb*, he took off the Head of the General of his Army, who was a little before him; which put a stop to the Assault they were about to have giv'n, the Army being in a confusion upon his death. *Abdal-jaber-Beg*, General of the King of *Golconda*'s Army, lying not far from the Camp, with a flying Army of four thousand Horse, understanding the disorder of the Enemy by reason of the loss of their General, laid hold of so favourable an opportunity, gave them a desperate charge in that confusion, and putting them to the rout, persu'd them till night, for four or five Leagues. Some few days before the General's death, the King of *Golconda* finding that his provisions fail'd him in the Fortress, was about to have deliver'd the Keys; but as I said before, *Mirza-Mahomed*, his Son-in-Law, snatch'd them out of his hand, and threatned to kill him, if he persever'd in that resolution. Which was the reason, that the King who lov'd him not before, had ever after the greatest affection imaginable for him as long as he liv'd.

Aurengzeb being thus constrain'd to raise his Siege, stay'd some days to rally his Troops; and having receiv'd a recruit of fresh men, return'd again to the Siege, with new resolutions. But *Mirgimola*, who had still some kindness for the King remaining in his breast, would not permit *Aurengzeb* to use the utmost extremity, but by his wit and good management gain'd a suspension of Arms.

Cha-jehan, the Father of *Aurengzeb*, had formerly had great kindnesses shew'n him by the King of *Golconda*, to whom he fled after he had lost the Battel, together with his eldest Brother, whith he fought against *Jehan-guir* his Father, with whom he made War. The eldest Son was taken, and *Jehan-guir* caus'd his eyes to be put out; but *Cha-jehan* being more wary, fled, and was entertain'd by the King of *Golconda*, with whom he enter'd into a particular and strict friendship; *Cha-jehan* making an Oath to his Benefactor, that he would never wage War against him upon any occasion whatever. *Mirgimola* therefore knowing that it would be no difficult thing to bring two Kings, that were Friends, to an accommodation, wrought underhand with both, toward the conclusion of a Peace. And he so brought his business about, that the King of *Golconda* writ a Letter first to *Cha-jehan*, wherein he submissively requested him

to

to be an Arbitrator between *Aurengzeb* and him, promiling to ſubmit wholly to him, and to ſign ſuch Articles as he ſhould propoſe. By the ſame policy of *Mirgimola*, *Cha-jehan* was adviſ'd, in anſwer to the King of *Golconda*'s Letter to propoſe a Match between his ſecond Daughter and *Sultan Mahomed*, the Son of *Aurengzeb*, upon condition that after the death of the King her Father, the Son-in-Law ſhould inherit the Kingdom of *Golconda*. This propoſition being accepted, the Peace was concluded, and the Nuptials celebrated with an extr ordinary Magnificence. As for *Mirgimola*, he quitted the ſervice of the King of *Golconda*, and went with *Aurengzeb* to *Brampour*. Soon after *Cha-jehan* made him his Prime Miniſter of State, and Generaliſſimo of his Armies; and he it was that ſo potently aſſiſted *Aurengzeb* to get the Crown, by the defeat of *Sultan-Sujah*. For *Mirgimola* was a perſon of great wit, and no leſs underſtanding in Military than in State affairs. I had occaſion to ſpeak with him ſeveral times; and I have no leſs admir'd his juſtice, than his diſpatch to all people that had to do with him; while he gave out ſeveral Orders, and ſign'd ſeveral Diſpatches at the ſame time, as if he had but one entire buſineſs in hand.

The other Princeſs of *Golconda* was promis'd to *Sultan Sejed*, another *Chek* of *Mecca*; and the Match went on ſo fairly, that the day was appointed for the celebration of the Nuptials; but *Abdoul-Jaber-Beg*, General of the Army, with ſix other Lords, went to the King to divert him from his intention; and they brought it ſo to paſs, that the Match was broken off, and the Princeſs was given in Marriage to *Mirza-Abdoul-Coſing*, the Kings Couſin; by whom ſhe has two Sons, which have wholly annull'd the Pretenſions of *Aurengzeb*'s Son; whoſe Father now keeps him in Priſon, in the Fort of *Gavalcor*, for having taken his Uncle *Sultan Sujah*'s part againſt him. The Princeſs had been given before to *Mirza-Abdoul-Coſing*, but for his debauchery, which render'd him little regarded by the King. But ſince his marriage he is very much reclaim'd.

Now the King of *Golconda* does not ſtand in ſo much fear of the *Moguls*; for in imitation of them, he keeps his Money in his own Country, and has already hoarded up a Treaſury ſufficient to maintain his Wars. Beſides, he is altogether addicted to the Sect of *Haly*, ſo that he will not wear a Bonnet, like the other *Mahumetans*, becauſe they ſay *Haly* wore none; but another ſort of attire for the head. Which is the reaſon that the *Perſians*, that come into *India* to ſeek their fortune, apply themſelves rather to the King of *Golconda* then to the Great *Mogul*. Such is the condition of the King of *Viſapour* alſo, whom the Queen, Siſter to the King of *Golconda*, takes care to educate in the Sect of *Haly*, which invites great numbers of *Perſians* into her Service.

CHAP. XI.

The Road from Golconda *to* Maſlipatan, *al.* Maſalipatan.

FRom *Maſlipatan* they count it an hundred *coſtes* or leagues, taking the right way. But if you go by the *Diamond-Mine*, which in the *Perſian* Language is call'd *Coulour*, in the *Indian*, *Gani*; they reckon it an hundred and twelve leagues: and this is the Road which I generally took.

From *Golconda* to *Tenara*, coſtes 4

Tenara is a ſweet place, where there are four very fair Houſes, to every one of which belongs a large Garden. One of the four ſtanding upon the left hand along the High-way, is much more beautiful then any of the other three. It is built of Free-ſtone two ſtories high, wherein there are ſeveral fair Galleries, Halls, Parlors, and lodging-Chambers. Before the front of the Houſe is a large four-ſquare *Piazza*, little inferior to the *Place Royale* in *Paris*. Upon every one of the other three fronts there is a great Portal, on each ſide whereof there is a fair Platform rais'd from the earth above four or five-foot-high, and well-Arch'd, where Travellers of Quality are lodg'd. On the top of each Portal there is a ſtrong Baluſter,

luſter, and a little Chamber for the Ladies. When Perſons of Quality care not to be in their Houſes, they ſet up Tents in their Gardens; and you muſt take notice that there is no dwelling for any perſon but only in the three Houſes; for the fourth, which is the faireſt, belongs only to the Queen. When ſhe is not there however, any body may ſee it, and take a walk in the Garden, which is a very lovely place, and well-ſtor'd with water. The whole *Piazza* is encompaſt with ſeveral Chambers for the lodging of poor Travellers; who every day toward the evening have an Alms beſtow'd upon them, of Rice, or Pulſe, which they boil ready to their hands. But for the Idolaters that eat nothing which is provided by other hands, they give them flower to make Bread, and a little Butter. For when their Bread is bak'd like a broad thin Cake, they dip it in the melted-Butter.

From *Tenara* to *Jatenagar*, coſtes 12
From *Jatenagar* to *Patengi*, coſtes 12
From *Patengi* to *Pengeul*, coſtes 14
From *Pengeul* to *Nagelpar*, coſtes 12
From *Nagelpar* to *Lakabaron*, coſtes 11
From *Lakabaron* to *Coulour* or *Gani*, of which I ſhall ſpeak in my diſcourſe of the Mines, coſtes 11

The greateſt part of the way from *Lakabaron* to *Coulour*, eſpecially when you come near to *Coulour*, is very rocky; ſo that I was forc'd in ſome places to take my Coach off the Carriages, which was preſently done. If you meet with any good Earth between thoſe Rocks, there you ſhall find *Caſſia*-Trees, that bear the beſt *Caſſia*, and the moſt laxative in all *India*. Which I found by its working with my men that eat of it by the way.

There runs a great River by the Town of *Coulour*, which falls into the Gulf of *Bengala* near *Maſlipatan*.

From *Coulour* or *Gani*, to *Kah-Kaly*, coſtes 12
From *Kah-Kaly* to *Bezouar*, coſtes 6
Near to *Bezouar* you muſt repaſs the River of *Coulour*.
From *Bezouar* to *Vouchir*, coſtes 4
From *Vouchir* to *Nilimor*, coſtes 4

About half the way between *Vouchir* and *Nilimor*, you muſt croſs a great River upon a Float-boat of Timber, there being no other kind of Boat in that place.

From *Nilimor* to *Milmol*, coſtes 6
From *Milmol* to *Maſlipatan*, coſtes 4

Maſlipatan is a great City, the Houſes whereof are only of Wood, built at a diſtance from one another. The place it ſelf, which ſtands by the Sea, is famous for nothing but the Road for Ships which belongs to it, which is the beſt in the Gulf of *Bengala*; and from hence they ſet Sail for *Pegu*, for *Siam*, for *Aracan*, for *Bengala*, for *Cochinchine*, for *Mecca*, and for *Ormus*, alſo for the Iſlands of *Madagaſcar*, *Sumatra* and the *Maniller's*.

You muſt take notice, that from *Golconda* to *Maſlipatan*, there is no travelling by Waggons, by reaſon of the high Mountains, Lakes and Rivers that make the Road very ſtreight and impaſſable. 'Tis a very difficult thing to carry a little Coach thither; for I was forc'd to have my own taken off the Carriages, and ſo to have it lifted out of the bad way. The Road is every jot as bad between *Golconda* and *Cape-Comorin*; a Waggon being hardly ſo much as made mention of all the way; for that there is no other way to travel, or for the carriage of Goods, than with Horſes and Oxen. But inſtead of Coaches, they have the convenience of *Pallekie's*, wherein you are carried with more ſpeed and more eaſe than in any part of *India*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Road from Surat *to* Goa, *and from* Goa *to* Golconda *through* Visapour.

YOU may go from *Surat* to *Goa*, partly by Land, and partly by Sea. But the Road being very bad by Land, generally Travellers go by Sea, and hiring an *Almadier*, which is a Barque with Oars, they go by the Shoar to *Goa*: though sometimes the *Malavares* or *Indian* Pirats are very much to be fear'd all along those Coasts, as I shall tell you in due place.

The way from *Surat* to *Goa*, is not reckon'd by *Costes*, but by *Gos*, one of which makes four of our common Leagues.

From *Surat* to *Daman*, gos	7
From *Daman* to *Bassain*, gos	10
From *Bassain* to *Chaoul*, gos	7
From *Chaoul* to *Daboul*, gos	12
From *Daboul* to *Rejapour*, gos	10
From *Rejapour* to *Mingrela*, gos	9
From *Mingrela* to *Goa*, gos	4
In all from *Surat* to *Goa*, gos	61

The great danger which you run along the Coast, is the hazard of falling into the hands of the *Malavares*, who are violent *Mahumetans*, and very cruel to the Christians. I saw a bare-foot *Carmelite*-Friar who had been taken by those Pirats. This Friar, to get his ransom the sooner, they put to that kind of torture, that his right-arm was shorter by one half then his left, and so it was with one leg. The Captains do not give above six Crowns to every Souldier for the whole six months that they are usually out at Sea: Then the Souldiers may return home, and if their Captains will have them stay longer, they must allow 'em more pay. They seldom venture out above 20 or 25 leagues at Sea, which is no great hazard of the Vessel. But sometimes the *Portugueses* snap them, and then they either hang 'em up presently, or throw 'em over-board. These *Malavares* carry sometimes 200, sometimes 250 men, and they sail together in Squadrons of ten or fifteen Barques to attack a great Vessel, not caring a rush for the great Guns. They come board and board so suddenly, and cast such a quantity of Pots of Artificial Fire upon the deck, that if there be not speedy remedy appli'd, they will presently do a world of mischief. Generally our Seamen, knowing the custom of these Pirats, when they come within ken, presently shut up the Scuttles, and fill the deck with water, to hinder the Fire-Pots from doing execution.

An *English* Captain, whose name was Mr. *Clark*, coming from *Bantam* to *Surat*, not far from *Cochin*, met a Squadron of these *Malavares*, consisting of 25 or 30 of these Barques. Who came board and board, and vigorously attack'd him. The Captain seeing he could not withstand their first Fury, put fire to some Barrels of Powder, and blowing up the deck, blew a great number of the Pirats into the Sea. Nevertheless, the rest were nothing discourag'd, but boarded the Ship a second time. The *English* Captain seeing there was no help, put his men into two Shallops, and staying behind in his Cabin, where the Pirats could not enter so suddenly, he set fire to a Train which he had laid, that reach'd to all the rest of the Powder, and at the same time leaping into the Sea, was taken up by his own men. In the mean time the Ship being all a-fire, the Pyrats leapt into the Sea also. But for all this, the two Shallops, wherein there were about forty *English*, were taken by the rest of the *Malavares*, that were Fresh-men; and I was then at breakfast with the *English* President, Mr. *Fremelin*, when he receiv'd a Letter from Captain *Clark*, that he was a Slave to *Samorin*, who is the most considerable King all along the Pirats Coast. The Prince would not leave the *English* in the hands of those Scoundrels, knowing that they would have been in great danger of their lives, by reason that above twelve-hunder'd Women had lost their Husbands, in the two times that the ship had been fir'd. However the King found

found a means to appeaſe them, promiſing to each of them that had loſt their Husbands two *Piaſters*, every *Piaſter* being four ſhillings apiece, which came to above two thouſand four hundred Crowns, beſides four thouſand, which were to be paid for the Ranſom of the Captain and the other Sea-men, immediately the Preſident ſent the Money, and I ſaw them at their return, ſome in health, others in violent Feavers. The *Malavares* are a People ſo ſuperſtitious, that they never touch any thing that is foul or ſoyl'd, with their Right Hands, but only with the Left, the Nails of which Fingers they let grow, and uſe inſtead of Combs, for they wear their Hair long like the Women, tying it about their Heads in wreaths, and binding it with a Linnen cloath with three corners.

Since I have mention'd *Daman*, I will tell you in a few words how that City was beſieg'd by *Aureng-Zeb* the preſent Great *Mogul*. Some are of opinion that Elephants do great matters in War; which may be ſometimes true, but not always; for very often inſtead of doing miſchief to the Enemy, they turn upon thoſe that lead them, and rout their own party as *Aureng-Zeb* found by experience, at the Siege of this City. He was twenty days before *Daman*, and reſolv'd at length to Storm it upon a Sunday, believing that the Chriſtians were like the Jews and would not defend it upon that day. He that commanded the Place was an old Souldier, who had ſerv'd in *France*, and had three Sons with him. In the Town were eight hundred Gentlemen, and other ſtout Souldiers, who came from all parts to ſignalize their valour at that Siege. For though the *Mogul* had in his Army above forty thouſand men, he could not hinder relief from being put into *Daman* by Sea, in regard that he wanted Ships. The Sunday that the Prince intended to Storm, the Governour of *Daman*, as had been order'd at the Councel of War, caus'd Maſs to be ſaid preſently after Midnight, and then made a Sally with all his Cavalry and ſome part of his Infantry, who were to fall on upon that quarter which was guarded by two hundred Elephants. Among thoſe Elephants they flung a great number of Fire-works which ſo affrighted them in the dark of the Night, that knowing not whither they went, nor being to be rul'd by their Governours, they turn'd upon the Beſiegers with ſo much fury, that in leſs than two or three hours half the Army of *Aureng-Zeb* was cut in pieces, and in three days the Siege was rais'd; nor would the Prince after that, have any more to do with the Chriſtians.

I made two Voyages to *Goa*, the one at the beginning of the year 1641. the ſecond at the beginning of the year 1648. The firſt time I ſtay'd but five days, and return'd by Land to *Surat*. From *Goa* I went to *Bicholly*, which is upon the main Land, thence to *Viſapour*, thence to *Golconda*, thence to *Aureng-abat*, and ſo to *Surat*. I could have gone to *Surat* without paſſing through *Golconda*, but my buſineſs led me that way.

From *Goa* to *Viſapour*, coſtes. 85

Which takes up generally eight days journey.

From *Viſapour* to *Golconda*, coſtes. 100

Which I travel'd in nine days.

From *Golconda* to *Aureng-abat*, the Stages are not ſo well order'd, being ſometimes ſixteen, ſometimes twenty five, ſometimes twenty Leagues aſunder.

From *Aureng-abat* to *Surat* takes up ſometimes twelve, ſometimes fifteen, ſometimes ſixteen days journey.

Viſapour is a great ſcambling City, wherein there is nothing remarkable, neither as to the publick Edifices, nor as to Trade. The Kings Palace is a vaſt one but ill built; and the acceſs to it is very dangerous, in regard there are abundance of Crocodiles that lie in the Water which encompaſs it. The King of *Viſapour* has three good ports in his Dominions, *Rejapour*, *Dabouli*, and *Cra-paten*. The laſt is the beſt of all, where the Sea beats upon the foot of the Mountain, and you have fourteen or fifteen Fathom Water near the Land. Upon the top of the Mountain there is a Fort, with a Spring of Water in it. *Crapaten* is not above five days journey from *Goa* to the North. And *Rabaque*, where the King of *Viſapour* ſels his Pepper, is as far diſtant from it to the Eaſt. The King of *Viſapour* and the King of *Golconda* have been formerly tributary to the Great *Mogul*: but now they are abſolute of themſelves.

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CHAP. XIII.

Observations upon the present State of the City of Goa.

GOA lies in 15 Degrees, 32 minutes of Latitude, in an Island six or seven leagues about, upon the River of *Mandova*, ten leagues from the mouth of the River. The Island abounds in Corn and Rice, and bears several sorts of Fruit, as *Manga's*, *Anana's*, *Adam's-Figs*, and *Coco's*. But most certainly a Pippin is far beyond all those fruits. All those that have seen *Europe* and *Asia*, agree with me, that the Port of *Goa*, the Port of *Constantinople*, and the Port of *Toulon*, are three of the fairest Ports of all our vast Continent. The City is very large, and the Walls are of good Stone. The Houses are for the most part very magnificently built, especially the *Vice-Roy*'s Palace. There are in it a great number of Apartments, and in one part of the Rooms and Chambers, which are very large hang several Pictures, wherein are severally painted by themselves, the Ships that come from *Lisbon* to *Goa*, with those that are bound from *Goa* to *Lisbon*, with the name of the Vessel, the Captain, and the number of Guns which the Ship carries. If the City were not so closely environ'd with Hills, it would doubtless be better inhabited, and the air would be much more wholsom. But these Mountains keep off the cool winds, which is the reason that the heats are very excessive. Beef and Pork is the ordinary diet of the Inhabitants of *Goa*. They have good store of Poultry, and some few Pidgons; but though *Goa* be very neer the Sea, Fish is very scarce. They have abundance of all sorts of Sweet-meats, and feed upon them very much.

Before the *Hollanders* had brought down the power of the *Portugals* in *India* there was nothing to be seen at *Goa*, but Magnificence and Riches: but the *Dutch* having every where got their Trade out of their hands, they have lost their springs of Gold and Silver, and are fallen from their former splendor. In my first Voyage to *Goa* I met with people of fashion, that had above two-thousand Crowns Revenue; at my second Voyage the same persons came privately to me in the evening, to beg an Alms; yet abating nothing, for all that of their inherent pride and haughtiness: Nay, their Women will come in *Palleki's* to the door, and stay while a Boy, that attends them, has brought you a Complement from his Mistress. Then usually you send them what you please, or carry it your self, if you have a curiosity to see their faces; which rarely can be done, because they cover themselves with a veil from head to foot. Moreover, if you go your self to present them your Charity, they will give you a little note, containing a recommendation of some religious Person, who signifies what substantial persons they have been, and how they came to fall to decay. Sometimes, if the person be handsom, she is desir'd to walk in; and to take a Collation, which lasts most commonly till the next day. Had not the *Portugals* so many Fortresses to keep upon the Land; or had, they not, out of their contempt of the *Hollander* neglected their affairs, they could never have been reduc'd to so low a condition.

The *Portugueses* have no sooner made the *Cape of Good-Hope*, but they are all *Fidalgues* or Gentlemen; and add the Title of *Dom* to the single name of *Pedro* or *Jeronimo*, which they receiv'd at their Baptism: From whence they are call'd the *Fidalgues* or Gentlemen of the *Cape of Good-Hope*. As they change their Names, they also change their Nature; for it may be truly said, that the *Indian-Portugals* are the most revengeful persons and the most jealous of their Wives of any persons in the World. And when the least suspition creeps into their noddles, they rid themselves of them either by Poison or Dagger. If they have an enemy, they never pardon him; but if he be a person of that courage that they dare not grapple with him, their persons have attending upo them a sort of black Slaves, that if they command them to kill any one, the Slaves will do it with a blind obedience; which they do either with a Dagger, or a Pistol, or else by knocking the party on the head with a club, which they always carry, about the length of an Half-Pike. If it happen that they stay too long before they can meet with an opportunity

portunity ere they can diſpatch their miſchief; and that they cannot conveniently meet the perſon to be murther'd, in the Fields or in the City, they are no ſuch Saints, but they will kill him at the very Alter, while he is at his devotions; of which I ſaw two fatal preſidents, the one at *Goa*, the other at *Daman*. At *Daman* three or four of theſe black Slaves perceiving ſome perſons whom they were to murther, at Maſs in the Church, diſcharg'd their Muſquets at them through the windows, never conſidering what other miſchief they might do to any other perſons, againſt whom they had no quarrel or deſign. The ſame thing happen'd at *Goa*, where ſeven men were kill'd cloſe by the Alter, and the Prieſt that ſaid Maſs was dangerouſly wounded at the ſame time. Nor do their Courts of Juſtice take any cognizance of theſe crimes, for generally the guilty perſons are the chiefeſt of the Countrey. As for their Suits of Law, there is no end of them, for they are manag'd by the *Canarins*, who are Natives of the Countrey, whoſe buſineſs it is to follow the Law; the moſt ſubtil and crafty ſort of people in the World.

To return to the ancient Power of the *Portugals* in *India*, moſt certain it is, that if the *Hollanders* had never come among them, you ſhould not have ſeen a bit of Iron in any *Portugal* Merchant's Houſe; but all Gold or Silver; for they needed no more than to make three or four Voyages to *Japan*, the *Philippin*, or *Molucca* Iſlands, or to *China* to enrich themſelves; gaining at their return above five or ſix for one one upon rich Merchandizes. The very Souldiers as well as the Captains and Governors enrich'd themſelves by Trade. There was not any perſon, unleſs it be the Governor, who was not a Trader; or if he does Trade, it is in another man's name, for he has Revenue enough without it. Formerly it was one of the fineſt employments of the World to be *Vice-Roy* of *Goa*: and there are but few Monarchs, that have Governments at their diſpoſal, which are equal in value to ſome of thoſe which depend upon this *Vice-Roy*. The chief Command is that of *Mozambique* for three years. In thoſe three years the Governor gets above four or five hunder'd-thouſand Crowns, and ſometimes more, if in all that time they receive no loſſes from the *Cafres*. Theſe *Cafres* are people that bring Gold for the Commodities which they carry away; and if any one of them happen to dye, going or coming, whatever you truſted them withall is loſt without redemption. The Governour of *Mozambique* trades alſo with the Negro's that inhabit all along the Coaſt of *Melinda*; and they ordinarily pay for the goods they buy, either in Elephants Teeth, or Ambergreeſe. When I was laſt in *Goa*, the Governour of *Mozambique*, who return'd to *Goa* after he had been three years in his Command, had by him only in Ambergreeſe, two hundred thouſand Crowns, not reckoning his Gold, and his Elephants Teeth, which amounted to a far larger ſum.

The ſecond Government was that of *Malaca*, by reaſon of the Cuſtom which was there to be paid. For it is a Streight through which all Veſſels that are bound from *Goa*, for *Japon*, *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Java*, *Macaſſar*, the *Phillippin* Iſlands, and many other places, muſt of neceſſity paſs. They may ſail another way by the Iſland of *Sumatra*, toward the Weſt, and ſo through the Streight of *Sonde*, or elſe leave the Iſland of *Java* to the North; but when the Ships return to *Goa*, they muſt ſhew a diſcharge from the Cuſtom-Houſe of *Malaca*, which obliges them to go that way.

The third Government is that of *Ormus*, by reaſon of the great Trade which is there, and the Cuſtom which all Ships are to pay that are bound in and out of the *Perſian Golf*. The Governour of *Ormus* exacted great Tolls from thoſe that went to the Iſland of *Bakren* to fiſh for Pearls, for if they did not take a Licence from him, he would ſink their Veſſels. The *Perſians* at preſent exact this Cuſtom from the *Engliſh*, who have a ſmall ſhare in that Trade, as I have related in my *Perſian* Voyages. But though they are ſevere enough to the Merchants, their Cuſtoms amount to nothing neer ſo much as what the *Portugueſes* made of it. The *Hollanders* are in the ſame condition at *Malaca*, not receiving hardly ſufficient to pay their Garriſon which they keep there.

The fourth Government is that of *Moſcate*, the revenue whereof was very great. For all Veſſels that are bound from *India*, from the *Perſian Golf*, from the Red Sea, and from the Coaſt of *Melinda*, muſt come under the Point of

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as occasion requires, thirty or forty times, even as often as any ill-blood comes forth; as they did by me one time that I was at *Surat*. Butter and flesh is very dangerous to them that are sick, and many times cost them their lives. Formerly they made several sorts of well-tasted diet for those that recovered: Now they serve the Patient only with young Beef-broth, and a dish of Rice. Usually the poorer sort that recover their health, complain of drowth, and call for water. But they that look after them, being only Blacks, or Mongrels, a sort of covetous and pittiless people, will not give them a drop, unless they put mony in their hands; and to colour their wickedness, they give it them by stealth, pretending what they do to be against the Physitian's order. As for Sweet-meats and Preserves, there is no want of them; but they are not a diet which contributes overmuch to the restoring of decay'd strength, especially in those hot Countreys where the body requires rather cooling and refreshing nourishment.

I have forgot one thing in reference to their more frequent blood-lettings than among us *Europeans*. Which is, that to bring their colour again, and to restore them to perfect health, they order the Patient to drink for twelve days together three glasses of Cow's Urine; one in the morning, another at noon, and another at night. But in regard it is a very nauseous sort of drink, the Patient swallows as little as he can, how desirous soever he may be of his health. They learnt this remedy from the Idolaters of the Country; and whether the Patient will take it or no, they never let him stir out of the Hospital, till the twelve days are expir'd wherein he ought to drink it.

CHAP. XIV.

What the Author did, during his stay at Goa, *the last time he went thither in the year* 1648.

TWO days before I departed from *Mingrela* for *Goa*, I wrote to *Monsieur* St. *Amant*, who was Engineer, to send me a Man of War, for fear of the *Malvares* which are upon the Coast, which he immediately did. I parted from *Mingrela* the 20*th* of *January* 1648, and arriv'd at *Goa* the 25*th*. And in regard it was late, I staid till the next morning before I went to visit the *Vice-Roy*, *Don Philip de Mascaregnas*, who had formerly been Governor of *Ceylan*. He made me very welcome, and during the two months that I tarri'd at *Goa*, he sent to me a Gentleman five or six times, who brought me still to the Powder-House, which was without the City, where he often us'd to be. For he took great delight in levelling Guns, wherein he ask'd my advice, esteeming very much a Pistol very curiously and richly inlaid, which I presented him at my arrival. This Pistol the *French*-Consul at *Aleppo* gave me, the fellow of it being unhappily lost: for else the Pair had been presented by the *French*-Nation to the *Bassha*, who might then have boasted himself the Master of the fairest and best-made pair of Pistols in all *Asia*. The *Vice-Roy* admits no person whatever, no not his Children to sit at his Table. But there is a little partition in the Dining-room, where there is a Cloath laid for the Principal Officers, as is usual in the Courts of the *German*-Princes. The next day I went to wait upon the Arch-Bishop, and the next day after I design'd to have visited the Inquisitor; but I understood by one of his Gentlemen that he was busy, writing into *Portugal*; there being two Ships ready to weigh Anchor, that only staid for his dispatches. After the Ships were set sail, he sent the same Gentleman to tell me that he expected me at the Inquisition-House, about two or three in the afternoon. I fail'd not to go thither at the time prefix'd. When I came, a Page brought me into a large Hall, where after I had walk'd a quarter of an hour, an Officer came and carri'd me into the Chamber where the Inquisitor was. After I had past through two Galleries, and some Chambers, I enter'd into a little Chamber where the Inquisitor sat at the end of a great Table like a Billiard-Table, which, as well as the Chairs and Stools in the Chamber, was

cover'd

cover'd with green Cloath, such as is carri'd out of *England*. He told me I was welcome, and after a Complement or two, he ask'd me what Religion I was of? I answer'd him, of the Protestant Religion. He ask'd me then, if my Father and Mother were of the same Religion; and after I had satisfi'd him that they were so; He told me again I was welcome, calling out at the same time for some other persons to enter. Thereupon, the Hangings being held up, there came in ten or twelve persons out of another room hard-by. The first of the Train were two *Austin*-Friars, follow'd by two Dominicans, two barefoot-Carmelites, and some other of the Clergy; whom the Inquisitor told who I was, and assur'd them I had brought no prohibited Books; for indeed, knowing their orders, I had left my Bible at *Mingrela*. We discours'd about two hours of several things, but particularly of my Travels; the whole Company testifying their desire to hear me make some repetitions. Three days after the Inquisitor sent for me to dine with him at a fair House, about half a league from the City, which belongs to the Bare-foot Carmelites. It is one of the loveliest Structures in all the *Indies*; and I will tell you in short how the Carmelites came by it. There was a Gentleman in *Goa*, whose Father and Grandfather had got great Estates by Merchandizing; and he it was that had built this House, which might well have past for a most noble Palace. He had no mind to Marry, but being altogether addicted to his devotions, he very much frequented the *Austin*-Friars, to whom he shew'd himself so affectionate, that he made his Will, wherein he gave them all his Estate, provided they would bury him on the right-side of the High-Altar where he intended a sumptuous Monument. Now according to the common report, this Gentleman was a Leaper, which some jealous persons endeavour'd to make the World believe, seeing he had given away all his Estate to the *Austin*-Friars. Thereupon they told him that the ground on the right-hand of the High-Alter was a place only fit for a *Vice-Roy*; and that a leaprous person was not to be laid there: which was the opinion of the generality of the people, and of a good part of the *Austin*-Friars themselves. Thereupon some of the Fathers of the Covent coming to speak with the Gentleman, on purpose to perswade him to choose some other place in the Church, he was so offended at the proposal, that he never went more to the *Austin*-Friars, but always went to perform his devotions among the Carmelites, who receiv'd him with open arms, and accepted the conditions which the other had refus'd. Nor did he live long after he had interested himself with that Order; so that the Carmelites having magnificently buri'd him, enjoy'd all his Estate, with this same House, where we were splendidly entertain'd with Musick all the time of Dinner.

I staid at *Goa* from the twenty-first of *January* till the eleventh of *March*, departing thence that very day in the evening, after I had taken leave of the *Vice-Roy*. I begg'd leave also of the *Vice-Roy* for a *French*-Gentlemen, whose name was *Belloy*, to go along with me: which was granted me; but through the imprudence of that Gentleman, who did not tell me the reason of his coming to *Goa*, he had like to have been taken from me again, and it was an even-lay, that we had not been both carri'd to the Inquisition. This Gentleman had left the place of his Nativity to travel over *Holland*, where having run himself in debt, and finding no person that would lend him any Money, he resolv'd to go for *India*. Thereupon he listed himself as a private Souldier upon the accompt of the *Holland*-Company; and came to *Batavia* at the same time that the *Hollanders* made War against the *Portuguezes* in *Ceylan*. Being arriv'd, they sent him away among the recruits which were sent into that Island; and the *Holland*-General seeing such a reinforcement of stout men commanded by a *French*-Captain, whose name was St. *Amant*, a person of great courage and experience; he resolv'd to besiege *Negombe*, a considerable Fort in the Island of *Ceylan*. They made two assaults wherein the *French*-men behav'd themselves valiantly, especially St. *Amant*, and *John de Rose*, who were both wounded. The General of the *Dutch*, seeing them to be two such men of courage, made a promise that if *Negombe* were taken, one of them two should be Governor. The place was taken, and the General kept his word with St. *Amant*: but the News being carri'd to *Batavia*, a young Gentleman of kin to the General, and but newly arriv'd out of *Holland*, obtain'd to be Governour of *Negombe*, to the prejudice of St. *Amant*, and came with an order

order from the Council at *Batavia* to displace him. St. *Amant* incens'd at such ill-usage, inveigles to his Party a matter of fifteen or twenty, most part *French* Souldiers, among whom were *Monsieur Belloy*, *Marests*, and *John de Rose*, and revolts to the *Portugueses*. The *Portugals* encourag'd by the reinforcement of such a stout, though small number of men, storm'd *Negombe* again, and took it at the second assault. At that time was *Don Philip de Mascaregnas* Governor of *Ceylon*, and all the places belonging to it, under the jurisdiction of the *Portugal*. He liv'd also at the City of *Colombo*; and then it was, that having receiv'd Letters from *Goa* that the *Vice-Roy* was dead, and that the Council and all the Nobility desir'd him to come and succeed in his place, he resolv'd to see St. *Amant* and his Companions before his departure, to the end he might bestow upon them some proper reward. So soon as he saw them, he was resolv'd to take them along with him to *Goa*. Whether it were that he thought he might have better opportunities to advance them there; or that he thought it convenient to have stout men about him, by reason of the *Malavares* who lay in wait for him with forty Vessels, whereas he had but twenty-two. But they were no sooner come to make *Cape-Comorin*, when the winds rose, and such a Tempest follow'd, that the Vessels were dispers'd, and many of them unfortunately cast away. They that were in *Don Philip's* Vessel did all they could to get to the shoar, but seeing they could not, and that the Ship was ready to split, St. *Amant* and his Six other Companions threw themselves into the Sea with cords and pieces of planks, and so bestirr'd themselves, that they made a shift not only to save themselves, but *Don Philip* also. Hereupon *Don Philip* coming to *Goa*, after he had made his entrance, gave to St. *Amant* the Command of Grand Master of the Artillery, and Superintendent General over all the Forts which the *Portugueses* had in *India*. He marri'd him also to a young Virgin, with whom he had twenty-thousand Crowns, whose Father was an *English-man*, who had quitted the Company, and marri'd a Natural Daughter of one of the *Vice-Roy's* of *Goa*. As for *John de Rose*, he desir'd leave of the *Vice-Roy* to return to *Colombo*, where, by his favour, he marri'd a young Widow, half Native, half *Portugueze*, by whom he had a fair fortune. *Marests* the *Vice-Roy* made Captain of his Guards, the most considerable Command in all his Court, being oblig'd to *Marests* for his life, who was the person that bore him upon his shoulders to save him from drowning. *Du Belloy* desir'd leave that he might go to *Macao*, which was granted him. For he understood that the greatest part of the *Portugal*-Gentry, retir'd to that place, after they had got Estates by Merchandizing; that they were very courteous to strangers, and withal extremely addicted to play, which was *Du Belloy's* chief delight. He liv'd two years at *Macao*, very much to his content; for when he wanted Money, the Gentry lent it him freely. One day he had won above six-thousand Crowns, but going to play again, he was so unfortunate as to lose it all, besides a good sum of Money which his friends had lent him. Being thus at a loss, and finding that no-body would lend him any more Money, he began to swear against a Picture that hung in the room, which was the Portraiture of some Papistical Saint; saying in his passion that it was an usual thing with them that plaid, that if they saw a Saint Picture hang in their sight, it made them lose; and that if that Picture had not been there he had certainly won. Immediately the Inquisitor was inform'd of this, (for in every City in *India* under the Jurisdiction of the *Portugueses* there is one. However his power is limited; having no other authority than to seize the person of him that says or acts any thing against their Religion, to hear the Witnesses, and to send the Offender with the examinations to *Goa* in the first ship which is bound thither: where the inquisitor-General has an absolute Power either to absolve him, or to put him to death.) Thereupon *Du Belloy* was put aboard a small Vessel of ten or twelve Guns loaded with Irons: with a strict charge to the Captain to keep him safe, and some threats that he should be answerable for him if he escap'd. But so soon as the Ship was out at Sea, the Captain, who was of a noble disposition, and knew *Du Belloy* to be of a good Family, took off his Irons, and made him sit at his own Table; giving him also Linnen, and other convenient Apparel necessary for the Voyage, which was to continue forty days. They put into *Goa* the nineteenth of *February* 1649; and the Ship was no sooner come into Harbour, but St. *Amant* came a-board by the Governor's order, as well

to

to receive his Letters, as to hear what news in *China*. But his surprize was very great, to see *Belloy* in that condition, and that the Captain would not let him go, before he had surrender'd him up into the hands of the Inquisitor. Nevertheless, in regard that St. *Amant* was a person of great credit, he obtain'd of the Captain, that *Belloy* should go along with him into the City. As for *Belloy* he immediately and for the nonce shifted himself into his old Cloaths, which were all to tatters and full of Vermin; and St. *Amant*, who knew there was no dallying with the Inquisition, took that season to present him to the Inquisitor; who seeing a Gentleman in such a sad condition, had some compassion upon him, and allow'd him the whole City for his Prison; on condition he should surrender his body, upon demand, when he understood what was inform'd against him. In the interim St. *Amant* brings *Du Belloy* to my Lodging just as I was going to visit the Arch-Bishop of *Mira*, whom I formerly knew at *Constantinople*, when he was Prior of the *Franciscans* at *Galata*. I desir'd them to stay a while and to dine with me, which they did; after which I proffer'd my House and Table to *Du Belloy*, who liv'd with me; and for whom I also bought two new Suits of Apparel, and Linnen convenient. However, all the while that I stay'd at *Goa*, which was ten or twelve days, I could not perswade the Sieur *Du Belloy* to put on those new Cloaths, not knowing the reason, though he promis'd me every day. But being upon my departure, I told him I was going to take leave of the Vice-Roy; whereupon he desir'd me to procure leave for him also; which I did. We departed toward evening in the same Vessel wherein I came, and about midnight the Sieur *Belloy* began to shift himself, and when he had done he threw his old raggs into the Sea, swearing against the Inquisition like a mad man; I understanding nothing all this while of the business. When I heard him swear in that manner, I told him we were not yet out of the *Portugals* hands; neither were he and I with five or six Servants, able to defend our selves against forty Sea-men that belong'd to the Ship. I ask'd him then, why he swore so heartily against the Inquisition; he reply'd, that he would tell me all the circumstances of the Story; which he did, when we came to *Mingrela*, which was about eight a Clock in the morning. When we landed we met certain *Hollanders* with the Commander, who were eating Oysters and drinking Sack upon the Shoar. Immediately they ask'd me who that person was with me. I told them it was a Gentleman who attending the *French* Ambassador into *Portugal*, had taken Shipping there for *India*, together with four or five more whom he had left at *Goa*; but that neither the situation of the place, nor the humour of the *Portugals* pleasing him, he had desir'd my assistance in his return for *Europe*. Three or four days after, I bought him an Oxe to carry him to *Surat*; and I gave him a Servant to assist him, together with a Letter to Father *Zenon*, a *Capuchin*, wherein I desir'd him to speak to my Broker to pay him ten Crowns a month for his subsistence, and to desire of the *English* President to embark him for *Europe* with the first opportunity. But it fell out contrary to my Intentions; for Father *Zenon* carri'd him back again along with him to *Goa*, where he had some business to do for Father *Ephraim* his Companion; of whom I shall speak in the next Chapter. Father *Zenon* without doubt believ'd, that *Du Belloy* making his appearance to the Inquisition, and desiring his pardon might have easily obtain'd it. 'Tis very true he did obtain it, but it was after he had been two years in the Inquisition, from which he was not discharg'd but with a sulphur'd Shirt, with a St. *Andrews* Cross upon his Stomack. There was with him another Gentleman, call'd *Lewis de Barupon the Seine*, who was us'd in the same manner; and they always put them to accompany those who were put to death. The Sieur *Du Belloy* did very ill to return to *Goa*, and worse to appear afterwards again at *Mingrela*, where the *Hollanders*, who understanding he had formerly revolted out of their service, by the intelligence they receiv'd from their Commander at *Surat*, seiz'd his person, and sent him away in a Ship that was going for *Batavia*. They pretended that they sent him to the General of the Company, to do with him as he should think fitting. But I am in part assur'd, that as soon as the Vessel was out at Sea, they put the poor Gentleman into a Sack, and threw him into the Sea. This was the end of the Sieur *Du Belloy*.

As for *Sieur des Mareſts*, he was a Gentleman, born in the *Dauphinate*, near to *Loriol*, who having kill'd his adverſary in a Duel, fled into *Poland*, where he ſo far ſignaliz'd himſelf, that he won the eſteem and affection of the General of the *Polonian* Army. At that time the Grand *Seignior* kept in the priſon of the Seven Towers at *Conſtantinople*, two Noble *Polonians*; whereupon the *Polonian* General obſerving the courage and addreſs of this *Des Mareſts*, who was a daring Fellow, and a good Engineer beſides, made a propoſal to him, to go to *Conſtantinople*, and to endeavour, if he could by any means in the world, to ſet thoſe princes at liberty. *Des Mareſts* willingly accepted the employment, and without doubt he had ſucceeded in his deſign, had he not been diſcovered by ſome *Turks*, who accus'd him for having been too circumſpect in viewing the ſeven Towers, ſeeing him with a Chalk Pencil in his hand, ready to take the draught thereof, which ſeem'd to tend to no good deſign. This had been enough to have ruin'd the Gentleman, had not Monſieur *de Ceſy*, the *French* Ambaſſadour ſtifl'd the further examination of the buſineſs by ſome Preſent; which in *Turky* is the moſt ſovereign remedy upon all accidents of danger; telling the *Viſier*, that he was only a *French* Gentleman that travel'd for his pleaſure, and one that was going for *Perſia* with the firſt opportunity. However it was not *Mareſts* deſign at that time to go very far, for he intended to have return'd into *Poland*, ſo ſoon as he had us'd his utmoſt indeavours to ſet the Princes at liberty; but for his own ſafety it behov'd him to give it out that he was gone to *Perſia*; and at length he was conſtrain'd to go thither indeed. As for the Grand *Seignior*, he had reſolv'd never to ſet the two Noblemen at liberty. But at length they were ſo fortunate as to gain the love of a young *Turk*, who was the Son of the Captain of the Seven Towers; with whom the Father uſually truſted the Keys to open and ſhut the Gates of the Priſon. The night appointed for their flight, he made as if he had ſhut ſome doors, the Padlocks whereof he left all open. But he durſt not do ſo by the two firſt Gates, near one of which the Captain with a ſtrong Guard lay, for fear of being diſcover'd. The young man, who had entirely devoted himſelf to ſerve the Princes, having foreſeen this difficulty before, had bethought himſelf of Rope-Ladders to get over the two Walls; to which purpoſe it was neceſſary to have a correſpondence within and without. Finding therefore that becauſe the utmoſt of ſeverity was not us'd toward thoſe Princes, they had the liberty to receive ſeveral Diſhes of Meat from the *French* Ambaſſadours Kitchin, the Clerk of the Kitchin was made of the plot, who thereupon ſent them in ſeveral Cords in Paſties, whereof they made Ladders. The buſineſs ſucceeded ſo well, that the eſcape was made, and the young *Turk* fled with the *Polonian* Lords into *Poland*, where he turn'd Chriſtian, and receiv'd ample rewards both in Employments and Money. The ſame gratitude proportionably was obſerved toward thoſe who had contributed toward the liberty of the Princes, who amply acknowledg'd the ſervices which they had receiv'd from every one of them.

In the mean time the Sieur *Des Mareſts* arrives at *Iſpahan*, and addreſſing himſelf to the *Capuchin* Fryars, they brought him to my Lodging, where he had the freedom of my Table, and a Chamber. He ſtaid ſome time at *Iſpahan*, during which he got acquainted with the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, who had a great eſteem for him, finding him to be a perſon of merit. But it happen'd one day, that his curioſity putting him upon a bold attempt, had like to have been the ruine of him and all the *Franks* in *Iſpahan*. Never the Inn where we lodg'd there was a large Bath, where the men and women by turns take their times to come and bath themſelves; and where the Queen of *Viſapour*, during her ſtay at *Iſpahan*, as ſhe return'd home to *Mecca*, delighted to go and prattle with the *French* mens wives. The Sieur *Des Mareſts* having a paſſionate deſire to ſee what the women did, ſatisfi'd his curioſity, by means of a cranny in the Arch of the Vault, which he had obſerved when he went thither; for having found out a way without ſide to get up to that Arch, through a blind hole that was next to the Inn where he lay, the Arch being flat, as I have deſcrib'd them in my relations of *Perſia*, and the *Seraglio*, he laid himſelf upon his belly, and ſaw through the cranny what he ſo much long'd to behold. He was at this ſport ſome ten or twelve times; and not being able to contain himſelf, he told me

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one day what he had done: I bid him have a care of going there any more, for fear of ruining himself and all the *French* men in that City. But he contrary to my advice went thither two or three times after that, till at length he was discover'd by one of the women of the Bath that took care of the Linnen, and dry them without, upon Perches as high as the top of the Arch, to which they get up by a little Ladder. The woman seeing a man lying all along upon his belly, seiz'd upon his Hat, and began to cry out. But *Mareſts*, to get himself out of the mire, and to hinder the woman from making more noise, put two *Tomans*, into her hand. When he return'd to the Inn, I perceiv'd him to look as if he had been scar'd, and conjecturing that some ill accident had befall'n him, I press'd him to confess what was the matter. He was loath at first, but at length he confess'd how he had been discover'd by a woman, and how he had stop'd her mouth with money. Thereupon I told him, that there was a necessity for him to fly, for that the danger was far greater than he imagin'd. The *Dutch* President also, to whom I thought it convenient to tell what had pass'd, was of the same opinion; upon which we gave him a Mule, and as much money as was necessary for him, ordering him to go to *Bander*, and thence by Sea to *Surat*. I gave him a Letter of Recommendation to the *English* President, who was my Friend; whom I also desir'd to let him have two hundred Crowns, if he had occasion for them. I wrote very much in his commendation; and mention'd the proffer which the *Dutch* President at *Ispahan* had made him, to send him with Letters to the General, who would not fail to employ him according to his merit. For indeed at that time that the *Hollanders* had War with the *Portugueses* in *Ceylan*, any person of wit, and courage, like the Sieur *Des Mareſts*, was very acceptable to them. Which made them very earnest with him, to take an employment among them; and to that end, they caress'd him, and presented him very nobly during his stay at *Ispahan*. But he told them, that not being of their Religion, he was unwilling to serve them against the *Portugueses*; which was the only reason that hinder'd him from accepting the offers which I had made him. These particulars I wrote in his behalf to the *English* President at *Surat*; so that the Sieur *Des Mareſts* being desirous to go to *Goa* to serve the *Portugals*, the President wrote in his behalf to the Vice-Roy, by whom he was very much belov'd, relating to him, besides, what the *Hollanders* had proffer'd him, that his recommendation might be the more acceptable. Thereupon the Vice-Roy made him very welcome; and upon the Sieur *Mareſts* desire to be employ'd in *Ceylan* in the *Portugal* Army, he sent him away with the first opportunity, with Letters of Recommendation to Don *Philip de Maſcaregnas*, who was then Governour of *Ceylan*, and all those places that belong'd to it under the jurisdiction of the *Portugueſes*. It happen'd three days after, that they lost *Nagombe*, and when they retook it, the Sieur *Mareſts* was one of those that receiv'd most wounds, and won most honour in the Assaults. He it was that afterwards was most instrumental in saving Don *Philip* from being drown'd; so that when Don *Philip* came to be Vice-Roy of *Goa*, he could not think he deserv'd a less reward than the Command of his Guards; in which employment he dy'd within three or four Months. He was very much lamented by the Vice-Roy, by whom he was entirely belov'd. But he left his Estate to a Priest, with whom he had contracted a particular friendship; upon condition that he should only pay me two hundred and fifty Crowns that I had lent him; which however I had much ado to get out of the Priest's Clutches.

While I stay'd at *Goa*, I was told a pretty story concerning a Caravel, or *Portugal* Vessel, which arriv'd there but a little before, and came from *Lisbon*. When she was about to make the *Cape of good Hope*, there happen'd such a violent Tempest, as lasted five or six hours, and put the Marriners to such a *nonplus*, that they knew not were they were. At length they fell into a Bay, where they saw several Inhabitants; and as soon as they came to an Ancher, they beheld the shore cover'd with men, women, and children, that testify'd a strange amazement to see white people, and such kind of people as the Caravel. The mischief was, that they could not understand one another, but by signs. But after the *Portugals* had giv'n those *Cafres* Tobacco, Bisket, and Water, the next day the people brought them a great quantity of young Ostriches, and other

Fowl that seem'd to resemble large Geese, but so fat, that they had very little lean. The Feathers of those Birds were very lovely, and those upon the Belley proper for Beds. One of the *Portugueses* Mariners sold me a large Cushion stuff'd with those Feathers, and related to me what had happen'd to them in that Bay, where they stay'd seven and twenty days. They gave those *Cafres* one thing or other every foot, as Knives, Axes, false Coral, and false Pearls, out of hopes to have discover'd some Trade, and particularly whether they had any Gold; for they observ'd that some of them wore pieces of Gold in their Ears; some beaten thin upon one side, and others like the Nails of a Lock. They brought two of the people to *Goa*; and I saw one of them that wore several of those pieces of Gold in several parts of each Ear. The Mariner told me, that there were some of their women that wore of those pieces of Gold under their Chins, and in their Nostrils. Eight or nine days after the *Portugals* arriv'd in that Bay, those *Cafres* brought them little pieces of Ambergreese, some Gold, but very little; some Elephants teeth, but very small; some Ostriches, and other Birds, some Venison; but for Fish there was abundance. The *Portugals* endeavour'd all they could by signs to know where they found the Ambergreese, for it was very good. The Vice-Roy shew'd me a a piece that weigh'd not above half an Ounce, but he assur'd me withall that he had never seen so good. They also labour'd to discover where they had the Gold. After the Elephants teeth they made no great enquiry seeing a great number of Elephants that came to drink at a River that threw it self into the Bay. At length after they had stay'd three weeks, the *Portugals* finding it impossible for them to discover any thing more, because they understood not one another, resolv'd to set sail with the first wind. And because they had always some of these *Cafres* aboard in regard they were very liberal of their Tobacco, Bisket, and strong Water, they thought good to bring two of them along in the Vessel; in hopes that they might learn the *Portuguese* Language, or that there might some Child be found out that might understand what they said. The Mariners told me, that when they set sail, after the *Cafres* saw that they they had carri'd two of their people away, who perhaps were no inconsiderable persons, they tore their Hair, struck their Breasts, as if they had been frantick, and set up a most horrible yelling and howling. When they were brought to *Goa*, they could never be brought to learn any thing of the *Portugal* Language. So that they could get out of them nothing of that further discovery at which they aim'd, of a Country from whence they only brought away two pound of Gold, three pound of Ambergreese, and thirty-five or forty Elephants teeth. One of the *Cafres* liv'd but six months, the other fifteen; but both languish'd and pin'd to death for grief to be so trapann'd.

From *Goa* I pass'd to *Mingrela*, where there fell out an accident not to be forgotten. An Idolater dying, and the Fire being ready prepar'd for the burning of the Body, his Wife who had no Children, by the permission of the Governour, came to the Fire, and stood among the Priests and her Kindred, to be burnt with the Body of her deceas'd Husband. As they were taking three turns, according to custom, about the place where the Fire was kindl'd, there fell of a sudden so violent a Shower, that the Priests willing to get out of the rain, thrust the Woman all along into the Fire. But the Shower was so vehement, and endur'd so long a while, that the Fire was quench'd, and the Woman was not burn'd. About midnight she arose, and went and knock'd at the door of one of her Kinsmens Houses, where Father *Zenon* and many *Hollanders* saw her, looking so gastly and grimly, that it was enough to have scar'd them; however the pain that she endur'd did not so far terrifie her, but that three days after accompany'd by her Kindred, she went and was burn'd according to her first intention.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Story of Father Ephraim, *and how he was put into the Inquisition at* Goa *by a surprisal.*

THE *Chek*, who had marri'd the Eldest of the Princesses of *Golconda*, not being able to perswade Father *Ephraim* to stay at *Bagnabar*, where he promis'd to build him an House and a Church, gave him an Ox and two men to carry him to *Masulipatan*, where he staid to embark for *Pegu*, according to the order of his Superiors. But finding no Vessel ready to set sail, the *English* drew him to *Madrespatan*, where they have a Fort call'd St. *George*, and a general Factory for every thing that concerns the Countreys of *Golconda*, *Pegu* and *Bengala*. They over-perswaded him that he might reap a fairer Harvest in this place, than in any other part of the *Indies*; to which end they presently built him a very neat House, and a Church. But in the conclusion, the *English* sought not so much the interest of Father *Ephraim*, as their own. For *Madrespatan* is but half a league from St. *Thomas*, a Sea-Town upon the Coast of *Cormandel*, indifferently well-built, as formerly belonging to the *Portugals*. In that place there was a very great Trade, especially for Calicuts, and a very great number of Merchants and Workmen liv'd there, the greatest part whereof desir'd to inhabit at *Madrespatan* with the *English*, but that there was no place for them to exercise their Religion in that place. But when the *English* had built a Church, and perswaded Father *Ephraim* to stay, many of the *Portugueses* quitted St. *Thomas*, by reason of the frequent Preaching of Father *Ephraim*, and his great care as well of the Natives, as of the *Portugals*. Father *Ephraim* was born at *Auxerre*, the Brother of *Monsieur Chateau de Boys*, Councellor of the Parliament of *Paris*; who was very happy in learning Languages, so that in a little time he spoke *English* and *Portuguez* perfectly well. But now the Clergy of St. *Thomas*-Church seing Father *Ephraim* in so high a reputation, and that he drew the greatest part of their Congregation to *Madrespatan*, were so enrag'd against him that they resolv'd to ruine him. And thus they laid their plot. The *English* and *Portuguezes* being neer-neighbours, could not choose but have several quarels one among another, and still Father *Ephraim* was appli'd to for the composing their differences. Now one day it happen'd, that the *Portuguezes* quarell'd on purpose with some *English* Mariners that were in St. *Thomas*-Road, and the *English* came by the worst. The *English* President resolving to have satisfaction for the injury, a War broke out between the two Nations: which had ruin'd all the Trade of that Country, had not the Merchants on both sides been very diligent to bring things to an accommodation: not knowing any thing of the wicked contrivance of particular persons against Father *Ephraim*. But all the interposition of the Merchants avail'd nothing: the Friar must be concern'd in the affair, he must be the Mediator to act between party and party, which he readily accepted. But he was no sooner enter'd into St. *Thomas*, but he was seiz'd by ten or twelve Officers of the Inquisition, who shipp'd him away in a Frigat that was bound at the same time for *Goa*. They fetter'd and manacl'd him, and kept him two and twenty days at Sea, before they would let him once put his foot a-shore: though the best part of the Mariners lay a-shoar every night. When they came to *Goa*, they staid till night before they would land Father *Ephraim*, to carry him to the *Inquisition*-House. For they were afraid, lest if they should land him in the day, the people should know of it, and rise in the rescue of a person, who was in an high veneration over all *India*. The news was presently spread abroad in all parts, that Father *Ephraim* was in the *Inquisition*, which very much amaz'd all the *French*-men. But he that was most surpriz'd, and most troubl'd at it was Friar *Zenon*, the Capuchin, who had been formerlyly Father *Ephraim*'s Companion; who after he had consulted his friends, resolv'd to go to *Goa*, though he were put into the *Inquisition* himself. For when a man is once shut up there, if any one have the boldness to speak to the Inquisitor, or to any of his Councel in his behalf, he is presently put into the *Inquisition* also

alſo, and accounted a greater Offender than the other. Neither the Arch Biſhop nor the *Vice-Roy* themſelves dare interpoſe; though they are the only two perſons over whom the *Inquiſition* has no power. For if they do any thing to offend them, they preſently write to the Inquiſitor and his Council in *Portugal*, and as the King and the Inquiſitor-General commands, they either proceed againſt, or ſend thoſe two great perſons into *Portugal*.

Notwithſtanding all theſe conſiderations, Father *Zenon*, taking along with him the *Sieur de la Boulay*, a decaid Gentleman, goes to *Goa*; where, when he arriv'd, he was viſited by ſome friends, who adviſe him to have a care not to open his mouth in the behalf of Father *Ephraim*, unleſs he intended to bear him company in the *Inquiſition*. Father *Zenon* ſeeing he could do nothing at *Goa*, adviſ'd the *Sieur de Boulay* to return to *Surat*: and goes himſelf directly to *Madreſpatan*, more particularly to inform himſelf concerning the reaſon of Father *Ephraim*'s being ſent away. But when he underſtood how he had been betraid at St. *Thomas*, he reſolv'd to have ſatisfaction, and without acquainting the *Engliſh* Preſident, communicates his deſign to the Captain that commanded in the Fort: Who being incens'd, as were all the Souldiers, at the injury done Father *Ephraim*, not only approv'd, but alſo promis'd Father *Zenon* to aſſiſt him in his deſign. Thereupon the Father ſets his ſpies; and underſtanding by them, that the Governor of St. *Thomas* went every Saturday-morning, early to a Chappel upon a Mountain half a league from the City, dedicated to the Virgin-*Mary*, he cauſes three Iron-Bars to be fix'd in the window of a little Chamber in the Covent with two good locks to the door, and as many padlocks. And having ſo done, he goes to the Governor of the Fort, who was an *Iriſh*-man, and a very ſtout perſon; who with thirty Souldiers, and Father *Zenon*, iſſu'd out of the Fort about midnight, and hid themſelves till day near the Chappel, in a part of the Mountain, where they could not be diſcover'd. The Governor of St. *Thomas* came exactly, according to his cuſtom, a little after Sun-riſing; and as ſoon as ever he alighted from his *Pallequin*, was immediately ſurpriz'd by the Ambuſcade, and carri'd to *Maſtipatan*, into the Chamber in the Covent which the Friar had provided for him. The Governor thus ſurpriz'd, made great proteſtations againſt Father *Zenon*, and threaten'd him with what the King would do when he ſhould come to hear what he had practis'd againſt the Governor of one of his Garriſons. To which Father *Zenon* ſaid no more, but only that he believ'd that he was better us'd at *Madreſpatan*, than Father *Ephraim* was us'd at the *Inquiſition* at *Goa*, whither he had ſent him: That if he would obtain liberty for Father *Ephraim* to return, he would leave him in the ſame place where they had ſeiz'd his perſon, with as much Juſtice, as he had to ſend Father *Ephraim* to *Goa*. Many people came to the *Engliſh* Preſident, deſiring him to uſe his authority for the Governor's liberty. But his anſwer was, that the Governor was not in his juriſdiction, neither could he compel Father *Zenon* to releaſe him, who had been one of the Authors of the injury which had been done his Companion. So that he contented himſelf only to deſire of Father *Zenon* that his Priſoner might dine at his Table in the Fort, promiſing him to return him when he ſhould require his body; a requeſt which he eaſily obtain'd, but could not ſo eaſily keep his word. For the Drummer of the Garriſon being a *French*-man, with a Merchant of *Marſeilles*, call'd *Roboli*, then in the Fort, two days after came to the Governor, and promis'd him, for a good reward, to procure his eſcape. The agreement being made, the Drummer in the morning beat the *Reveillez* ſooner than he was wont to do, and lowder, while *Roboli* and the Governor let themſelves down at a corner of a *Baſtion* that was not very high; and were preſently as nimbly follow'd by the Drummer; ſo that *Madreſpatan* and St. *Thomas* being but half a league aſunder, they were all three in the Town before their eſcape was known. The whole City greatly rejoyc'd at the return of their Governor, and immediately diſpatch'd away a Barque to *Goa* to carry the news. The Drummer alſo and the Merchant ſet ſail at the ſame time, and when they came to *Goa* with Letters of recommendation in their behalf, there was no Houſe or Covent which did not make them Preſents: The *Vice-Roy* alſo himſelf careſs'd them extremely, and took them into his own Ship to have carri'd them into *Portugal* along with him; but both he and the two *French*-men dy'd at Sea.

Never

Never did any Vice-Roy depart from *Goa* ſo rich as *Don Philippo de Maſcaregnas*; for he had a great parcel of Diamonds, all large ſtones, from ten *Carats* to forty. He ſhew'd me two when I was at *Goa*, one whereof weigh'd 57 *Carats*, the other 67 and an half; clean Stones, of an excellent water, and cut after the *Indian* manner. The report was that the Vice-Roy was poiſon'd in the Ship, and that it was a juſt puniſhment of Heaven, for that he had poiſon'd ſeveral others, eſpecially when he was Governor of *Ceylan*. He had always moſt exquiſite poiſons by him, to make uſe of when his revenge requir'd it: for which reaſon, having rais'd himſelf many enemies, one morning he was found hung in *Effigie* in *Goa*; when I was there in the year 1648.

In the mean time, the Impriſonment of Father *Ephraim* made a great noiſe in *Europe*; *Monſieur de Chaſteau des Bois*, his Brother complain'd to the *Portugal* Embaſſadour, who preſently wrote to the King his Maſter to ſend a poſitive command by the firſt Ships, that Father *Ephraim* ſhould be diſcharg'd. The Pope alſo wrote, declaring that he would excommunicate all the Clergy of *Goa*, if they did not ſet him at liberty. But all this ſignify'd nothing. So that Father *Ephraim* was beholding for his liberty to none but the King of *Golconda*, who had a love for him, and would have had him have ſtaid at *Bagnagar*. For the King was then at Wars with the *Raja* of *Carnatica*, and his Army lay round about St. *Thomas's*. Hearing therefore what a baſe trick the *Portuguezes* had plaid with Father *Ephraim*, he ſent orders to his General *Mirgimola* to lay ſiege to the Town, and put all to Fire and Sword, unleſs the Governor would make him a firm promiſe that Father *Ephraim* ſhould be ſet at liberty in two months. A Copy of this Order was ſent to the Governor, which ſo alarm'd the Town, that they diſpatch'd away Barque after Barque to preſs the Vice-Roy to uſe his endeavours for the releaſe of Father *Ephraim*. Thereupon he was releas'd; but though the door were ſet open, he would not ſtir, till all the Religious Perſons in *Goa* came in proceſſion to fetch him out. When he was at liberty he ſpent 15 days in the Covent of the Capuchins. I have heard Father Ephraim ſay ſeveral times, that nothing troubl'd him ſo much all the while of his impriſonment, as to ſee the ignorance of the Inquiſitor and his Council, when they put him any queſtion: and that he did not believe that any one of them had ever read the Scripture. They laid him in the ſame Chamber, with a *Malteſe*, who never ſpake two words without a deſperate oath; and took Tobacco all day, and a good part of the night, which was very offenſive to Father *Ephraim*.

When the Inquiſitors ſeize upon any perſon, they ſearch him preſently; and as for his Goods and wearing-Apparel, it is ſet down in an Inventory, to be return'd him again in caſe he be acquitted; but if he have any Gold, Silver, or Jewels, that is never ſet down; but is carri'd to the Inquiſitor to defray the expences of the Proceſs. They ſearch'd the Reverend Father *Ephraim*, but found nothing in his Cloak-pockets, unleſs it were a Comb, an Inkhorn, and two or three Handkerchiefs. But forgetting to ſearch the little Pockets which the Capuchins carry in their ſleeves toward their armpits, they left him four or five black-lead pens. Theſe Pencils did him a great kindneſs. For the *Malteſe* calling for ſuch a deal of Tobacco, which is always cut and ti'd up in white-paper, for the profit of the ſeller, who weighs both Tobacco and Paper together: theſe Papers Father *Ephraim* kept very charily, and with his pencil wrote therein whatever he had ſtudi'd at any time: though he loſt the ſight of one of his eyes, through the darkneſs of the Chamber, which had but one window, half a foot ſquare, and barr'd with iron. They would never ſo much as lend him a Book, or let him have an end of Candle; but us'd him as bad as a certain Miſcreant that had been twice let out already with his Shirt ſulphur'd, and at St. *Andrews-Croſs* upon his ſtomach, in company with thoſe that are lead to the Gallows, and was then come in again.

Father *Ephraim* having ſtaid 15 days in the Covent of the Capuchins to recover his ſtrength after 20 months impriſonment, return'd for *Madreſpatan*, and paſſing through *Golconda*, went to return his humble thanks to the King of *Golconda* and his Son-in-law, who had ſo highly intereſs'd themſelves for his liberty. The King importun'd him again to ſtay at *Bagnagar*, but ſeeing him reſolv'd to return to his Covent at *Madreſpatan*, they gave him as before, an Oxe, two Servants, and Money for his journey.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Road from Goa *to* Maſulipatan *through* Cochin, *here deſcrib'd in the ſtory of the taking of that City by the* Hollanders.

AFter the *Dutch* had diſpoſſeſs'd the *Portugals* of whatever they had in *Ceylan*, they caſt their eyes upon *Cochin*, in the Territories whereof grows the Baſtard Cinnamon, which hinder'd the utterance of *Ceylan* Cinnamon. For the Merchants ſeeing that the *Hollanders* kept up their Cinnamon ſo dear, bought up that of *Cochin*, which they had very cheap; and that coming into requeſt, was tranſported to *Gomron*, and diſtributed there among the Merchants that came from *Perſia* from *Tartary*, from *Moſcovia*, from *Georgia*, *Mingrela*, and all the places from the black Sea. It was alſo carried away in great quantities by the Merchants of *Balſara* and *Bagdat*, who furniſh *Arabia*; as alſo by the Merchants of *Meſopotamia*, *Anatolia*, *Conſtantinople*, *Romania*, *Hungary*, and *Poland*. For in all thoſe Countries, they uſe it either whole or beaten in moſt of their meats, to heighten the taſte thereof.

The Army which was commanded out of *Batavia* for the Siege of *Cochin*, landed at a place call'd *Belli-Porto*; where the *Hollanders* had a Fort made of Palm-Trees. It is near to *Cranganor*, a ſmall City which the *Hollanders* took the year before; not being able to take *Cochin* then, though they had made ſome attempts upon it. So ſoon as the Army landed, they march'd within Cannon-ſhot of the City, there being a River between them and the City. That part where the *Hollanders* encamp'd, is call'd *Belle-Epine*, where after they had fortifi'd themſelves, as well as the Nature of the place would permit, they rais'd ſome Batteries, which could not much annoy the City, by reaſon of the diſtance. They lay there till they had recruits of more men; for they had but three Ships full, though he that commanded them were one of the braveſt Captains of his time. Some few days after, the Governour of *Amboyna* arriv'd with two Ships more, and afterwards a *Dutch* Captain brought a great number of *Chinglas*, who are the Natives of the Iſland of *Ceylan*. For the Forces of the *Hollanders* would not be ſo conſiderable as they are, did they not make uſe of the Natives of the Country to fill up the Companies which they bring out of *Europe*. The Natives of *Ceylan*, are good for digging Trenches, and raiſing Batteries, but for a Storm they ſignifie little. Thoſe of *Amboyna* are good Soldiers, four hundred of which were left at *Belle-Epine*. The Body of the Army took Shipping again, and landed near to *Cochin*, not far from a Church dedicated to St. *Andrew*; where the *Portugals*, with certain *Malavares*, ſeem'd to have ſtay'd aſhore for the *Hollanders* coming: But ſeeing the Enemy to land with ſo much reſolution, they only gave them one Volly and retreated. In their March the *Hollanders* deſcry'd certain Companies of *Portugueſes* near the Sea-ſhore, others ſomewhat farther up in the Land, in a Church call'd St. *Johns*. Thereupon they ſent out ſome Horſemen to diſcover their number; but the *Portugals* ſtill retreated, after they had ſet fire to the Church. Thereupon the *Hollanders* made their approaches to the Town; and after they had beſieg'd it for ſome time, a *French* Soldier, who was under their pay, ſeeing a Pannier ty'd at the end of a Cord, hanging over one of the Baſtions, ventur'd notwithſtanding all the Bullets that flew about his Ears, to ſee what was in it. But he was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, to find nothing but a languiſhing Infant, which the Mother had hung there, that ſhe might not ſee it periſh for hunger. The Soldier mov'd to compaſſion, took the Infant and gave it ſuch as he had to eat; at which the *Dutch* General was ſo incens'd, ſaying that the Soldier ſhould have let the Infant periſh, that he call'd a Council of War, where he would have had the Soldier run the Gauntlet, which was very cruel; but the Council moderating the ſentence, condemn'd him only to the Strappado.

The ſame day ten Soldiers out of every Company were commanded to go to one of the Houſes of the King of *Cochin*; but they found no body there, having

having plunder'd it the year before. At which time the *Hollanders* slew four Kings of the Country, and six hundred Blacks; nor did there escape but only one ancient Queen, who was taken alive by a common Soldier, call'd *Vau Rez*, whom the Commander of the Army made a Captain immediately, for his reward. They left one Company in that House; but the Queen stay'd there but six days, for they gave her into the custody of *Savarin*, one of the most potent of the petty Kings upon that Coast, to whom the *Hollanders* had promis'd to give the City of *Cranganor*, if they took *Cochin*, provided he would be faithful to them.

Six weeks pass'd ere any thing considerable was done; but then the *Hollanders*, storming the Town by night, were repuls'd, and lost abundance of men, slain and taken Prisoners, through the Governour of *Cranganors* fault, who commanded them, and was drunk when the assault was made. Two months after, the General of the *Hollanders* resolv'd to make another assault in the same place; and because he would not want men, he sent for those that lay upon the side of *Belle-epine*. But by misfortune the Frigat struck upon the Sands, and splitting, abundance of the Soldiers were drown'd. They that could swim, got to land near *Cochin*, not finding any other place convenient, and were all taken Prisoners by the *Portugals*, being not above ten in all, Soldiers and Mariners. The General however would not give over the assault, but causing the Sea-men to land, he arm'd some with half-Pikes, others with Swords, to others he gave hand-Granadoes, and about ten a Clock in the morning he began the assault, with four Companies, consisting each of a hundred and fifty men. The *Hollanders* lost abundance of men in this last assault, and so did the *Portugueses*, for they defended themselves stoutly, being seconded by two hundred Soldiers, who were all *Dutch*-men, tho they sided with the *Portugueses*, because their Countrymen had abated them six months and a half pay for the loss of *Touan*. Without the assistance of these Soldiers, the City had never held out two months, there being among them one of the best *Dutch* Engineers of his time, who had left his Countrymen by reason of their ill usage of him.

At length the *Hollanders* having enter'd the Town toward evening, on *Calivete* side, and being Masters of the chief Bulwark, the *Portugals* came to a Capitulation, and the City was surrender'd. The *Portugals* by their Articles march'd out of *Cochin* with their Arms and Baggage; but when they came out of the City where the *Hollanders* were drawn up in *Battalia*, they were all forc'd to quit their Arms, and to lay them at the Generals feet; except the Officers, who kept their Swords. The General had promis'd the Soldiers the Pillage of the Town, but not being able to keep his word, for several plausible reasons which he told, he promis'd them six months pay, which in a few days after was reduc'd to eight Roupies a man. *Samarin* also demanded of him the City of *Cranganor*, according to his promise; which the General made good; but he caus'd all the Fortifications to be slighted first, and left *Samarin* nothing but the bare Walls. For being of a very mean Extraction, he was naturally as cruel and barbarous in his disposition. One time the Souldiers being so put to it for four days together, that they could get no food for money, two of them had somewhere taken a Cow and kill'd her; for which the General, when he came to know of it, caus'd one of them to be hang'd immediately, and had order'd the other to have run the Gauntlet, had not King *Perca* interceded for him.

King *Perca*, was a petty King of that Countrey, with whom the General was then in Treaty; and the Treaty being at length concluded, the General muster'd all his Land and Sea-men, to the number of about six thousand men. A few days after, he sent some Companies to besiege the City of *Cananor*, which surrender'd without any resistence. When they return'd, the General caus'd a Crown to be made for the new King of *Cochin*, the other being expell'd his Countrey. And upon the day which he had appointed for this most solemn Coronation, the General sat upon a kind of a Throne, at the foot whereof, a *Malavare* or Pirat, being led thither between three Captains of each side, fell upon his knees to receive the Crown from the Generals hand, and to do homage for a petty Kingdom, that is to say, the little City of *Cochin* and its Territories, which

were very small. The King and the King-maker were both alike. For no doubt it could not but be a pleasant sight, to see a *Hollander*, that had been only the Cook of a Ship, crowning a miserable Pirat with those hands that had oft'ner handled a Ladle than a Sword.

In the mean time the Ships that carried the Inhabitants of *Cochin* to *Goa*, return'd laden with the spoils of those distressed people; for contrary to the Articles of Capitulation, the *Hollanders* were no sooner out at Sea, but they took from those poor Creatures whatever they had, rifling both men and women, without any regard to sex or modesty.

The General being return'd into *Batavia*, they sent a Governour to *Cochin*; who to make the place the stronger, demolish'd a great part of the City. But this Governour us'd the greatest rigor imaginable, even toward the Souldiers; he shut them up in the City as if they had been in a Prison; nor could they drink either Wine, or *Sury*, or Strong-water, by reason of the great Impost which he laid upon them. (*Sury* is a drink which flows from the Palm-trees.) So that when the *Portugueses* kept *Cochin*, men might live better for five or six Sous, than under the *Hollander* for ten. This Governour was so severe, that he would banish a man for the smallest fault in the world, to the Island of *Ceylan*, to a place where they made Brick, sometimes for five or or six years, sometimes as long as the party liv'd. For it is oftentimes observ'd, that when any one is banish'd thither, though the sentence be only for a term of years, yet the Exile never obtains his freedom afterwards.

CHAP. XVII.

The Passage by Sea from Ormus *to* Maslipatan.

I Departed from *Gomron* to *Maslipatan* the eleventh of *May*, 1652, and went aboard a great Vessel of the King of *Golconda*'s, which is bound every year from *Persia*, laden with fine Calicuts, Chites, or Calicuts painted with a Pencil, which makes them much more beautiful and dearer than those which are printed. The *Holland* Company are wont to allow to those Vessels which belong to any of the Kings or Princes of *India*, a Pilot, and two or three Gunners; neither the *Indians* nor *Persians* being expert in Navigation. In the Vessel where I was aboard there were but six *Dutch* Mariners at most, but above a hundred Natives. We sailed out of the *Persian* Golf, with a pleasing and favorable Gale; but we had not sail'd very far before we found the Sea very rough, and the Winds at South-West, so violent, though full in our Stern, that we were not able to carry out more than one small Sail. The next day, and for some days after, the Wind grew more violent, and the Sea more boist'rous; so that being in the sixteenth Degree, which is the elevation of *Goa*, the Rain, the Thunder, and Lightning, render'd the Tempest the more terrible; insomuch that we could not carry out any other than our top-sail, and that half furl'd. We pass'd by the *Maldives* Islands, but were not able to discern them, besides that the Ship had taken in very much water in the Hold. For the Ship had lain five months in the Road of *Gomron*, where if the Mariners are not very careful to wash the Planks that lye out of the water, they will be apt to gape, which causes the Ship to leak when she is loaden. For which reason the *Hollanders* wash the outside of their Ships morning and evening. We had in our Vessel five and fifty Horses, which the King of *Persia* had sent as a Present to the King of *Golconda*; and about a hundred Merchants, *Persians* and *Armenians* together, who were Traders to *India*. One whole day and night together there rose a cross Wind, so violent, that the Water rowl'd in from Stern to Stern, and the mischief was, that our Pumps were nought. By good fortune there was a Merchant that had two Bails of *Russia* Leather, besides four or five Sadlers that knew how to sow the Skins, who were very serviceable as well

to

to the whole Ship as to themſelves. For they made great Buckets of the Skins, four Skins to a Bucket, which being let down from the Maſts with Pullies, through certain great Holes which were cut in the Deck, drew up a vaſt quantity of Water. The ſame day the violence of the Tempeſt continuing, there fell three Thunderbolts into the Ship. The firſt fell upon the Boltſprit, and ſplit it quite in two; and running along upon the Deck, kill'd three men. The ſecond fell two hours after, and kill'd two men, ſhooting along as the other did from Head to Stern. The third follow'd preſently after, the Maſter, the Maſters Mate, and my ſelf ſtanding together near the main Mask. At what time the Cook coming to ask the Maſter whether he ſhould take up the Victuals, the Thunderbolt took him in the lower part of his Belly, made a little hole, and took off all the Hair as clean as they dreſs a Pig with hot water and Roſin, without doing him any more harm. Only when they came to anoint the little hole with Oil of *Coco's* he roar'd out through the ſharpneſs of the pain which he endur'd.

The twenty-fourth of *June* in the morning, we diſcover'd Land; and making toward it, we found our ſelves before *Ponte de Galle*, the firſt Town in the Iſland of *Ceylan*, which the *Hollanders* had taken from the *Portugals*. From thence to the Road of *Maſulipatan* we had very good weather; where we arriv'd the ſecond of *July*, an hour or two after Sun-ſet. There I went aſhore, and was moſt civilly treated by the *Dutch* Preſident, and Merchants, as alſo by the *Engliſh*.

The eighteenth and nineteenth of *June*, the Sieur *Du Jardin* and I, bought us two *Palleki's*, and ſix Oxen to carry our ſelves, our Servants, and our Luggage. Our deſign was to have gone directly to *Golconda*, there to have ſold the King a parcel of long Pearls, the leaſt whereof weigh'd thirty-four Carats, and the biggeſt thirty-five, with ſome other Jewels, the moſt part whereof were Emraulds. But the *Hollanders* aſſuring us, that our journey would be to no purpoſe, in regard the King would buy nothing that was rare, or of a high price, till *Mirgimola*, his General and prime Miniſter of State, had view'd the Commodity; underſtanding therefore, that he was then at the Siege of *Gandicot*, in the Province of *Carnatica*, we reſolv'd to go thither to him.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Road from Maſulipatan *to* Gandicot, *a City and Garriſon in the Province of* Carnatica. *And of the dealings which the Author had with* Mirgimola, *who commanded the King of* Golconda's *Army. With a diſcourſe at large concerning Elephants.*

WE ſet forth from *Maſulipatan* the twentieth of *June*, about five of the Clock in the Evening.

The next day, being the one and twentieth, we travell'd three Leagues, and lay at a Village call'd *Nilmol*.

The two and twentieth, we travell'd ſix Leagues, to *Wouhir*, another Village; croſſing the River upon a floating Bridg, before we came thither.

The three and twentieth, after we had travel'd ſix hours, we came to *Patemet*, a pitiful Village, where we were conſtrain'd to lye three days by reaſon of the Rains.

The twenty-ſeventh, we came to a great Town, call'd *Bezouart*; not being able to travel above a League and a half, becauſe the Road was overflow'd. There we were forc'd to ſtay four days, for the Rains had ſo ſwell'd the River which we were to croſs, that the Ferryman could not govern his Boat againſt the violence of the Stream. There we alſo left the Horſes which the King of *Perſia* ſent to the King of *Golconda*; which by that time were reduc'd to fifty.

While we ſtay'd at *Bezouart*, we went to ſee ſeveral Pagods, of which the Country is full; there being more than in any other part of *India*; for unleſs it be the Governours of Towns; and ſome of their Domeſticks, all the reſt of the Inhabitants are Idolaters. The Pagod belonging to the Town of *Bezouart*, is a very large one, but not clos'd with Walls; it conſiſts of fifty-two Pillars twenty foot high, that uphold a flat roof of Free-ſtone; they are adorn'd with ſeveral emboſs'd Figures of ugly Devils, and ſeveral ſorts of Creatures. Some of thoſe Devils are made with four Horns, others with many Legs and many Tails, others lolling out their Tongues, and others in ſeveral other ridiculous poſtures. The ſame Figures are cut in the Stone of the Roof, and between the Pillars ſtand the Statues of their Gods upon Pedeſtals. The Pagod is built in the midſt of a Court, of a greater length than breadth, encompaſs'd with Walls, which are adorn'd within and without, with the ſame Figures as the Pagod; and a Gallery upheld by ſixty-ſix Pillars, runs round the Wall, after the manner of a Cloyſter. You enter into this Court through a wide Portal, upon which are two Niches, one above another, the firſt upheld by twelve, the other by eight Pillars. At the bottom of the Pillars of the Pagod, are certain old *Indian* Characters, of which the Prieſts of thoſe Idolaters themſelves can hardly tell the meaning.

We went to ſee another Pagod, built upon a Hill, to which there is an aſcent of a hundred and ninety-three ſteps, every one a foot high. The Pagod is four-ſquare, with a Cupola at the top; and has the ſame emboſs'd Figures, as the Pagod of *Bezouart*, round about the Walls. In the middle there is an Idol ſitting croſs-leg'd, after the manner of the Country; and in that ſitting poſture it is about four foot high; upon the Head it has a Triple Crown, from which four Horns extend themſelves; and it has the face of a man, turn'd toward the Eaſt. The Pilgrims that come out of devotion to theſe Pagods, when they enter, claſp their hands together, and rear them up to their foreheads; then they advance toward the Idol, toſſing their two hands ſo claſpt together, and crying out ſeveral times *Ram*, *Ram*, that is to ſay, *God*, *God*. When they come near, they ring a little Bell that hangs upon the Idol it ſelf, after they have beſmear'd the Face, and ſeveral parts of the Body, with ſeveral ſorts of Painting. Some there are that bring along with them Viols of Oil, with which they anoint the Idol; and beſides, they make an Offering to it of Sugar, Oil, and other things proper to be eaten; the richer ſort alſo adding pieces of Silver. There are ſixty Prieſts that belong to the Idol, and maintain themſelves, their Wives and Children upon the Offerings brought to the Idol. But to the end the Pilgrims may believe the Idol takes them, the Prieſts let them lye two days, and the third day in the evening they take them away. When any Pilgrim goes to a Pagod, to be cur'd of any diſtemper, he brings the Figure of the Member affected made either in Gold, Silver, or Copper, according to his quality, which he offers to his god; and then falls a ſinging, as all the reſt do, after they have offer'd. Before the Gate of the Pagod, there is a flat Roof, upheld by ſixteen Pillars, and right againſt it, is another upheld by eight; which ſerves for the Prieſts Kitchin. On the South-ſide there is a large Platform cut in the Mountain, where there is a pleaſing ſhade of many fair Trees, and ſeveral Wells digg'd in the ground. Pilgrims come far and near to this Pagod; and if they be poor, the Prieſts relive them with what they receive from the rich, that come there out of devotion. The great Feaſt of this Pagod is in the month of *October*, at which time there is a great concourſe of people from all parts. While we were there, there was a Woman that had not ſtirr'd out of the Pagod for three days together; and her prayer to the Idol was, ſince ſhe had loſt her Husband, to know what ſhe ſhould do to bring up her Children. Thereupon asking one of the Prieſts, wherefore ſhe had no anſwer, or whether ſhe was to have any anſwer or no; he told me, that ſhe muſt wait the pleaſure of their God, and that then he would give her an anſwer to what ſhe expected. Upon this I miſtruſted ſome cheat, and to diſcover it, I reſolv'd to go into the Pagod when all the Prieſts were abſent at Dinner, there being only one that ſtood at the Gate, whom I ſent to fetch me ſome water at a Fountain two or three Musket-ſhot from the place. During that time

time I went in, and the Woman hearing me, redoubled her cries; for there being no light in the Pagod, but what comes in at the door, it is very dark. I felt my way to the Idol, and by the glimmering light observ'd an hole behind the Idol. I could not do this so quickly, but that the Priest return'd before I had done, He curst me for prophaning his Temple, as he call'd it. But we became suddenly very good friends by the mediation of two Roupies which I put into his hands, whereupon he presently presented me with some of his *Betle*.

The one and thirtieth, we departed from *Bezouart*, and past the River which runs to the Mine of *Gani* or *Coulour*. It was then neer half a league broad, by reason of the great Rains which had fall'n continually for eight or nine days together. After we had travell'd three leagues on the other side of the River ew, came to a great Pagod built upon a large Platform, with an ascent of 15 or 20 steps. Within it stood the Figure of a Cow, all of very black-Marble: and a number of deformed Idols four or five-foot-high; some having many heads, others many hands and legs: and the most ugly are most ador'd, and receive most Offerings.

A quarter of a league from this Pagod is a large Town; but we travell'd three leagues farther, and came to lie at another Town, call'd *Kab-Kali*, neer to which there is a small Pagod, wherein there stand five or six Idols of Marble very well-made.

The first of *August* we came to a great City call'd *Condevir*, with a double-Moat, pav'd at the bottom with Free-stone. The way to this Town is clos'd on each side with strong Walls, and at such and such distances are built certain round Towers of little or no defence. This City toward the East stretches out to a Mountain about a league in compass, and surrounded with Walls. At the distance of every 150 paces, there is as it were an half-Moon, and within the Walls are three Fortresses.

The second, we travell'd six leagues, and lay at a Village call'd *Copenour*

The third day, after we had travell'd eight leagues, we came to *Adanquige*, a very fair Town, where there is a very large Pagod, with abundance of Chambers which were built for the Priests; but are now gone to ruine. There are also in the Pagod certain Idols, but very much maim'd, which the People however very superstitiously adore.

The fourth, we travell'd eight leagues, and came to lie at the Town of *Nosdrepar*. Half a league on this side there is a great River; but at that time it had but little water in it; by reason of the drowth.

The fifth, after eight leagues journey we lay at *Condecour*.

The sixth, we travell'd seven hours, and lay at a Village call'd *Dakije*.

The seventh, after three leagues journey we came to *Nelour*, where there are many Pagods, and having cross'd a great River, a quarter of a league farther, we travell'd six leagues, and came to *Gandaron*.

The eighth, after a journey of eight hours we lay at *Serepli*, a small Village.

The ninth, we travell'd nine leagues, and lay at a good Town call'd *Ponter*.

The tenth, we travell'd eleven hours, and lay at *Senepgond*, another good Town.

The eleventh, we went no farther than *Palicat*, which is but four leagues from *Senepgond*; and of those four leagues we travell'd above one in the Sea, up to the Saddles of our Horses in water. There is another way, but it is the farther about by two or three leagues. *Palicat* is a Fort that belongs to the *Hollanders* that live upon the Coast of *Coromandel*; and where they have their chief Factory, where lives also the chief Intendent over all the rest that are in the Territories of the King of *Golconda*. There are usually within the Fort 200 Souldiers, or thereabouts, besides several Merchants that live there upon the account of Trade; and several others, who having serv'd the Company according to their agreement, retire to that place. There also dwell some of the Natives of the Country; so that *Palicat* is now as it were a little Town. Between the Town and the Castle there is a large distance of ground, lest the Fort should be annoid by shot from the Town. The Bastions are well-stor'd with good Guns: And the Sea comes up to the very Wall of it; but there is no Haven, only a Road. We staid in the

Town

Town till the next day in the evening, where we obſerv'd, that when the Inhabitants fetch their water to drink, they ſtay till the Sea is quite out, and then digging holes in the Sand as neer the Sea as they can, they meet with freſh-water.

The twelfth, we departed from *Calicut*, and the next morning about ten of the clock we came to *Madreſpatan*, otherwiſe call'd Fort St. *George*, which belongs to the *Engliſh*, having travell'd not above ſeven or eight leagues that day. We lay at the Covent of *Capuchins*, at what time Father *Ephraim*, and Father *Zenon* were both there.

The fifteenth, we went to St. *Thomas's* Town, to ſee the *Auſtin*-Friars, and the Jeſuits Church, in the firſt whereof is an Iron-lance, wherewith they ſay that St. *Thomas* was Martyr'd.

The two and twentieth, in the morning we departed from *Madreſpatan*, and after a journey of five leagues we arriv'd at a large Town call'd *Serravaron*.

The three and twentieth, after 7 leagues travel, we came to *Oudecot*, the whole days journey being over a flat ſandy Countrey. On each ſide there are only Copſes of *Bamboo's* that grow very high. Some of theſe Copſes are ſo thick, that it is impoſſible for a man to get into them; but they are peſter'd with prodigious numbers of Apes: Thoſe that breed in the Copſes upon one ſide of the way, are enemies to them that are bred on the other ſide; ſo that they dare not croſs from one ſide to the other, but they are in danger of being immediately ſtrangl'd. Here we had good ſport by ſetting the Apes together by the ears; which is done after this manner. This part of the Country, at every leagues end, is clos'd up with Gates and Barricado's where there is a good Guard kept, and where all Paſſengers are examin'd whither they go, and whence they come; ſo that men may ſafely travel there with their Money in their hands. In ſeveral parts of this Road there is Rice to be ſold; and they that would ſee the ſport, cauſe five or ſix Baskets of Rice to be ſet in the Road, ſome forty or fifty paces one from the other, and cloſe by every Basket they lay five or ſix battoons about two-foot-long, and two inches about; then they retire and hide themſelves: preſently they ſhall ſee the Apes on both ſides of the way deſcend from the tops of the *Bamboo's*, and advance toward the Baskets which are full of Rice: They are about half an hour ſhewing their teeth one at the other before they come near the Baskets; ſometimes they advance, then retreat again, being loath to encounter. At length the female-Baboons, who are moſt couragious than the males, eſpecially thoſe that have young ones, which they carry in their arms, as woman do their Children, venture to approach the Basket, and as they are about to put in their heads to eat, the males on the other ſide advance to hinder them. Immediately the other party comes forward, and thus the feud being kindled on both ſides, they take up the Battoons that lie by the Baskets, and thraſh one another in good earneſt. The weakeſt are conſtrain'd to flie into the wood with their pates broken, and their limbs maim'd; while the Maſters of the Field glut themſelves with Rice. Though it may be, when their bellies are full, they will ſuffer ſome of the female-party to come and pertake with them.

The four and twentieth, we travell'd nine leagues, all the way being like the Road the day before, as far as *Naraveron*.

The five and twentieth, after a journey of eight hours, through a Countrey of the ſame nature, meeting at every two or three leagues end with Gates and Guards, we came in the evening to *Gazel*.

The ſix and twentieth, we travell'd nine leagues, and came to lie at *Courva*, where there was nothing to be found neither for Man nor Beaſt, ſo that our Cattel were forc'd to be contented with a little Graſs, which was cut on purpoſe for them. *Courva* is only a celebrated Pagod; by which, at our arrival, we ſaw ſeveral bands of Souldiers paſs by, ſome with Half-pikes, ſome with Muskets, and ſome with Clubs, who were going to joyn with one of the principal Commanders of *Mirgimola's* Army, who was encamp'd upon a riſing-ground not far from *Courva*; the place being pleaſant and cool, by reaſon of the great number of Trees and Fountains that grace it. When we underſtood the Captain was ſo neer, we went to wait upon him, and found him ſitting in his Tent with many Lords of the Country all Idolaters. After we had preſented him with a pair of Pocket-Piſtols

Piſtols inlaid with Silver, he demanded of us what had brought us into that Countrey; but when we told him that we came to attend *Mirgimola*, *Generaliſſimo* of the King of *Golconda*'s Army, about buſineſs, he was infinitely kind to us: However, underſtanding that he took us for Hollanders, we told him we were not *Hollanders*, but *French*-men. Thereupon, not underſtanding what Nation we were, he fell into a long diſcourſe with us about the Government of our Countrey, and the Grandeur of our King. Six or ſeven days before, they had taken five or ſix Elephants, three whereof had eſcap'd, having kill'd ten or twelve of the Natives who aſſiſted in the Chace; in purſuit whereof the General was preparing; and becauſe we could not ſtay to ſee the ſport, we were contented to inform our ſelves of the manner of hunting that vaſt Animal; which is thus. They cut out ſeveral Alleys or Walks in the Wood, which they dig full of great deep holes, and cover with Hurdles ſtrow'd over with a little earth. Then the Hunters hooping and hollowing, and beating up Drums, with Pikes that have Wild-fire ti'd to the end of them, force the Elephant into thoſe Walks, where he tumbles into the holes, not being able to riſe again. Then they fetch Ropes and Chains: and ſome they bring under their bellies, others they wind about their legs and trunk, and when they think they have ſufficiently hamper'd the Beaſt, they have certain Engines ready, wherewithal to draw him up. Nevertheleſs, of five, three eſcap'd, notwithſtanding the cords and chains about their bodies and their legs. The people told us one thing which ſeem'd very wonderful; which was, that theſe Elephants having been once deceiv'd, and having eſcap'd the ſnare, are very miſtruſtful ever after; and when they get into the Wood again, they break off a great bough from one of the Trees with their trunk, with which they examine every ſtep they go, before they ſet down their feet, to try whether there be any hole or no in their way. So that the Hunters that told us the Story, ſeem'd to be out of hopes of ever taking thoſe three Elephants which had eſcap'd. Had we been aſſur'd that we might have been eye-witneſſes of this miraculous precaution of the Elephant, we would have ſtaid three or four days, what-ever urgent buſineſs we had had. The Captain himſelf was a kind of a *Brigadeer*, that commanded three or four-thouſand men, who were quarter'd half a league round the Countrey.

The ſeven and twentieth, after two hours travel, we came to a great Village, where we ſaw the two Elephants which had been ſo lately taken. Every one of the two wild Elephants was plac'd between two tame ones. Round about the wild Elephants ſtood ſix men, with every one an Half-pike in their hands, and a lighted Torch faſten'd at the end of the Pike, who talk'd to the Beaſts, giving them meat, and crying out in their language, *Take it, eat it*. The food which they gave them was a little bottle of Hey, ſome pieces of brown-Sucre, and Rice boil'd in water, with ſome few corns of Pepper. If the wild Elephants refus'd to do as they were bidden, the men made ſigns to the tame Elephants to beat them, which they did, banging the refractory Elephant upon the head and forehead with their trunks; and if he offer'd to make any reſiſtence, the other Elephant thwackt him on the other ſide; ſo that the poor Elephant, not knowing what to do, was conſtrain'd to learn obedience.

Being thus fall'n into the Story of Elephants, I will add ſome other obſervations, which I have made upon the nature of thoſe Animals. Though the Elephant never meddles with the female, after he is once taken, yet he is ſometimes ſeiz'd with a kind of luſtful rage. One day that *Sha-jehan* was an Hunting upon one of his Elephants, with one of his Sons that ſat by him to fan him, the Elephant became ſo furious by reaſon of his luſt, that the Governor who was by no means able to maſter him, declar'd to the King, that to allay the fury of the Elephant, who would elſe doubtleſs bruiſe him to pieces among the Trees, there was no way, but for one of the three to forfeit his life: and that he would willingly ſacrifice his for the ſafety of the King and the Prince his Son. Only he deſir'd his Majeſty to take care of three ſmall Children which he muſt leave behind him. Having ſo ſaid, he threw himſelf under the Elephant's-feet, who had no ſooner taken him in his trunk and ſqueez'd him to pieces with his feet, but he grew as quiet and peaceable as before. The King, as an acknowledgment for ſo famous a deliverance, gave to the poor two-hunder'd-thouſand Roupies, and highly advanc'd

every

every one of the Sons of him that had ſo generouſly laid down his life for the ſafety of his Sovereign.

I obſerv'd alſo, that though the Elephant's skin be very hard while he is alive; yet when he is dead, it is juſt like melted-glue.

Elephants are brought from ſeveral parts of *India*; as from the Iſland of *Ceylan*, where they are very ſmall; but the moſt couragious of all: from the Iſle of *Sumatra*; from the Kingdom of *Cochin*; from the Kingdom of *Siam*; and from the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutam* neer the Great-*Tartarie*. They are brought alſo from the Coaſt of *Melinda*, Eaſtward of *Affrica*: where they are in very great numbers, according to the report of a *Portugueze*-Captain, made at *Goa*, who came from thence to make ſome complaint againſt the Governor of *Mozambique*. He told me that he had ſeen all along that Coaſt ſeveral Parks that were empal'd with nothing but Elephants-teeth, the leaſt of which Parks is above a league about: He added farther, that the Blacks of the Country hunt their Elephants, and eat the Fleſh. But they are oblig'd to give the tusks of every one they kill to the Lord of the place. When they intend to take their Elephants in the Iſland of *Ceylan*, they make a long lane, clos'd in on both ſides, ſo that the Elephant can neither run to the right nor to the left: this lane is broad at the firſt, but grows narrower and narrower, till there is no more room left at the farther-end than for the female-Elephant to lie down, which muſt be one that is covetous of the male at the ſame time. Though ſhe be tame, yet ſhe is bound with good Ropes and Cords, and by her cries will call the male-Elephant, who preſently runs through the lane towards her. Now when the Elephant comes where the lane grows narrow, they that lie hid for that purpoſe, immediately barricado up the lane behind, and when he comes neer the female, there is another Barricado ſet up that ſtops him from going any farther. When he is thus between the Barricado's, they ſo entangle his legs and trunk with ropes and cords, that he is ſoon taken, having no way to help himſelf. The ſame way they uſe for the moſt part in the Kingdoms of *Siam*, and *Pegu*, only that the Natives there mount the female-Elephant, and go to find out the male in the Forreſts. And when they have met with his haunt, they tye the female to the moſt convenient place they can find, and then they fix their ſnares for the Elephant, who in a ſhort time haſtens toward the female, hot for Generation, where her cries call him.

This is obſervable of the female-Elephant, that when ſhe begins to be hot, ſhe gathers together a great heap of herbs and weeds, and makes her ſelf a kind of bed ſome four or five-foot-high from the ground, where contrary to the cuſtom of all other creatures, ſhe lies upon her back, in expectation of the male, whom ſhe calls to her by a peculiar cry.

This is alſo particular to the Elephants in the Iſle of *Ceylan*, that only the firſt Elephant which the female produces, has any tusks. And it is alſo obſervable, that the Ivory which comes from *Achen* when it is wrought, has this peculiar quality with it, that it never grows yellow, like that which comes out of the Continent, and from the *Eaſt-Indies*, which makes it more eſteem'd, and dearer than any other.

When the Merchants bring Elephants to any place to ſell, 'tis a pleaſant ſight to ſee them go along. For in regard there are generally old and young together, when the old ones are gone by, the children will be running after the little ones to play with them, and give them ſomething or other to eat. While the young Elephants, which are very wanton, are buſily taking what is offer'd them, the children leap upon their backs: but when the young Elephants that lately ſtopt for the lucre of the Victuals perceiving their Dams, a great way before, double their pace, and playing with their trunks, throw the children off their backs to the ground, yet without doing them any harm.

Notwithſtanding all the enquiry I have made, I could never find exactly how long an Elephant will live. Nor can all the Governors and keepers of thoſe creatures tell you more, than ſuch an Elephant has been in the poſſeſſion of their Father, their Grandfather, and great Grandfather. And by that computation, I found that they had liv'd ſome of them ſix-ſcore, or an hunder'd and thirty years.

The

The greateſt part of thoſe that have made Relations of *India*, boldly affirm that the Great *Mogul* keeps three or four-thouſand Elephants. But being my ſelf at *Jehanabad*, where the King at preſent reſides, he that was chief Maſter of the Elephants, aſſur'd me that the King had not above five-hunder'd Elephants, which were call'd Elephants of the Houſe, made uſe of only to carry the Women, their Tents, and Luggage; but that for the Wars, he only kept fourſcore, or four-ſcore and ten at moſt. The nobleſt of the latter ſort is always reſerv'd for the King's Eldeſt Son, the allowance for his food and other neceſſaries being 500 Roupies a month, which comes to 750 Livres. There are ſome that are not allow'd above 50, others 40, others, 30, and ſome but 20 Roupies. But thoſe Elephants that are allow'd an hunder'd, two-hunder'd, three-hunder'd or four-hunder'd Roupies a-month, have belonging to them certain Horſe-men that live upon the ſame pay, and two or three young fellows to fan them during the heat of the weather. All theſe Elephants are not always kept in the City: the greateſt part being led out every morning into the fields, or among the thickets, where they feed upon the branches of Trees, Sucre-canes, and Millet, to the great detriment of the poor Country man. But not a little to the profit of their Keepers; for the leſs they eat at home, the more they gain into their own purſes.

The twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt*, we travell'd ſix leagues, and lay at a great Town call'd *Ragia-pera*.

The twenty-eighth, after eight leagues journey we came to *Oudecour*.

The twenty-ninth, after nine hours travel we arriv'd at *Outemeda*, where there is one of the greateſt Pagods in all *India*. It is all built of large Free-ſtone, and it has three Towers, where there ſtand ſeveral deform'd figures of Emboſs'd-work. It is encompaſt with many little Chambers for the Prieſts Lodgings: five-hunder'd paces beyond there is a wide Lake, upon the banks whereof are built ſeveral Pagods eight or ten-foot-ſquare; and in every one an Idol repreſenting the ſhape of ſome Devil, with a *Brameré*, who takes care that no ſtranger that is not of their ſuperſtition, ſhall come to waſh, or take any water out of the Lake. If any ſtranger deſires any water, they bring it in earthen-pots: and if by chance their pot touches the ſtranger's Veſſel, they break it immediately. They told me alſo, that if any ſtranger, not of their ſuperſtition, ſhould happen by accident to waſh in that Lake, they muſt be forc'd to drain the lake of all the water that was in at that time. As for their alms, they are very charitable; for there paſſes by no perſon in neceſſity, or that begs of them, but they give them to eat and drink of ſuch as they have. There are ſeveral Women that ſit upon the Road, whereof ſome of them always keep fire for Travellers to light their Tobacco by. Nay, they will give a Pipe to ſome that have none at all. Others boil Rice with *Quicheri*, which is a grain ſomewhat like our Hemp-ſeed. Others boil Beans with their Rice, becauſe the water wherein they are boil'd never puts thoſe that are over-hot into a pleuriſy. There are Women that have vow'd to perform theſe acts of Charity to ſtrangers for ſeven or eight years, ſome for more, ſome for leſs, according to their convenience. And to every Traveller they give ſome of their Beans, and Rice-water, and an handful of Rice to eat. There are other Women upon the high-way, and in the fields, looking behind their Horſes, their Oxen, and their Cows, who have made vows never to eat but what they find indigeſted in the dung of thoſe Beaſts. Now in regard there is neither Barly nor Oats in that Countrey, they give their Cattle certain great crooked Peaſe, which they bruiſe before between two Mill-ſtones: and then lay them in ſteep for half an hour; for they are a very ſolid ſubſtance, and hard to be digeſted. They give their Cattel theſe Peaſe every evening; and in the morning they feed them with two pound of dark-brown-Sugar, like Wax, kneaded together with as much Meal, and one-pound of Butter, whereof the Oſtlers or Grooms make little round Balls which they thruſt down their throats; for otherwiſe they would never eat them. Afterwards they waſh their mouths, that are all over clamm'd, eſpecially their teeth, which makes them have ſuch an averſion againſt that ſort of food. All the day long they pull up the graſs and weeds, by the roots, and give their Cattel, being very careful of letting them eat any of the earth.

The thirty'th, we travell'd eight leagues, and lay at a place call'd *Goulupalé*.

The one and thirty'th,after we had travell'd nine hours, we ſtopt at *Gogeron*.

The firſt of *September* we travell'd but ſix leagues, and came to lie at *Gandicot*. It was but eight days before, that the *Nabab* had taken that City,after a Siege of three months. Nor had it been taken without the aſſiſtance of certain *French*-men,who had forſaken the ſervice of the *Dutch*-Company,by reaſon of ill-uſage. They had alſo ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Dutch*-Cannoneers, with two or three *Italians*, which mainly forwarded the ſurrender of that place.

Gandicot is one of the ſtrongeſt Cities in the Kingdom of *Carnatica*. It is ſituated upon the point of an high Mountain ; there being but one aſcent to it, not above twenty or five and twenty-foot-broad at moſt ; in ſome places not above ſeven or eight-foot-wide. On the right-hand of the way, which is cut out of the Mountain, there is a moſt hideous precipice ; at the bottom whereof runs a vaſt River. Upon the top of the Mountain there is a ſmall plain, but a quarter of a league broad, and about half a league long. This is all ſow'd with Rice and Millet,and water'd with many little Springs. The top of the plain on the South-ſide,where the City is built, is encompaſt with precipices, two Rivers running at the bottom, which form the point. So that there is but one Gate to enter into the City from the plain-ſide ; and that too fortifi'd with three good walls of Free-ſtone,with Moats pav'd at the bottom with Free-ſtone ; ſo that the beſieg'd had but only one quarter of the City to defend, containing about five hunder'd paces. They had but two Iron-Guns, the one carrying twelve-pound-Ball, the other eight. The one was planted upon the Gate, the other upon a point of a kind of a Baſtion. So that until the *Nabab* had found the way to mount his Cannon upon a very high place neer the City, he loſt a great number of men by ſeveral ſallies which the Beſieg'd made. The *Raja* that was within, was eſteem'd one of the braveſt and moſt experienc'd Captains that ever were amongſt the Idolaters : whereupon,the *Nabab* finding that the place was not to be taken,unleſs he could get up his Cannon to the top of that ſteep aſcent, ſent for all the *French*-men that were in the King's ſervice,promiſing to every one four months extraordinary pay, if they could find a way to mount his Cannon up to the top of ſuch a place ; wherein they had the good-hap to be very ſucceſful. For they mounted four pieces of Cannon, and were ſo proſperous,as to hit the great Gun that was planted upon the Gate, and render it unſerviceable. At length, when they had beaten down good part of the Wall of the City,the Beſieged came to capitulate, and march'd out of the Town upon good Articles. The day we arriv'd, all the Army was encamp'd at the foot of the Mountain, in a plain, through which there ran a very fair River ; where the *Nabab* muſter'd his Cavalry, and found them in a very good condition. An *Engliſh*-Cannoneer and an *Italian* ſeeing Monſieur *Jardin* and my ſelf paſs by, gueſs'd us to be *Franguis* ; and becauſe it was late,accoſted us very civilly,and oblig'd us to ſtay with them all night. By them we underſtood that there was in the City a *French*-Engineer, whoſe name was *Claudius Maille* of *Bourges*, and that he was employ'd by the *Nabab* to caſt ſome pieces of Cannon which the *Nabab* intended to leave in the City.

The next day we went into the City, and found out *Maille*'s Lodging, having been acquainted with him at *Batavia* ; who informing the *Nabab* of our arrival, he preſently ſent us Proviſion for our ſelves and our beaſts.

The third day we went to wait upon the *Nabab*,who had pitch'd his Tents upon that part of the plain neer the place where the way is cut out of the Rock. We inform'd him of the cauſe of our coming, telling him that we had ſome Commodities that were rare, and worth the King's buying ; but that we were unwilling to ſhew them to the King till he had ſeen them ; believing it our duty to render him that reſpect. The *Nabab* was very well-pleas'd with our Compliment ; and after he had caus'd us to be preſented with *Betle*, we took our leaves of him, and return'd to our Lodgings, whither he ſent to us two Bottles of Wine,one of Sack,and the other of *Schiras*,which is a rare thing in that Countrey.

The fourth day we waited upon him again, and carried along with us ſome Pearles of an extraordinary weight,beauty and bigneſs ; the leaſt whereof weigh'd twenty four Caratts. After he had vewd them and ſhew'd them to ſome of the Lords that were about him,he ask'd the price, which when we had ſet him, he return'd us our Jewels and told us he would conſider of it.

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The tenth day he ſent for us in the morning, and after he had caus'd us to ſit down by him, he ſent for five ſmall Bags full of Diamonds, every Bag containing a good handful. They were looſe Stones, of a very black Water, and very ſmall; none of them exceeding a Carat, or a Carat and a half; but otherwiſe very clean. There were ſome few that might weigh two Carats. After the *Nabab* had ſhew'n us all, he ask'd us whether they would ſell in our Country. We made anſwer, that they might have been for ſale in our Country, provided they had not been of a black Water; for that in *Europe* we never eſteem'd any Diamonds, but ſuch as were clean and white, having but a ſmall eſteem for any others. It ſeems, that when he firſt undertook the Conqueſt of this Kingdom for the King of *Golconda*, they inform'd him that there were Diamond Mines in it. Whereupon he ſent twelve thouſand men to dig there; who in a whole years time could find no more than thoſe five ſmall Bags full. Whereupon the *Nabab* perceiving that they could find none but brown Stones, of a Water enclining much more to black than white, thought it but loſs of time, and ſo ſent all the people back to their Husbandry.

The eleventh, the *French* Canoneers came all to the *Nababs* Tent, complaining that he had not paid them the four months pay which he had promis'd them; threatning him, that if he did not diſcharge it, they would leave him; to which the *Nabab* promis'd to give them ſatisfaction the next day.

The twelfth, the Canoneers not failing to give him another viſit, the *Nabab* paid them three months, and promis'd to pay them the fourth before the month were out; but ſo ſoon as they had receiv'd their Money, they fell a feaſting one another, ſo that the Dancing Wenches carried away the greateſt part of their Coin.

The thirteenth, the *Nabab* went out to ſee the Guns which *Maille* had undertaken to caſt. For which purpoſe he had ſent for Braſs from all parts, and got together a great number of Idols which the Soldiers had pillag'd out of the Pagods as they march'd along. Now you muſt know, that in *Gandicot* there was one Pagod, ſaid to be the faireſt in all *India*, wherein there were ſeveral Idols, ſome of Gold, and others of Silver; amongſt the reſt there were ſix of Braſs, three ſitting upon their Heels, and three upon their Feet, ten foot high. Theſe Idols were made uſe of among the reſt. But when *Maille* alſo had provided all things ready, he could not make thoſe ſix Idols run, that were taken out of the great Pagod of *Gandicot*, though he melted all the reſt. He try'd ſeveral ways, but it was impoſſible for him to do it, whatever expence the *Nabab* was at; nay though the *Nabab* threaten'd to hang the Prieſts for having inchanted thoſe Idols. And thus *Maille* could never make any more than only one ſingle piece, and that ſplit upon trial; ſo that he was forc'd to leave the work unfiniſh'd, and ſoon after left the *Nababs* ſervice.

The fourteenth, we went to take our leaves of the *Nabab*, and to know what he had further to ſay to us, concerning the Commodities we had then ſhew'n him. But then he told us, he was buſie at preſent about the examination of certain Offenders which were brought before him. For it is the cuſtom of that Country, never to put a man in Priſon; but as ſoon as the Offender is taken, he is examin'd, and ſentence is pronounc'd upon him, according to his crime, which is immediately executed; or if the party taken be found innocent, he is as ſoon acquitted. And let the controverſie be of what nature it will, it is preſently decided.

The fifteenth in the morning, we went to wait upon him again, and were immediately admitted into his Tent, where he ſat with his two Secretaries by him. The *Nabab* was ſitting according to the cuſtom of the Country, bare-foot, like one of our Taylors, with a great number of Papers ſticking between his Toes, and others between the Fingers of his left hand, which Papers he drew ſometimes from between his Toes, ſometimes from between his Fingers, & order'd what anſwers ſhould be given to every one. After his Secretaries had wrote the anſwers, he caus'd them to read them, and then took the Letters and ſeal'd them himſelf; giving ſome to Foot Meſſengers, others to Horſemen. For you muſt know, that all thoſe Letters which are ſent by Foot-Poſts all over *India*, go with more ſpeed than thoſe which are carried by Horſemen. The reaſon is, becauſe at the end of

every two Leagues there are little Huts, where there are men always ready, who are engag'd to run away immediately; ſo that when one of theſe men that carries the Letters, comes to one of theſe Huts, he throws the Letters into the Hut, and then he that is appointed, runs with them to the next Stage. They look upon it as an ill Omen, to give the Letters into the Meſſengers hands; but they muſt be thrown at his feet, and he muſt gather them up. It is to be obſerv'd alſo, that the high ways in moſt parts of *India*, are like Walks of Trees; and that where there are no Trees, at every five hundred paces diſtance there are ſet up little Heaps of Stones, which the Inhabitants of the next Villages are bound to white-waſh from time to time, to the end thoſe Letter-Carriers may not miſs their ways in dark and Rainy nights. While we ſtay'd with the *Nabab*, certain Officers came to tell him, that they had brought certain Offenders to the door of his Tent. He was above half an hour before he return'd them any anſwer, writing on, and giving inſtructions to his Secretaries; but by and by, all of a ſudden he commanded the Offenders to be brought in, and after he had examin'd them, and made them confeſs the crime of which they ſtood accus'd, he was above an hour before he ſaid a word, ſtill writing on, and employing his Secretaries. In the mean while ſeveral of the Officers of the Army came to tender their reſpects to him in a very ſubmiſſive manner, all whom he anſwer'd only with a nod. There was one of the Offenders which were brought before him, had broken into a Houſe, and had kill'd the Mother and three Children. He was condemned upon the ſpot to have his Hands and Feet cut off, and to be caſt out into the high way, there to end his days in miſery. Another had rob'd upon the Highway; for which the *Nabab* order'd his Belly to be ript up, and himſelf to be caſt upon the Dunghill. I know not what crimes the other two had committed, but their heads were both cut off. When we perceiv'd him at a little leiſure, we ask'd him whether he had any other Commands, to lay upon us, and whether he thought our Commodities fitting to be ſhew'n to the King. He anſwer'd, that we might go to *Golconda*, and that he would write to his Son in our behalf, and that his Letter would be there ſooner than we. And in order to our journey, he order'd us ſixteen Horſemen to convoy us, and to provide us neceſſaries upon the Road, till we came to a River, thirteen Leagues from *Gandicot*, which no perſons are to paſs, unleſs they have the *Nababs* Paſsport, to keep the Soldiers from running from their Colours.

CHAP. XIX.

The Road from Gandicot *to* Golconda.

THE ſixteenth in the morning, we ſet out of *Gandicot*, accompanied with the greateſt part of the Canoneers, who brought us the firſt days journey upon our way; and that day having travel'd ſeven Leagues, we came to lye at *Cotepali*.

The ſeventeenth, the Canoneers took their leaves of us; and we kept on our journey with our Horſemen; and having travel'd ſix Leagues, we lay at a Village call'd *Coreen*, on the other ſide of the River, which is very broad. So ſoon as we had croſs'd it, the Horſemen took their leaves of us; and though we made them a preſent of Roupies, to buy them Tobacco and Betle, yet we could not perſwade them to take it. Their Ferry-Boats wherewith they croſs the River, are like broad bottom'd Wicker Flaskets, cover'd without with Oxe's Hides; at the bottom whereof they lay certain Faggots, over which they ſpread a piece of old Tapeſtry, to keep the Wares and Merchandiſe from the wet. As for their Coaches and Waggons, they faſten them between two Boats, by the Wheels and the Pole; the Horſes ſwimming all the while, one man whipping them on behind, while another in the Boat holds them up by the Head-

ſtall.

Stall. As for the Oxen that carry the Luggage, as ſoon as ever they come to the River ſide, and that they have unladed them, they only drive them into the River, and they will ſwim over of themſelves. There are four men that ſtand upright at the four Corners of the Boat, and row it along with broad pieces of Wood, made like Shovels. If they do not all ſtrike their ſtroaks together, but that any of the four miſſes, the Boat will turn round two or three times; and the ſtream carries it a great way lower than where they intended to land.

The eighteenth, after five hours travel we arriv'd at *Morimal*.

The nineteenth, we travel'd nine Leagues, and lay at *Sameſela*.

The twentieth, we travell'd nine Leagues more, and lay at *Goremeda*.

The one and twentieth, after ſix hours travel, we ſpent the night at *Kaman*, a Frontier Town in the Kingdom of *Golconda*, till the Conqueſt of *Carnatica* by *Mirgimola*.

The two and twentieth, we travel'd ſeven Leagues, and came to lye at *Emelipata*. When we were about half the way, we met above four thouſand perſons, men and women; and above twenty *Palleki's*, in every one whereof was an Idol. They were adorn'd with Coverings of Sattin, purfled with Gold, and Velvets with Gold and Silver Fringe. Some of theſe *Palleki's* were born by four men; others by eight, and ſome by twelve, according as the Idols were in bigneſs and weight. On each ſide of the *Pallekie*, walk'd a man, with a large Fan in his hand, five Foot in compaſs, made of Oſtriches and Peacocks Feathers, of various colours. The handle of the Fan was five or ſix foot long, laid all over with Gold and Silver, about the thickneſs of a *French* Crown. Every one was officious to carry one of thoſe Fans, to keep the Flies from the Idols Face. There was another Fan, which was carried cloſe by the Idol, ſomewhat larger than the Former, without a handle, and was born juſt like a Target. It was adorn'd with Feathers of ſeveral colours, and little Bells of Gold and Silver, round about the Edges. He that carried it went always near the Idol upon the ſame ſide, to ſhade the Idol; for to have ſhut the Curtains would have been too hot. Ever and anon, he that carried that ſort of Fan, brandiſh'd it in the air, to make the Bells ring; which they preſum'd to be a kind of Paſtime to the Idol. All theſe people with their Idols came from *Brampour*, and the adjacent parts, and were going to viſit their great *Ram*, that is to ſay, their chief God, who ſtands in a Pagod in the Territories of the King of *Carnatica*. They had been about thirty days upon the Road, and were to travel fourteen or fifteen more, before they came to this Pagod. One of my Servants, who was a Native of *Brampour*, and of the ſame Superſtition, beg'd me to give him leave to bear his gods Company, telling me withall, that he had made a vow long ſince to go this Pilgrimage. I was conſtrain'd to let him go. For had I not given him leave, I knew he would have taken it, by reaſon he had much acquaintance and kindred among the Rabble. About two months after, he return'd again to us to *Surat*, and becauſe he had faithfully ſerv'd Monſieur *Jardin* and my ſelf, we made no ſcruple to take him again. Asking him ſome queſtions about his Pilgrimage, he related to me this following paſſage: ſix days after he left me, all the Pilgrims had made an account to go and lye at ſuch a village, to which before they came they were to croſs a River, that has but little Water in Summer, ſo that it is eaſily fordable. But when it rains in *India*, the Water falls with ſuch a force, that it ſeems to be a perpendicular deluge; and in leſs than an hour or two a ſmall River ſhall ſwell three or four foot high. The Rains having overtaken thoſe Pilgrims, the River was ſwell'd in that manner, that it was impoſſible to paſs it that day. Now becauſe it is not neceſſary for Travellers in *India* to carry proviſions, eſpecially for the Idolaters, who never eat any thing that ever had life; in regard that in the leaſt village you may meet with abundance of Rice, Meal, Butter, Milk Meats, Lentils, and other Pulſe, beſides Sugar, and Sweet-Meats, dry and moiſt. The people were very much ſurpriz'd, having no victuals, when they came and ſaw the River ſwell'd. In ſhort, they had nothing to give their Children to eat; which caus'd great lamentations among them. In this extremity the chiefeſt of their Prieſts ſat himſelf down in the midſt of them, and covering himſelf with a ſheet, began to cry out that.

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they who would have any Victuals ſhould come to him; when they came, he ask'd every one what they would have, whether Rice, or Meal, and for how many perſons; and then lifting up the corner of the ſheet, with a great Ladle he diſtributed to every one that which they ask'd for; ſo that the whole multitude of four thouſand Souls was fully ſatisfi'd. My Servant did not only tell me this ſtory, but going ſeveral times afterwards to *Brampour*, where I was known to the chief men in the City, I enquir'd of ſeveral, who ſwore to me by their *Ram*, *Ram*, that it was truth. Though I am not bound to believe it.

The twenty-third, we arriv'd at *Doupar*, after we had travel'd eight leagues, and croſs'd ſeveral Torrents.

The twenty-fourth, we travel'd eight leagues, and came to *Tripante*; where there is a great Pagod upon a Hill, to which there is a circular aſcent of Free-ſtone every way; the leaſt Stone being ten foot long, and three broad: and there are ſeveral Figures of *Demons* in the Pagod. Amongſt the reſt, there is the Statue of *Venus*, ſtanding upright, with ſeveral laſcivious Figures about her; all which Figures are of one piece of Marble; but the Sculpture is very ordinary.

The twenty-fifth, we travel'd eight leagues, and came to *Mamli*.

The twenty-ſixth, we travel'd eight leagues more, and came to lye at *Machili*.

The twenty-ſeventh, we travel'd not above three leagues, being to croſs a wide River in Boats like Panniers; which uſually takes up half the day; for when you come to the River ſide, there is neither Pannier nor any thing elſe to croſs it. There was only one man, with whom we bargain'd for our paſſage; who to try whether our money be good or no, made a great fire and threw it into the flame, as he does to all others that paſs that way. If among the Roupies which he receives, he meets with any one that turns a little black, you muſt give him another, which he preſently heats red hot; when he finds his Money to be good, he calls to his Companions to fetch the Manequin or Flasket-Boat, which lay hid before in ſome other part of the River. For theſe ſort of people are ſo cunning, that if they deſcry any Paſſengers afar off, they will row their Manequin to the other ſide, becauſe they will not be conſtrain'd to carry any perſon over without Money. But the Money being paid, the man that receives it; calls his Companions together, who take the Boat upon their Shoulders, and when they have launch'd it into the River, they fetch their Paſſengers and goods from the other ſide.

The twenty-eighth, having travel'd five leagues, we came to a place call'd *Dabir-Pinta*.

The twenty-ninth, after twelve hours travel, we came to lye at *Holcora*.

The thirtieth, we travell'd eight leagues, and came to ſpend our night at *Peridera*.

The firſt of *October*, after we had travel'd ten leagues, we came to lye at *Atenara*. This is a Houſe of Pleaſure, which the preſent King's Mother caus'd to be built. There are many Chambers in a great *Piazza* belonging to it, for the convenience of Travellers.

You muſt take notice, that in all the Countries where we travel'd as well in the Kingdom of *Carnatica*, as the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Viſapour*, there are no Phyſicians, but ſuch as attend Kings and Princes. As for the common people, after the Rains are fall'n, and that it is time to gather Herbs, you ſhall ſee every morning the good women of the Towns going into the Fields, to gather ſuch Simples which they know to be proper for ſuch Diſeaſes as reign in the Family. 'Tis very true, that in great Cities there may be one or two men that have ſome common Receipts, who go every morning, and ſit in ſome known places, to give their Remedies to ſuch as enquire for them, whether they be Potions or Plaiſters. Firſt they feel their Pulſes, and then giving them ſome remedy, for which they do not demand the value of ſix pence; they alſo at the ſame time mutter certain words between their teeth.

The ſecond of *October*, we had but four leagues to travel before we came to *Golconda*. We went immediately to the Lodging of a young *Dutch* Chirurgion, belonging to the King, whom the Sieur *Chetcuy*, Envoy from *Batavia*, had

had left at *Golconda* upon the King's earneſt entreaty. The King was always very much troubl'd with the head-ach: For which reaſon the Phyſitians had order'd that he ſhould be let blood in four places under the tongue; but there was no perſon that would undertake to do it: for the Natives of the Country underſtand nothing of Chirurgery. Now before that *Peter de Lan*, for that was the *Dutch*-Chirurgion's name, was entertain'd in the King's ſervice, he was ask'd whether he could let blood? To which he anſwer'd, that there was nothing ſo eaſy in Chirurgery. Some few days after the King ſent for him, and gave him to underſtand that he was reſolv'd to be let blood the next day in four parts under the tongue, as the Phyſitians had order'd, but he ſhould take a care of not drawing away above eight ounces. *De Lan* returning the next day to Court, was lead into a Chamber by three Eunuchs, and four Old-women, who carri'd him to a Bath, and after they had undreſt him, and waſh'd him, eſpecially his hands; they anointed him with Aromatick-drugs, and inſtead of his own *European*-Clothes, they brought him a Robe according to the faſhion of the Countrey. After that, they brought him before the King; where he found four little Porringers of Gold, which the Phyſitians, who were preſent, had weigh'd. In ſhort, he let the King blood under the tongue in four parts, and perform'd his buſineſs ſo well, that when the blood came to be weigh'd, it weigh'd but bare eight ounces. The King was ſo ſatisfi'd with the Operation, that he gave the Chirurgion three-hunder'd Pagods, which comes to almoſt ſeven-hunder'd Crowns. The Young-Queen and the Queen-Mother underſtanding what he had done, were reſolv'd to be let-blood too. But I believe it was rather out of a curioſity to ſee the Chirurgion, than out of any neceſſity which they had to be let-blood. For he was a handſom young-man; and perhaps they had never ſeen a ſtranger neer at hand, for at a diſtence, it is no improbable thing, in regard the Women are ſhut up in ſuch places where they may ſee, but not be ſeen. Upon this, *de Lan* was carri'd into a Chamber where the ſame Old-women that he had waited on him before he let the King blood, ſtript up his arm, and waſh'd it, but more eſpecially his hands; which when they were dry, they rubb'd again with ſweet-Oils as before. That being done, a Curtain was drawn, and the Queen ſtretching out her arm through a hole, was let-blood; as was the Queen-Mother afterwards in the ſame manner. The Queen gave him fifty Pagods, and the Queen-Mother thirty, with ſome pieces of Cloath of Gold.

Two days after we went to wait upon the *Nabab*'s Son, but were told we could not ſpeak with him that day; the next day receiving the ſame anſwer, we were advertiz'd upon enquiry, that we might wait long enough in that manner; that he was a young Lord that never ſtirr'd from the King; or that if he did leave the Court, it was only to keep his Miſſes company in his own *Haram*. The young Chirurgion ſeeing us ſo delaid, offer'd to ſpeak to the King's firſt Phyſitian, who was alſo of the King's Council, and who had teſtify'd a great affection toward the *Batavian*-Envoy, and for *de Lan* himſelf; for which reaſon he thought he might embrace an opportunity to do him a kindneſs. In ſhort, *de Lan* had no ſooner ſpoke to him, but he ſent for us, and having, after much civilty ſhewn us, inform'd himſelf of the cauſe of our coming, he deſir'd us to ſhew him our Pearls, which we did the next day. After he had view'd them, he made us ſeal them up again in our own bags: for all that is preſented to the King muſt be ſeal'd with the Merchants-Seal; and when the King has had a ſight of the Commodity, it is ſeal'd up with his own Seal, to prevent any fraud. Thereupon we left the Pearls, ſo ſeald up, in his hands, who promis'd to ſhew them to the King, and to give us a good account of the truſt we had put into his hands.

The next day about nine of the Clock before noon we went to the River to ſee how they waſh the King's and the Great Noble-men's Elephants. The Elephant goes up to the belly in the water, and lying down upon one ſide, with his trunk he throws the water ſeveral times upon that ſide which lies out of the water; and when he has ſoak'd himſelf ſufficiently, the Maſter comes with a kind of a Pumice-ſtone, and rubbing the Elephant's-skin, cleanſes it from all the filth that clings to it. Here ſome believe, that when this creature is once laid down, it cannot riſe of its ſelf; which is contrary to what I have ſeen. For when

when the Master has well-cleans'd the one side, he commands the Elephant to turn the other, which the beast immediately does; and when both sides are well-wash'd, he comes out of the River, and stays a-while upright upon the bank-side to dry himself. Then comes the Master with a pot full of some red or yellow colour, and streaks the best in the forehead, about the eyes, upon the breast, and all behind, rubbing him afterwards with Oil of *Coco's* to strengthen the nerves; and some when all is done, he fastens a gilt-Plate upon their foreheads.

The fifteenth, the chief Phisitian sent for us, and return'd us our bags again, seal'd with the King's Signet, wherewith his Majesty had seal'd them after he had look'd upon them. He demanded the price; which we told him: Whereupon, an Eunuch that stood by him, and wrote down every thing, wondring at the high-price of the Pearls, told us that we took the King of *Golconda*'s Courtiers for persons that have neither knowledg nor judgment; and that he saw every day things of greater value brought to the King. I briskly retorted upon the Eunuch, that he was better skill'd in the price of a young Slave, than the value of a Jewel; and so saying, we put up our Pearls; and return'd to our Lodging. The next day we set out from *Golconda* for *Surat*, in which Road there is nothing considerable but what I have already describ'd, only this is to be remember'd, that we were not gone above five days journey from *Golconda*, but the King, who had not heard in two days after we were gone, what I had retorted upon the Eunuch, sent four or five Horse-men after us with Orders, if they overtook us, to bring us back: but in regard we were got one days journey into the Territories of the *Mogul* before one of the Horse-men overtook us, (for the rest staid upon the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms;) I, that knew the humour of the Countrey very well, made answer for my self and Companion, that at that time our business would not permit us; and that therefore we begg'd in most humble manner his Majesty's pardon; and afterwards I made my Companion allow my reasons.

Being arriv'd at *Surat*, *Monsieur de Jardin* dy'd of an overflowing of choler. And I made a full account to have gone to *Agra* to *Sha-jehan* who then reign'd. But at the same instant the *Nabab*, *Sha-Est-Kan*, the King's Brother-in-Law, and Governor of the Province of *Guzerat*, sent one of the principal Officers of his House to me from *Amadabat*, to tell me he undrestood I had some extraordinary Jewels to sell; for which reason he would be glad to see me, and that he would pay me as much for them as the King should do. I receiv'd this Message while *Sieur de Jardin* lay sick, and the ninth day after his death I got to *Amadabat*, and spake with the *Nabab*. Now in regard he was a man that understood Jewels perfectly well, we presently came to an agreement: so that we had no dispute together, but about the quality of the Coin to be paid. He allow'd me two sorts to choose, Roupies of Gold, or Roupies of Silver: but the Prince seeming to intimate to me that he should not be well-pleas'd to let such a Sum in Silver to be seen to go out of his House, he wish'd I would rather accept my payment in Roupies of Gold, that made not such a great heap. I consented to his desire; and he shew'd me very fair Gold, and many Roupies, that had not seen the Sun in a long time. But in regard the price currant of a Roupy of Gold, is not above fourteen Roupies of Silver, and for that he would have had me taken my Roupies at fourteen and a half, or at least for fourteen and a quarter, it had like to have spoil'd our bargain; for I gave him to understand, that in so large a sum, it would not quit cost to lose a fourth part in every Roupy of Gold. At length to please him, I was forc'd to take the Gold at fourteen Roupies of Silver and an eighth part. Thus a Prince otherwise magnificent and generous, yet in matter of buying and selling, woulds needs approve himself to be a good Husband. While I stay'd at *Amadabat*, he sent me every day to my Lodging four Silver Plates of *Pilaw*, and other excellent Dyet; and one day that the King had sent him as many Apples as ten or twelve men could carry, he sent me as many as for their rarity at *Amadabat*, were worth three or four hundred Roupies. Besides all this, he gave me a compleat Habit of Honour, with a Sword and a Cangiar, worth a thousand Roupies; and resolving also to give me a Horse, he ask'd me what kind

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TRAVELS IN INDIA.

The Second Book.

Containing an Historical and Political Description of the Empire of the Great Mogul.

CHAP. I.

A Relation of the last Wars of Indolstan; *which gives an insight into the present Estate of the Empire and Court of the* Moguls.

I Have written this History in such manner, as I knew things to be transacted, during my stay in the Country; leaving it to the Reader to make his own reflections as he pleases; it being sufficient for me to make a faithful description of the Potent Empire of the *Moguls*, according to the Observations I have taken upon the place.

This great and vast Empire, which contains the greatest part of *Indolstan*, and which extends from the Mountains on this side the River *Indus*, to the Mountains on the other side of *Ganges*; borders Eastward upon the Kingdoms of *Aracan*, *Tipra*, and *Assa*. Toward the West upon *Persia*, and the *Usbeg Tartars*. Southward upon the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Visapour*. Northward it runs up as far as the Mountain *Caucasus*. North-Eastward the Kingdom of *Bantam*, whence comes our Musk, parts it. North-Westward it borders upon the Country of *Chegathay*, or the *Usbegs*.

They are call'd *Moguls*, that is, white of complexion; for the last Conquerors of the *Indies* where Whites; the Natives being all Brown, or Olive-colour.

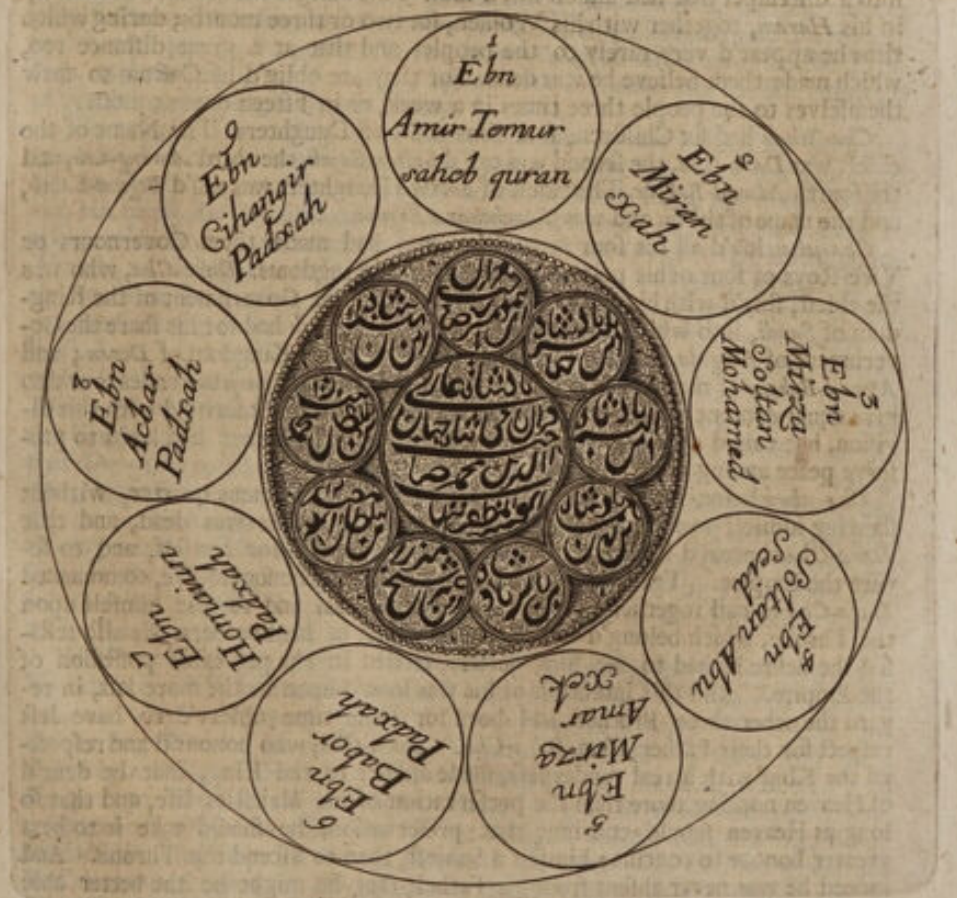
Aureng-zeb, the present Emperor, is the eleventh in a direct line, of the Descendants from the great *Temur-Leng*, commonly call'd *Tamerlane*; the extent and renown of whose Conquests, from *China* to *Poland*, has exceeded all the actions of the greatest Captains of the former Ages. His Successors compleated the Conquest of all *India* between the two Rivers, with the destruction of several Kings. So that *Aureng-zeb* has at this time under his Dominion, the Territories of *Gouzerat*, *Decan-Dehly*, *Multan*, *Lahor*, *Kashemire*, *Bengala*, and many other Territories; not to mention several *Raja's*, or petty Kings, who pay him Tribute, and are his Vassals. The Succession of the Kings of *India* is as follows:

1. *Termur-Leng*, that is to say, the Lame, because one of his Legs was shorter than the other, lies buried at *Samarchand*, in the Country of *Chegathay*, or the *Usbeg Tartars*, being the place of his Nativity.

2. *Miram-*

2. *Miram-Cha*, the Son of *Temurleng*.
3. *Sultan Mahomet*, the Son of *Miram-Cha*.
4. *Sultan Abonſaid-Mirza*, the Son of *Mahomet*.
5. *Hameth-Sheck*, the Son of *Sultan Abouſaid*.
6. *Sultan Babur*, that is, the Valiant Prince, the firſt *Mogul* that was of greateſt power in *India*. He dy'd in the year 1532.
7. *Homajon*, that is, the Happy, the Son of *Sultan Babur*, dyed in the year 1552.
8. *Abdul Feta Gelal-Eddin Mahomet*, commonly call'd *Akabar*, that is, the Great, reign'd fifty four years, and dyed in the year 1605.
9. *Sultan Selim*, otherwiſe call'd *Jehan-guir Patſha*, that is, the Victorious Emperor of the World, ſucceeded *Akabar* his Father, and dy'd 1627. He had four Sons, the eldeſt nam'd *Sultan Koſrou*, the ſecond *Sultan Kourom*, the third *Sultan Perviz*, the fourth *Cha-Daniel*.
10. *Sultan Kourom*, the ſecond of the four, ſucceeded *Jehan-guir* his Father; and was acknowledg'd by all the Nobility, at the Caſtle of *Agra*, by the Name of *Cha-Bedin Mahomed*, but he would be call'd *Cha-jehan*, that is, King of the World.
11. *Aureng-zeb*, that is, the Ornament of the Throne, is the preſent Monarch.

The following Figure ſhews you what ſorts of pieces the Kings cauſe to be thrown among the people when they come to the Throne. They repreſent the Arms or Signets of the Kings which I have nam'd. The biggeſt, in the middle, was *Cha-jehan*'s, the tenth King. Theſe pieces are moſt of them Silver; there being very few of Gold. And as for *Aureng-zeb*, he never coin'd any particular pieces to throw away at his Coronation.



The Great *Mogul* is without all queſtion the richeſt and moſt potent Monarch of *Aſia*; the Territories which he poſſeſſes, being his own Hereditary Poſſeſſion; and being abſolute Maſter of all the Territories whence he receives his Revenues. For in the Territories of this Prince, the great Lords are but the Royal Receivers, who give an account of the King's Revenues to the Governours of the Provinces, and they to the chief Treaſurers and Controllers of the Exchequer.

CHAP. II.

Of the Sickneſs and ſuppos'd Death of Cha-jehan, *King of* India, *and the Rebellion of the Princes his Sons.*

THis great King had reign'd above forty years, not ſo much as a King over his Subjects, but rather as a Father over his Family and Children. Inſomuch, that during his Reign there was ſuch a ſtrictneſs in the Civil Government, and particularly for the ſecurity of the High-ways, that there was never any occaſion to put any man to death for Robbery. In his declining years he fanci'd a young Lady of an extraordinary Beauty, that was not above thirteen years of age; and becauſe the ſtrength of nature would not permit him to ſatisfie his paſſion, he took certain provocatives, which were ſo hot, that he fell thereupon into a diſtemper that had almoſt kill'd him. This oblig'd him to ſhut himſelf up in his *Haram*, together with his Women, for two or three months; during which time he appear'd very rarely to the people, and that at a great diſtance too, which made them believe he was dead. For they are oblig'd by Cuſtom to ſhew themſelves to the people three times in a week, or in fifteen days at moſt.

Cha-Jehan had ſix Children, four Sons and two Daughters. The Name of the eldeſt was *Dara-Cha*, the ſecond was call'd *Sultan Sujah*, the third *Aureng-zeb*, and the fourth *Morad-Bakche*. The eldeſt of his two Daughters was call'd *Begum-Saheb*, and the name of the ſecond was *Rauchenara Begum*.

Cha-jehan lov'd all his four Sons alike, and had made them Governours or Vice-Roys of four of his principal Provinces or Kingdoms. *Dara-Cha*, who was the eldeſt, ſtay'd with his Father in *Dehly*, and had the Government of the Kingdom of *Sandi*, into which he put a Deputy. *Sultan Sujah* had for his ſhare the Government of *Bengala*. *Aureng-zeb* was Vice-Roy of the Kingdom of *Decan*; and *Morad-Bakche* of the Kingdom of *Guzerat*. But though *Cha-jehan* endeavour'd to give equal content to his four Sons, their Ambition was not ſatisfi'd with this diviſion, but ruin'd all the good deſigns which ſo kind a Father had lay'd to preſerve peace among his Children.

Cha-jehan being thus ſick, and retir'd into the Womens quarter, without ſhewing himſelf for many days; the report ran that he was dead, and that *Dara-Cha* conceal'd his death, to gain time to provide for himſelf, and to ſecure the Empire. True it is, that the King believing he ſhould dye, commanded *Dara-Cha* to call together all the *Omrahs* or Lords, and to ſeat himſelf upon the Throne, which belong'd to him, as the eldeſt of his Brothers. He alſo teſtifi'd the deſire he had to ſee him quietly ſettled in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Empire. And this intention of his was look'd upon as the more juſt, in regard the other three Brothers had been for ſome time obſerv'd to have leſs reſpect for their Father, than *Dara-Cha*. *Dara-Cha*, who honour'd and reſpected the King with a real tenderneſs, made anſwer to the King, that he deſir'd of Heaven nothing more than the preſervation of his Majeſties life, and that ſo long as Heaven ſhould continue that preſervation, he ſhould take it to be a greater honour to continue himſelf a Subject, than to aſcend the Throne. And indeed he was never abſent from his Father, that he might be the better able to ſerve him in his ſickneſs; and becauſe he would be preſent upon all occaſions,

ſions, he lay by his Fathers Bed-ſide, upon a Tapeſtry ſpread upon the ground.

During the falſe report of the death of *Cha-jehan*, his three other Sons immediately rebell'd, every one laying claim to their Fathers Crown. *Morat-Bakche* the youngeſt, who had the Government of *Guzerat*, ſent away Forces immediately to beſiege *Surat*, the moſt conſiderable Port, and moſt frequented of any other all over *India*. The City made no reſiſtance, for the Walls are very weak, and broken down in ſeveral places. But they defended the Cittadel, where the Treaſure was, very ſtoutly; though the young Ambitious Prince did all he could to make himſelf Maſter of it. *Chabas-Kan*, one of his Eunuchs, who was General of his Army, an induſtrious and active perſon, and who carri'd on the Siege with all the experience of an old Captain; when he ſaw he could not carry the Caſtle by main force, caus'd it to be undermin'd in two places, by the aſſiſtance of an *European* Engineer, which took effect; ſo that upon the twenty-ninth of *December*, 1659, he threw down a good part of the Walls, and fill'd up the Moat; which very much terrifi'd the beſieg'd. But they preſently recover'd their courage, and though they were but a ſmall number, they defended themſelves for above forty days, to the great Dammage and ſlaughter of *Morat-Bakche's* Army. *Chabas-Kan*, provok'd at ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, ſought for all the Wives and Children, Parents and Kindred of the Canoneers that were within the Caſtle, to place them at the head of his men, when they made their approaches. He alſo ſent one of the Brothers of the Governour of the place, to offer him advantageous conditions. But the Governor, being a very loyal perſon, and uncertain of the Kings death, rejected all his offers. The Eunuch perceiving the Reſolution of the Governour, threaten'd the beſieged to kill all their Wives and Children, Parents and Kindred, if they did not ſurrender the place the next day. But neither did any of thoſe conſiderations prevail, till at length the breach being made wider, and the number of defandants decreaſing, the Governor ſurrender'd upon honourably conditions; which were punctually perform'd by *Chabas-Kan*, who ſeiz'd upon all the Treaſure, and carried it to *Amadabat*; where *Morat-Bakche* was buſily employ'd in ſqueezing the people to get Money.

The news of the taking *Surat* being brought to this Prince, he preſently provided himſelf a Throne, and ſitting upon it on the day which was appointed for the Ceremony, he caus'd himſelf to be declared King, not only of *Guzerat*, but of all the Dominions of *Cha-jehan* his Father. At the ſame time he alſo coin'd Money, and ſent Governors into all the Cities. But his tottering Throne, not being well fix'd, fell ſoon to the Ground; and the youngeſt of all the Brothers, for having uſurp'd a Scepter that no ways appertain'd to him, was confin'd to a ſevere impriſonment. Prince *Dara-Cha* fain would have reliev'd *Surat*; but it was impoſſible. For beſides that he was buſied in the aſſiſtance of his Father the King, his ſecond Brother *Sultan-Sujah*, more powerful than *Morat-Bakche*, found him far more work to do. He was already advanc'd into the Kingdom of *Lahor*, having abſolutely reduc'd the Kingdom of *Bengala*. All that *Dara-Cha* could do, was to ſend *Soliman Checour* his eldeſt Son, with an Army againſt *Sultan Sujah*. The young Prince having defeated his Uncle, and driven him back into *Bengala*, the Frontiers whereof he ſecur'd with good Garriſons return'd to *Dara-Cha* his Father. In the mean time *Morat-Bakche*, acknowledg'd for King in the Kingdom of *Guzerat*, bends all his Force and Counſels to make himſelf Emperor of the *Indies*, to deſtroy his Brothers, and to fix his Throne either in *Agra* or *Jehanabat*

Whiles theſe things paſs'd, *Aureng-zeb* as ambitious, but more crafty than his Brothers, lets them alone to kindle the firſt Fires; and conceals his own deſigns, which afterwards appear'd ſo much to the damage of the reſt. At firſt he feign'd to lay no claim to the Empire, but liv'd a private life, like a *Dervich*, or Religious Hermit. And the better to act his part, he declar'd to his younger Brother *Morat-Bakche*, whom he ſaw to be ſo ambitious, how willing he ſtould be to aſſiſt him in his deſigns; telling him, that becauſe he merited the Empire by his Valour, he would aid him with his Money and his Forces to overthrow *Dara-Cha*, who only ſtood in his way. The young Prince, blinded with the hopes of his good Fortune, eaſily belive'd *Aureng-zeb*. And

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CHAP. III.

Of the Impriſonment of Cha-jehan, *and how he was puniſh'd by* Aureng-zeb *his third Son, for the injuſtice he had done Prince* Boulaki *his Nephew, the Grandchild of* Gehan-guir, *to whom, as to the Son of the Eldeſt Son, the Empire of the* Moguls *belong'd.*

GEhan-guir, King of *India*, Son of *Achbar*, and Grandchild to *Houmajon*, reign'd very peaceably during the ſpace of twenty-three years, equally belov'd both by his Subjects and Neighbours. But his life ſeem'd too long to his two Sons, who were both ambitious to reign. The eldeſt rais'd a powerful Army near *Labor*, with an intention to have ſurpriz'd his Father, and to have poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Throne by force. The King incens'd at the inſolence of his Son, reſolv'd to chaſtiſe him; meets him with a conſiderable Army, defeats him, and takes him Priſoner, with many of the moſt conſiderable Nobility that adher'd to him. After which, out of a natural affection to his Children, he ſav'd his life, but put out his Eyes. And when he was blind he always kept him about his perſon, with an intention to have prefer'd his eldeſt Son *Boulaki* to the Crown, whoſe Father had already many Sons, but all very young. But *Sultan Courom*, his ſecond Son, believing it his right to be prefer'd before a Nephew, reſolv'd to leave no ſtone unturn'd to remove him from his hopes, and to ſettle himſelf in poſſeſſion before the death of his Father. However he conceal'd his intentions from him, appearing outwardly very obedient to his Father, who always kept about him the Children of his eldeſt Son. By that ſubmiſſion he more eaſily brought about his deſigns; for having by that means gain'd the good will of his Father, he obtain'd leave to carry along with him the blind Prince, his eldeſt Brother, to his Government of the Kingdom *Decan*. He laid before his Father, that it would be far better to remove from his ſight, an object that could not chuſe but be ſo afflicting to him; and that the prince himſelf, being blind, would ſpend the reſt of his days more comfortably in *Decan*, where he might be more retir'd. The King not penetrating into his deſign, readily conſented to his requeſt. Who when he had that Poor Prince in his Clutches, made him away with that ſecreſie which was not to be diſcover'd; and under the moſt plauſible pretence imaginable, to conceal him from the eyes of men.

After the death of the blind Prince, *Sultan Courom* took upon him the name of *Cha-jehan*, that is, King of the World; and to uphold his Title, he rais'd an Army to finiſh what his Brother had begun, which was to dethrone his Father, and to take poſſeſſion of the Empire. The King incens'd as well at the death of his Son, as at the attempt againſt his own perſon, ſent a conſiderable Army to chaſtiſe *Courom* for ſo bold an Enterprize. But the rebellious Prince finding himſelf to weak too ſtand his Fathers force, quitted the Kingdom of *Decan*, and with certain Vagabonds that follow'd him, wander'd from place to place, till he came to *Bangala*, where he rais'd an Army with an intention to give the King Battle. To which purpoſe, paſſing the *Ganges*, he marches directly toward the Kingdom of *Labor*; whom the King in perſon met, with an Army much more numerous and ſtronger than his. But *Gehan-guir* being old, and wearied with the troubles that his Sons had put him to, dy'd by the way, leaving *Cha-jehan* at liberty to purſue his own deſigns. However before he expir'd, the good King had time to recommend his Grandchild *Boulaki* to *Aſouf-Kan*, his Generaliſſimo and prime Miniſter of State, who was Protector of the Empire. He commanded alſo all the Officers of the Army to acknowledg him for King, as being the lawful Heir; declaring *Sultan Komrom* a Rebel, and incapable of the Succeſſion. Moreover he made *Aſouf-Kan* to ſwear in particular, that he would never ſuffer *Boulaki* to be put to death, which way ſoever affairs went; which *Aſouf-Kan* ſware upon his Thigh; and as religiouſly obſerv'd as to the Article of not

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putting him to death; but not as to that of helping him to the Crown, which he design'd for *Cha-jehan*, who had married his eldest Daughter, the Mother of four Princes, and two Princesses.

The news of the Kings death being known at Court, caus'd a general lamentation. And presently all the Grandees of the Kingdom set themselves to execute the Kings Will and Testament, acknowledging *Sultan Boulaki* for Emperor, who was very young. That Prince had two Cousin-Germans, who were both of them by the Kings consent turn'd Christians, and made publick profession thereof. Those two young Princes, being very apprehensive, perceiv'd that *Asouf-Kan*, Father-in-Law to *Cha-jehan*, and Father of *Cha-Est-Kan*, had no good intentions toward the young King, and gave him notice of it; which cost them their lives, and the King the lois of his Dominions. For the young King, having no more wit than was agreeable to his age, openly declar'd to *Asouf-Kan* what his Cousins had reveal'd to him in private, and ask'd the General whether it were true, that he had a design to set up his Uncle against him or no. *Asouf-Kan* immediately accus'd the Reporters of falsity and impudence, and protested his fidelity to his King, and vow'd, to spend the last drop of his blood to preserve him in the possession of the Empire. However seeing his Conspiracy discover'd, he resolv'd to prevent the punishment; to which end having got the two Princes into his possession, he put them both to death. But before that, in regard of his power in the Army and in the Empire, he had already brought over to *Cha-jehans* party the greatest part of the Commanders and Lords of the Court; and the better to play his game, and deceive the young King, he rais'd a report that *Cha-jehan* was dead; and because he had desir'd to be buried near his Father *Gehan-guir*, the body was to be brought to *Agra*. This Stratagem being cunningly manag'd, *Asouf-Kan* himself gave advice of the feign'd death to the King; telling the King withall, that it would be but a common civility for him to go and meet the Corps when it came within a League or two of the City, being an Honour due to a Prince of the Blood of the *Moguls*. All this while *Cha-jehan* kept himself *incognito*, till coming within sight of the Army that lay about *Agra*, he caus'd himself to be put into a Coffin, wherein there was only a hole left for him to breath at. This Coffin being carri'd under a moving Tent, all the principal Officers who were of the plot with *Asouf-Kan*, came to perform the usual Ceremonies of State to the Body of the deceas'd Prince, while the young King was upon the way to meet the body. But then *Asouf-Kan* finding it seasonably to execute his design, caus'd the Coffin to be open'd, and *Cha-jehan* rising up, and shewing himself to the eyes of all the Army, was saluted Emperor by all the Generals and other principal Officers, who had their Cue ready; so that the name of *Cha-jehan* running in a moment from one mans mouth to another, the Acclamation became publick, and the Empire was setled upon him. The young King hearing the news by the way, was so surpriz'd, that he thought of nothing but how to save himself by flight, being upon a sudden forsaken by all his followers. And *Cha-jehan* not believing it any way necessary to pursue him, suffer'd him to wander a long time in *India* like a *Fakir*. At length he retir'd into *Persia*, where he was magnificently receiv'd by *Cha-Sefi*, who allow'd him a pension fit for so great a Prince, which he still enjoys.

Cha-jehan having thus usurp'd the Crown, the better to secure himself, and to stifle all Factions that might arise during the life of the lawful Prince, whom he had so unjustly despoil'd of his right, by degrees but to death all those that had shew'n any kindness to his Nephew. So that the first part of his Reign was noted for many acts of cruelty, that blemish'd his Reputation. No less unfortunate was the end of his Reign. For as he had unjustly depriv'd the lawful Heir, of the Empire which belong'd to him; he was himself, while he yet liv'd, depriv'd of his Crown by *Aureng-zeb* his own Son, who kept him Prisoner in the Fortress of *Agra*.

For after *Dara-Cha* had lost the Battel against his two Brothers, *Aureng-zeb* and *Morat-Bakche* in the Plain of *Samonguir*, and was treacherously abandoned by the principal Officers of the Army, he retir'd into the Kingdom of *Lahor*, with all the Treasure which the confusion of his affairs would suffer him to get together. In the

the King to resist the violence of his victorious Sons, shut himself up in the Castle of *Agra*, to the end he might not be surpriz'd, but have time and leisure to observe how far the insolence of his Children would transport them. As for *Aureng-zeb*, who had *Morat Bakche* safe enough, he enters *Agra*, feigning to believe a report that *Chajehan* was dead, that he might have liberty to get into the Fortress, where he said one of the *Omra's* would make it out. The more he reported the death of *Cha-jehan*, the more did the King endeavour to let the people know he was alive. But finding both Power and Fortune had taken *Aureng-zeb*'s party; and being also in great necessity for want of water, he sent *Fazel-Kan*, grand Master of his Houshold, to assure his Son that he was alive; and withal to tell him that it was the King's command, that he should retire to his vice-Roy-ship in *Decan*, without putting him to any more vexation, and that upon his obedience, he would forgive whatever had past. *Aurengzeb*, firm in his resolution, return'd for answer to *Fazel-Kan*, that he was certain that the King, his Father was dead, and that upon that account he had only taken Arms to secure the Crown to himself, which he thought he deserv'd, as well as the rest of his Brothers. That if his Father were living, he had too great a respect for him to undertake the least enterprize that should displease him; and therefore that he might be certain he was not dead, he desir'd to see him, and to kiss his feet; and having so done, he would retire to his Government, and punctually obey his Commands. *Fazel-Kan* return'd this answer to the King, who declared that he should be glad to see his Son, and sent back *Fazel-Kan*, to tell him he should be welcome. But *Aureng-zeb* more cunning than *Cha-jehan*, assur'd *Fazel-Kan* that he would not set his foot in the Castle, till the Garrison that was in it should be sent away to make room for his men. For the Prince was afraid, and not without reason, if he should adventure into a Fortress where he was not absolute Master himself, lest they should seize his person, of which the King being apprehensive, consented to his proposal, not being able to do better at that time. Thereupon the Garrison which belong'd to *Cha-jehan* was sent out of the Castle, and another of *Aureng-zeb*'s enter'd, commanded by *Sultan Mahomet* the eldest of his Sons, to whom he gave order to secure his Father's person. When they were thus got in, and his Father safe, he delaid seeing his Father from day to day, waiting (as he gave out for excuse) a kind opportunity for the enterview; and pretending his Astrologers did not presently think it seasonable, he retir'd into the Countrey, to a House about two or three leagues from *Agra*, which very much displeased the people, who waited every day for the fortunate hour, from which they expected a conclusion of their miseries by the Father and Son's discourse together. But *Aureng-zeb*, who was in no great hast to see his Father, took up another resolution, which was to seize upon all his Fathers treasure, which *Dara-Sha* had not time to carry away. He also shut up in the same Fortress *Begum-Saheb* his Sister, to keep the King company, by whom she was entirely belov'd: and took into his own hands all the wealth she had got, by her Father's liberality.

Cha-jehan enrag'd to see himself us'd in that manner by his own Son, made an attempt to escape, and kill'd some of the Guards that oppos'd him; which caus'd *Aureng-zeb* more strictly to confine him. In the mean time it was a wonderful thing to see that not one of the Servants of so great a King so much as offer'd to help him; that all his Subjects should forsake him, and turn their eyes upon the rising Sun; acknowledging only *Aureng-zeb* for King, while they seem'd to have forgotten *Cha-jehan*, though still alive. Thus this great Monarch sadly ended his days in Prison, and dy'd in the Fortress of *Agra* in the year *1666* the last time that I was in *India*.

During his reign he had begun to build the City of *Jehanabad*, though he had not quite finish'd it, and therefore he desir'd to see it once more before he dy'd; but *Aureng-zeb* would not give him leave, unless he would be content to go and come back by water, or else to be confin'd to the Castle of *Jehanabad*, as he was at *Agra*, which refusal of his Son did so torment him, that it hasten'd his end. Which as soon as *Aureng-zeb* heard of, he came to *Agra*, and seiz'd upon all the Jewels, which he had not taken from his Father while he liv'd. *Begum-Saheb* had also a quantity of Jewels, which he had not taken from her when he put her into the Castle. But now, because she had formerly taken her Father's part, he

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him with Men and Money. But not daring to truſt himſelf by Sea; as he paſs'd through the Countrey of the *Patanes*, in the way to *Candahar*, he was unworthily betraid by one of the Lords of the Countrey, call'd *Gion-Kan*; who had been an Officer under the King his Father, and who having been condemn'd for his crimes by the mouth of his Father, and ready to be thrown under the Elephant's-feet, had been pardon'd at the interceſſion of *Dara-cha*. For an addition to his affliction, before he came to *Gion-Kan's* Houſe, he receiv'd the news of the death of that particular Wife which he lov'd moſt entirely, and which had always accompani'd him in his misfortunes. He underſtood that ſhe dy'd through heat and drowth, not biing able to get a drop of water in the Countrey to refreſh her thirſt. The Prince was ſo mov'd at the news, that he fell down, like one that had been ſtruck quite dead; and when he came to himſelf, he tore his clothes in the exceſs of his grief: an ancient cuſtom ſtill continu'd in the Eaſt. He had always ſhew'd himſelf inſenſible upon all other occaſions of misfortune, but this fatal ſtroke ſo deeply pierc'd him, that he would receive no conſolation from his friends. After this, he clad himſelf according to his misfortune; and inſtead of a Turbant, he only put about his head a piece of coarſe Calicut. In this miſerable equipage he enter'd into the Houſe of the Traytor *Gion-Kan*, where being laid down to reſt himſelf upon a Field-bed, a new ſubject of ſorrow awak'd him. For *Gion-Kan* having a deſign to ſeize *Sepper-Shekour*, *Dara-cha's* ſecond Son, the young Prince, though but a Youth, made a bold reſiſtance, and with his Bow and Arrows laid three men upon the ground; but not being able to reſiſt a multitude, he was at length taken. *Dara-cha* waken'd with the noiſe, ſaw before his eyes his Son, whom they were leading toward him, with his hands ty'd behind him. Then the miſerable Father of the young Prince, no longer misdoubting the horrid treaſon of *Gion-Kan*, could not refrain from letting fall in his paſſion thoſe expreſſions. *Finiſh*, ſaid he, *ingrateful and infamous Villain as thou art, finiſh the work thou haſt begun; we are become Victims to bad fortune, and* Aureng-zeb's *unjuſt Ambition. But remember that I only deſerve death for having ſav'd thy life: for never Prince of the Royal Blood had his hands ty'd behind him before.* *Gion-Kan* in ſome meaſure mov'd at theſe words, caus'd the little Prince to be unbound, and only ſet guards upon *Dara-cha* and his Son. At the ſame time he alſo ſent expreſſes to *Raja Jeſſomſeing*, and to *Abdulla-Kan*, to give them advice that he had ſeiz'd upon *Dara-cha* and his Train. Thereupon they made haſt to ſhare in the ſpoils of that poor Prince. But they could not be ſo ſwift, but that *Gion-Kan* had ſeiz'd upon all that *Dara-cha* had of moſt precious in the World; uſing as inhumanly both his Wives and his Children. The *Raja* and *Abdulla* being arriv'd, provided Elephants for the Prince, his Son, and his Wives, and carri'd them away immediately to *Jehanabat*; the people crowded to behold them, every one being deſirous to ſee the Prince whom they ſo earneſtly deſir'd to have had for their King. *Aureng-zeb* caus'd them to be ſhewn in all the Streets and Market-places of *Jehanabat*, that no man might queſtion hereafter their being taken; and as if he had glori'd in his treachery toward his Brother, he preſently condemn'd and ſent him away to the Caſtle of *Aſſer*. But of all that crowded to behold, not one would ſtir to aſſiſt or ſuccour their lawful Prince. Only ſome few generous Souldiers who had ſerv'd him, and had receiv'd ſome kindneſſes from him, ſeeing themſelves not able to deliver their Prince, yet deſirous to ſhew him ſome proofs of their acknowledgment, fell with all their fury upon the Traitor *Gion-Kan*, who though he were reſcu'd from them at that time, yet ſoon after met with the reward due to his crime; for he was kill'd as he was croſſing a Wood in his return home.

In the mean time *Aureng-zeb*, like a good Polititian, and an extraordinary Diſſembler, gave it out, that it was by no order of his that *Dara-cha* was ſeiz'd; only he deſir'd him to retire out of the Kingdom, which he refuſing to do, *Gion-Kan*, unknown to him, had unworthily ſeiz'd his perſon; and without reſpect to the Royal-Blood, had ſhamefully ty'd the hands of the young *Sepper-Shekour* behind him: which being a crime and an indignity done to his Majeſty, had been puniſh'd by the death of *Gion-Kan* and his accomplices. But this was only publiſh'd to abuſe the people; for had it been true, *Aureng-zeb* would never have given order to have his brother's head cut off.

For *Dara-Cha* being sent from *Jehanabat* with a Guard to the place of his imprisonment; when he came to a fair place where he thought to repose himself, they dress'd up the Tent where he was to leave his Head. After he had eaten, *Seif-Kan* came and brought him the sentence of his Death. *Dara-Cha* seeing him enter, told him he was very welcome, and that he was glad to see one of his most faithful Servants. *Seif-Kan* made answer, that indeed he had formerly been one of his Servants, but that now he was the Slave of *Aureng-zeb*, who had commanded him to bring him his Head. Must I dye then? said *Dara-Cha*. 'Tis the Kings command, reply'd *Seif-Kan*, and I am entrusted to execute it. *Sepper-Chekour*, who lay in an anti-Chamber of the Tent, waking upon this contest, would have seiz'd upon certain Weapons which had been taken from him, with an intention to have assisted his Father; but he was prevented by those that accompany'd *Seif-Kan*. *Dara-Cha* would have made some resistance himself, but seeing it was in vain, he only desir'd time for his devotions, which was granted him. In the mean time *Sepper-Chekour* was taken from him; and while they held him in a story, a Slave took off *Dara-Cha*'s Head, which was carried to *Aureng-zeb* by *Seif-Kan*. This bloody Tragedy being thus acted, *Sepper-Chekour* was sent to the Castle *Gonalcor*, to keep his Uncle *Morat-Bakche* company. As for the Wives and Daughters of *Dara-Cha*, they were allotted an Apartment in *Aureng-zeb*'s *Haram*.

CHAP. V.

How Aureng-zeb *caus'd himself to be declar'd King; and of the Flight of* Sultan-Sujah.

AS it is the custom at the performance of that Ceremony, for the new King to seat himself upon the Throne; there was not much time requir'd to prepare one, in regard that *Cha-jehan* before his Imprisonment had finish'd that which the Great *Tamerlane* had begun; which was the richest and most magnificent that ever was seen. But as the Grand *Cadi* of the Empire, and Chief of the Law was to Proclaim the new King, *Aureng-zeb* found himself oppos'd by him. For the *Cadi* told him, that the Law of *Mahomet* and the Law of Nature equally forbad him to declare him King, while his Father liv'd; besides, that he had put his elder Brother to death, to whom the Empire belong'd after the death of *Cha-jehan* their Father. This stout resistance of the *Cadi* did not a little perplex *Aureng-zeb*; and therefore that he might not seem to appear irreligious, he call'd all the Doctors of the Law together, to whom he represented the incapacity of his Father to govern, through Age and many infirmities, that troubled him; as for *Dara-Cha* his Brother, he had put him to death because he was a slighter of the Law, drank Wine, and favour'd Infidels. Those reasons, intermix'd with threats, caus'd his Council of Conscience to conclude, that he deserv'd the Empire, and ought to be proclaim'd King; though the *Cadi* obstinately persisted in his first resolution. There was no other Remedy therefore, but to remove him from his Employment, as a disturber of the publick Peace, and to chuse another for the Honour of the Law, and the Good of the Kingdom. The person who was elected by the Council was soon confirm'd by *Aureng-zeb*; in acknowledgment whereof, he proclaim'd him King the twentieth of *October*, 1660. This Proclamation being made in the *Mosquee*, *Aureng-zeb* seated himself upon the Throne, and receiv'd the Homages of all the Grandees of the Kingdom.

However, *Aureng-zeb* did not think his throne fast enough, nor himself secure in the Empire, so long as *Sultan Sujah* was raising a powerful Army in *Bengala* to release his Father. Thereupon he sent a considerable Force against him, under the Command of *Sultan Mahomed* his eldest Son; to whom he appointed for his Lieutenant the *Emir-Jemla*, one of the greatest Captains that ever came out of *Persia* into *India*. His great Conduct and Courage had render'd him a person to be reverenc'd by all posterity, had he been faithful to the

the Princes whom he ſerv'd. But firſt he betray'd the King of *Golconda*, under whom he advanc'd his Fortune; and next to him *Cha-jehan*, under whoſe protection he roſe ſo high, that there was not a Nobleman in all *India* more powerful or richer than he. Otherwiſe he is both belov'd and fear'd by the Soldiers, and perfectly underſtands the Art of War, according to the cuſtom of the Country. The two Armies engaging ſeveral times, the Victory ſometimes on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other; ſo that *Sultan Mahomed* finding it likely to be a tedious War, aſſiſted by the Counſels of his Lieutenant, reſolv'd to add policy to ſtrength. Thereupon he treats underhand with the Officers of his Uncle's Army, makes them magnificent promiſes, and ſo earneſtly ſolicites them to come over to *Aureng-zeb*'s party, whom he call'd the Pillar and Protector of *Mahomet's* Law, that he gain'd the principal, to whom he ſent conſiderable Preſents, to confirm them in their reſolutions. This was a mortal blow to *Sultan-Sujah*, againſt which he could not provide. For they that adhear'd to him being a mercenary generation, that ſerves whoever gives moſt, finding they had little more to expect from a Prince whoſe Exchequer was empty, reſolv'd to drive a Trade with *Aureng-zeb*, who was Maſter of all the Treaſure in the Kingdom. And thus did *Aureng-zeb* debauch the Army of his Brother, who in the laſt Battel, ſeeing himſelf abondon'd by all his Soldiers, was forc'd to ſave himſelf by flight, with his Wives and Children. The Traytors aſham'd of their treachery, did not ſo ſmartly purſue the unfortunate Prince as they might have done, but preſently fell to plund'ring his Tents and Baggage; which *Emir-Jemla*, ſuffer'd them to do, in recompence of their Treaſon. *Sultan-Sujah* in the mean time croſſing the *Ganges* with his Retinue, retir'd ſome time afterwards into the Kingdom of *Arakan*, upon the Confines of *Bengala*, where we ſhall leave him for a time.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Impriſonment of Sultan-Mahomed, Aureng-zeb's *eldeſt ſon; and of* Sultan Soliman Chekour, *eldeſt ſon of* Dara-Cha.

THough *Aureng-zeb* were eſteem'd a very great Politician, and were ſo indeed, yet he fail'd in his Politicks, to truſt his Son with ſuch a powerful Army, under the Conduct of a Captain who had already betray'd two Maſters. However at length he began to be jealous, leſt Heaven ſhould inſpire his own Son to revenge the crimes which he had committed. And upon this, receiving intelligence, that *Sultan Mahomed* began to be very penſive and melancholy, he then abſolutely believ'd that his Son was practiſing miſchief againſt him; for the better diſcovery whereof, he wrote to *Emir-Jemla*. But the Letter unhappily miſcarrying, was taken by *Sultan Mahomed*'s Guards, and giv'n to the young Prince; who being a perſon of a quick apprehenſion, conceal'd the buſineſs from *Emir-Jemla*; and fearing leſt he ſhould receive other Orders more preciſe to take away his life, he reſolv'd to paſs the *Ganges* and throw himſelf upon his Uncle *Sultan-Sujah*; from whom he expected more mercy than from his Father. With this reſolution he feign'd to go a fiſhing, and paſſing the *Ganges*, with ſeveral Officers that adher'd to him, he went directly to *Sultan Sujah*'s Camp, which lay on the other ſide of the River; the *Sultan* having rais'd a conſiderable Force in the Kingdom of *Arakan*. *Sultan Mahomed* coming into his Uncles preſence, threw himſelf at his feet, begging his pardon for having taken Arms againſt him, as being forc'd thereto by his Father. Now though *Sultan Sujah* had reaſon enough to believe, that *Mahomed*'s coming into his Camp, was only a trick of his Father, to ſend his Son as a Spy to diſcover his condition; yet being a vertuous and generous Prince, and ſeeing his Nephew proſtrate at his feet, he could not but raiſe him up; after which, embracing him, he aſſur'd him of his Protection againſt *Aureng-zeb*. Some days after, theſe

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two Princes made an attempt, and passing *Ganges*, and fetching a compass thought to have surpriz'd the Enemies Army, who dreamt not of their coming. They made a vigorous onset, and kill'd a great number of men. But when they found the whole Army had taken the Alarum, they contented themselves with the mischief they had done, and repass'd the *Ganges*, for fear of being surrounded by number.

Emir-Jemla had already given intelligence to *Aureng-zeb* of the Flight of his Son; which sensibly griev'd the Father, though he durst not shew his anger, for fear of incensing the *Emir* to betray him, as he had betray'd his Father. Thereupon he cunningly wrote to him, that he rely'd altogether upon his prudence and policy to retrieve his Son to his duty; that he was young, and that what he had done, was only out of his heat of youth, and the inconstancy incident to his years. The confidence which *Aureng-zeb* seem'd to put in *Emir-Jemla* incited the General to use all his endeavours to get *Mahomed* out of *Sultan Sujah*'s hands. Thereupon he gave the young Prince to understand his Fathers good intentions toward him, and that he was ready to receive him with open Arms, so that he would but make good use of his Residence with *Sultan Sujah*, which he might pretend was done for the advantage to his Father, and for which his Father would have rather cause to extol his Prudence and affection than otherwise. The young Prince easily suffer'd himself to be perswaded, and the same way he went to his Uncle's, the same way he return'd to his Fathers Camp; where *Emir-Jemla* receiv'd him honourably, and with all the demonstrations of joy. He advis'd him also, to tell his Father when he saw him, that he did not go over to *Sultan Sujah*, but only with a design to observe what Forces he had, and the Discipline of his Army; and that he intended to have speedily return'd, and to have given him an account of what he had done for his service. Presently Orders came from *Aureng-zeb*, that his Son should be sent to him; so that *Mahomed*, whether by constraint, or willingly, set forward for *Jehanabar*, attended by the Guards which *Emir-Jemla*, had appointed. The King having notice of his arrival, his Majesty order'd him a Lodging without the Palace, and would not permit him to kiss his hands; pretending he was not well.

All this while *Soliman Chekour*, after he had been betray'd by the *Raja Roup*, had continu'd under the protection of *Nacti-Rani* in the Province of *Serenaguer*. This Prince, as stout as he was unfortunate, was constrain'd to lead a Savage life among the Mountains, for fear of falling into the hands of *Aureng-zeb*, nor could he with all his Forces do him any harm in that place. Beside *Nacti-Rani* had assur'd him with an Oath, accompany'd with all the Ceremonies that could make it solemn, and invioable; that he would rather lose his Territodom, then that *Aureng-zeb* should do the least violence to that protection which he afforded him. This was done upon the Banks of a River, which passes through his Country, where he wash'd his body, in token of the purity of his Soul; and being thus purify'd in the Water, he made his protestations to *Soliman-Chekour*, never to forsake him, taking his Gods to Witness of the sincerity of his intentions. Upon this, *Soliman-Chekour* never took any farther care, but every day went to divertise himself with hunting. While he gives up himself to his pleasure, *Aureng-zeb* marches his Army toward the Mountains, thinking to force *Nacti-Rani* to surrender *Soliman-Chekour* into his power. But the *Raja* with a thousand men being able to defend the Avennes of his Country against a hundred thousand, *Aureng-zeb* finding he could do no good, that way, has recourse to policy. He undertakes at first to treat with the *Raja*, but in vain, for the *Raja* would not violate his Oath; and his Priests assur'd him besides, that *Aureng-zeb* should er'e long be depos'd, and that *Soliman Chekour* should Reign in his room.

Aureng-zeb thus prevented, resolves to make another kind of War upon him. Thereupon he forbids all commerce between his and the *Raja*'s Subjects; which was very prejudicial to the latter. This caus'd the people to murmur at the protection which he had given to *Soliman-Chekour*; and at length they publickly cry'd out, that it was to the prejudice of the Publick. Their Priests also, thus alarm'd, began to doubt the truth of their Oracles, and to think it convenient

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to force the Palace, and after they had put all the Royal Family to the Sword, to proclaim him King of *Arakan*. But this Plot being discover'd the day it should have been executed, *Sultan Sujah*, and *Sultan Bangue*, his Son, had no other way to save themselves, but by flight into the Kingdom of *Pegu*. But their way lying over Mountains almost impassable, and through thick Forrests full of Tigers and Lions, and being also closely pursu'd, their flight avail'd them little or nothing. *Sultan Bangue* however being behind, to keep the Pursuers in play while his Father and his Family gain'd ground, stoutly defended himself against the first Assailants, but at length being overpower'd by number, he was taken together with his two little Brothers, his Mother and his Sisters; who were all put in Prison, where they were very ill-us'd. But some time after, the King having a desire to marry the eldest Sister of *Sultan Bangue*, they had a little more liberty allow'd them. However they enjoy'd it not long, for the young Prince being of a turbulent and ambitious spirit, plotted new treasons against the King, which being discover'd, the King immediately caus'd the whole Family to be put to death, not sparing the young Princess his Wife, though she were big with Child.

As for *Sultan Sujah*, who was formost among those that fled, it is more generally thought that either he was slain by the Souldiers who were sent to apprehend him, or that he was torn in pieces by the Tigers and Lions; of which those Forrests are full.

CHAP. VII.

Of the beginning of Aureng zeb's *Reign, and the Death of* Cha-jehan *his Father.*

SOme days before he ascended the Throne, he sent to his Father to send him some of his Jewels, to the end he might appear before his people with the same magnificence as his Predecessors had done. *Cha-jehan* taking this request of his Sons for an affront put upon him in Prison, fell into such a rage that he continu'd mad for some dayes, and had like to have dy'd upon it. In the excess of his vexation he call'd several times for a Morter and a Pestle, threatning to beat all his Jewels to powder before his Son should have them. But *Begum-Saheb*, his eldest Daughter, never forsook him, throwing her self at his feet, and by vertue of that criminal power which she had over him, as being both his Daughter and his Wife, kept him from using that extremity; more out of a design to preserve the Jewels for her self, than for her Brother, to whom she had always been a mortal enemy. For this reason, when *Aureng-zeb* ascended the Throne, he had no more than one Jewel upon his Bonnet: This Bonnet cannot be call'd a Crown; and by consequence neither can the Ceremony be call'd a Coronation.

At the time that *Aureng-zeb* took possession of the Throne, he would not eat any wheaten-bread, nor meat, nor fish, but fed upon barley-bread, herbs and sweet-meats, which was a kind of Penance that he impos'd upon himself for so many crimes.

When *Aureng-zeb* was settled in the Empire, several Embassadors came to *Jehanabat* to congratulate him, on the behalf of the Kings their Masters, as from the King of the *Usbeck Tartars*, the Seriff of *Mecca*, the Prince of *Balsara*, and the Kings of *Arabia Felix*, and *Ethiopia*. The *Hollanders* also sent *Monheir Adrican*, chief of their Factory in *Surat*, who was kindly receiv'd, and first dispatch'd. For 'tis a piece of State, to keep the Embassadors a good while at Court before they have Audience. All these Embassadors presented *Aureng-zeb* with the rarities of their Countrey; who to get himself a good name in *Asia*, sent them away very well satisfi'd.

Some months before the death of *Cha-jehan Aureng-zeb* sent an Embassador into *Persia*, who was magnificently receiv'd. For a month together he was nothing but feasted and caress'd with all manner of divertisements. The day that he was

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to make his Present from the Great *Mogul*, the King of *Persia* sate upon his Throne in a most magnificent habit; and having receiv'd the Embassador's Present, he presently divided it in contempt among the Officers of his House; only keeping for himself a Diamond that weigh'd sixty Carats. Some few days after he call'd for the Embassador, and after some discourse, he ask'd him if he were of the Sect of the *Turks*? To which the Embassador returning an answer, and letting some words fall against *Haly*, the King ask'd him what his name was. ? He reply'd that *Chajehan* had given him the Name of *Baubec-kan*, that is, *Lord of a free heart*; and had honour'd him with one of the chief employments at Court. Then th'art a Villain, reply'd the King of *Persia*, with an angry countenance, to desert thy Sovereign in his necessity, having receiv'd so many favours from him, and to serve a Tyrant, that keeps his Father in Prison, and has massacr'd all his Brothers. How dares he, pursu'd the King, take upon him the arrogant Title of *Alem-guir Aureng-sha*, or King of all the World, who never conquer'd any thing, but possesses al he has by treachery and parricide? Hast thou been one of those that counsell'd him to shed so much blood, to be the Executioner of his Brothers, and to keep his Father in Prison? Thou art not worthy to wear a Beard; and with that immediately caus'd it to be shav'd off; which is the greatest indignity that can be put upon a man in that Countrey. Shortly after he commanded the Embassador to return home, sending along with him for a Present to *Aureng-zeb*, an hunder'd and fifty beautiful Horses, with a great quantity of Gold and Silver-Carpets, Cloath of Gold, rich Shashes, and other Stuffs, to a vast value. When *Baubec-kan* was come back to *Agra*, where the King was then, *Aureng-zeb* incens'd at the affront which the the *Sophi* of *Persia* had giv'n him in the person of his Embassador, he took the Horses and sent some of them into the great *Piazza*, others to the corners of the Streets, causing it to be proclaim'd that the followers of *Haly* could not ride those Horses without being *Nigis*, that is to say, unclean, as coming from a King that did not obey the true Law. After that he caus'd the Horses to be kill'd, and all the rest of the Present to be burnt; uttering many reproachful words against the King of *Persia*, with whom he was mortally offended.

At length *Cha-jehan* happ'ning to dye toward the end of the year 1666. *Aureng-zeb* found himself rid of an object that every hour reproach'd his Tyranny; and began to injoy himself with more delight. Soon after he receiv'd his Sister *Begum-Saheb* into favour, restoring to her all her Governments, and giving her the Name of *Cha-Begum*, that is to say, Princes Queen. The truth is, she is a Woman of Prodigious parts, and able to govern the whole Empire. And had her Father and Brothers taken her counsel at the beginning of the War, *Aureng-zeb* had never been King. As for *Rauchenara Begum* his Sister, she had always taken his side, and when she heard he had taken Arms, she sent him all the Gold and Silver she could procure. In recompence whereof he promis'd her, when he came to be King, to give her the Title of *Cha-Begum*, and that she should sit upon a Throne: in all which he was as good as his word; and they continu'd very loving together till I was last at *Genanabat*: but then they were not so good friends, upon this occasion. The Princes having cunningly stoll'n into her Apartment a handsom young fellow, could not so privately let him out again after she had quite tir'd him; but the King was advertiz'd thereof. Thereupon the Princes to prevent the shame and reproach, ran to the King in a great pretended fright and told him that there was a man got into the *Haram*, even to her very Chamber, and that his intention was certainly either to have kill'd or robb'd her: that such a thing was never seen; that it concern'd the safety of his Royal Person, and that he would do well to punish severely the Eunuchs that kept guard that night. Presently the King ran in person with a great number of Eunuchs, so that the poor young man had no way to escape but by leaping out of a window into the River that runs by the Palace-walls; whereupon a world of people ran out to seize him; the King commanding them to do him no harm, but to carry him to the Officer of Justice: However he has not been heard of ever since that time.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Preparations againſt the Feaſt of the Great Mogul, *when he is wheigh'd ſolemnly every year. Of the richneſs of his Thrones, and the Magnificence of his Court.*

THis great Feaſt begins the fifth of *November*, and laſts five days. They uſually weigh the King at the time of his Birth; and if he weighs more than he did the year before, there is great rejoicing. When he is weigh'd he ſeats himſelf upon the richeſt of his Thrones; and then all the Grandees of the Kingdom come to congratulate and preſent him. The Ladies of the Court ſend him their Preſents alſo, as likewiſe do the Governours of Provinces, and others in great Employments. The Preſents conſiſts of Jewels, Tiſſues, Carpetts and other Stuffs; beſides Camels, Elephants, Horſes, and indeed any thing that is rare and of value. 'Tis ſaid he receives that day thirty Millions of Livres.

They begin to prepare for this Feaſt the ſeventh of *September*, about two Months before it begins. The firſt thing they do, is to cover the two great Courts overhead, from the middle of each Court to the Hall, which is open upon three ſides. The Pavilions that cover theſe two void places, are of Purple Velvet, Embroider'd with Gold, and ſo weighty, that the Poſts which ſuſtain them are as big as the Maſt of a Ship; ſome thirty, ſome forty foot high. There are thirty-eight of theſe Poſts to uphold the Tent in the firſt Court; and thoſe next the Hall, are plated with Gold as thick as a Ducket. The reſt are plated with Silver of the ſame thickneſs. The Cords are of Cotton of divers colours; ſome of them as big as a good Cable.

The firſt Court is ſurrounded with Portico's and little Chambers, where the *Omrahs* keep Guard For every eight days the *Omrahs* relieve the Guard; and during thoſe eight days, the *Omrah* who is upon the Guard, has a Diſh of Meat out of the Kings Kitchin. When he ſees it coming afar off, he makes three obeyſances, laying his hand three times upon the Ground, and three times upon his Head, crying out at the ſame time, God preſerve the Kings health, give him long Life and Victory over his Enemies. They take it for a great Honour to Guard the King; and when they go upon the Guard, they put on all their moſt ſumptuous Apparel; and their Horſes, Camels, and Elephants are all richly adorn'd. Some of the Camels carry a ſmall Piece of Ordnance, with a man behind to ſhoot it off. The meaneſt of theſe *Omrahs* commands a thouſand Horſe; but if he be a Prince of the Blood, he commands ſix thouſand.

The Great *Mogul* has ſeven Thrones, ſome ſet all over with Diamonds; others with Rubies, Emraulds, and Pearls.

The largeſt Throne, which is ſet up in the Hall of the firſt Court, is in form like one of our Field-Beds, ſix foot long, and four broad. The Cuſhion at the back is round like a Bolſter; the Cuſhions on the ſides are flat.

I counted about a hundred and eight pale Rubies in Collets, about this Throne, the leaſt whereof weigh'd a hundred Carats; but there are ſome that weigh two hundred Emraulds I counted about a hundred and ſixty, that weigh'd ſome threeſcore, ſome thirty Carats.

The under-part of the Canopy is all embroider'd with Pearls and Diamonds, with a Fringe of Pearls round about. Upon the top of the Canopy, which is made like an Arch with four Panes, ſtands a Peacock, with his Tail ſpread, conſiſting all of Saphirs, and other proper colour'd Stones; the Body is of beaten Gold, enchas'd with ſeveral Jewels; and a great Ruby upon his breaſt, at which hangs a Pearl, that weighs fifty Carats. On each ſide of the Peacock ſtand two Noſe-gays, as high as the Bird, conſiſting of ſeveral ſorts of Flowers, all of beaten Gold enamel'd. When the King ſeats himſelf upon the Throne, there is a tranſparent Jewel, with a Diamond Appendant, of eighty or ninety Carats, encompaſs'd with Rubies and Emraulds, ſo hung that it is always in his Eye.

Eye. The twelve Pillars alſo that uphold the Canopy, are ſet with rows of fair Pearl, round, and of an excellent Water, that weigh from ſix to ten Carats a piece. At the diſtance of four feet, upon each ſide of the Throne, are plac'd two Paraſols, or Umbrello's, the handles whereof are about eight foot high, cover'd with Diamonds; the Paraſols themſelves are of crimſon Velvet, embroider'd and fring'd with Pearls.

This is the famous Throne which *Tamerlane* began, and *Cha-jehan* finiſh'd; which is really reported to have coſt a hundred and ſixty Millions, and five hundred-thouſand Livres of our Money.

Behind this ſtately and magnificent Throne there is another leſs, in the form of a Tub, where the King bathes himſelf; it is an Oval, ſeven foot long, and five broad. The outſide whereof ſhines all over with Diamonds and Pearls; but there is no Canopy over it.

Coming into the firſt Court, on the right hand, you ſee a particular Tent, where during all the Feaſt, the Morice-Dancers are appointed to make ſport, while the King ſits upon his Trone. On the left hand is another Tent, appointed from the Principal Officers of the Army and Houſhold.

In the ſame Court, while the King ſits upon his Throne, are to be ſeen thirty Horſes fifteen upon one ſide, and fifteen upon the other, lead by two men. Their Bridles are very ſhort, but for the moſt part enrich'd with Diamonds, Rubies, Emraulds, and Pearls, the bits whereof are of pure Gold. Every Horſe wears between his Ears a rich Plume of Feathers, with a little Cuſhion upon his Back, ty'd on with a Surcingle, both being embroider'd with Gold; and about his Neck hung ſome fair Jewel, which was either a Diamond, a Ruby, or an Emrauld. The worſt of thoſe Horſes coſt three thouſand, ſome five thouſand Crowns; and ſome there were, that were never bought under ten thouſand. The young Prince, who was between ſeven and eight years old, rode upon a Horſe no higher than a good big Greyhound, but very well ſhap'd.

About an hour after the King has been ſitting upon his Throne, ſeven ſtout Elephants bred up for War, are brought out. One of thoſe Elephants has his Seat fix'd upon his back, if the King ſhould have a mind to ride out. The others are cover'd with Cloaths richly embroider'd, with Chains of Gold and Silver about their Necks; and there are four that carry the Kings Standard upon their Cruppers, faſten'd to a Half-Pike, which a man ſeated on purpoſe cloſe by, holds upright with his hand. Theſe Elephants are brought within fifty paces of the Throne, and when they come before the King, they make their obeyſances to him, laying their Trunks to the ground, and then lifting them up above their Heads three times; every time he makes a great cry, and then turning his back to the King, one of the Leaders turns up the Cloath, that the King may ſee he is in good caſe. There belongs alſo to every one a Cord, which is put round his body, to ſhew how much he is grown ſince the laſt year. The firſt of theſe Elephants, which the King moſt eſteems, is a great furious Creature, that has five hundred Roupies allow'd him every month. He is fed with good Victuals, and a great quantity of Sucre, and they give him *Aqua-vitæ* to drink. When the King rides forth upon his Elephant, the *Omrahs* follow on Horſeback. And when he rides on Horſeback, the *Omrahs* follow him on foot.

After the King has ſeen his Elephants, he riſes up, and goes into his *Haram* through a little oval door behind the Throne.

The five other Thrones are ſet up in another magnificent Hall in another Court, all cover'd over with Diamonds, without any colour'd Stone.

When the King has ſtaid about half an hour, he comes out again, attended by three or four Eunuchs, and ſeats himſelf in the other Hall, upon the middlemoſt of the five Thrones, where the *Omrahs* come, as long as the five days of the Feſtival laſt, and make their Preſents to him.

CHAP. IX.

Some other Obſervations upon the Court of the Great Mogul.

AFter *Aureng-zeb* had ſetled himſelf in the Empire, which he uſurp'd from his Father and his Brothers, he impos'd upon himſelf a very ſevere penance, eating nothing but Pulſe and Sweet-meats, which has made him very meagre and lean. All the time the Comet laſted in the year 1665, which appear'd very great in the *Indies*, where I then was, *Aureng-zeb* drank nothing but Water, and eat nothing but Bread made of Millet; which ſo impair'd his health, that it had like to have coſt him his life. Beſides, he always lay upon the ground, only with a Tigers Skin under him; ſince which time he has never been perfectly well.

I ſaw him drink three ſeveral times, while he ſat upon his Throne; to which purpoſe he had brought him a large Cup of Cryſtal of the Rock, round and all of a piece, with a Gold Cover, enrich'd with Diamonds, Rubies, and Emraulds, the foot thereof being of the ſame. But no perſons ſee the King eat, only his Wives and his Eunuchs. And it is but very rarely that he goes to Dine or Sup with any of his Subjects. When I was laſt in *India*, *Giafer-Kan*, who was his Grand *Viſier*, and his Uncle by marriage of his Wife, invited the King to ſee a new Palace which he was building, who went accordingly, and it was the greateſt Honour his Majeſty could do him; in retaliation whereof, *Giafer-Kan*, and his Wife preſented him with Jewels, Elephants, Camels, Horſes, and other things, to the value of a Million and fifty thouſand Livres of our Money. For *Giafer-Kan*'s Wife is the moſt magnificent and liberal Woman in all *India*, and ſpends more her ſelf than all the Kings Wives and Daughters, which makes her Husband in debt, though he be almoſt Lord of all the Empire.

When the King is carried in his *Palleki* to the *Moſquee*, one of his Sons follows him, a Horſeback, and all his *Omrahs* and officers of his Houſhold come behind him a foot. Thoſe that are *Mahumetans* ſtay for him at the top of the aſcent to the *Moſquee*, and when he is ready to come out, they march before him to the Gate of his Palace. Eight Elephants always go before the King, to every one of which belong two men; one to lead the Elephant, and the other, who ſits upon his back, carries a Standard fix'd to a Half-Pike. The other four carry Seats or Thrones upon their backs, the one ſquare, the other round; one cover'd, the other inclos'd with Glaſs of ſeveral faſhions. When the King goes abroad, he has uſually five or ſix hundred men to attend him for his Guard, arm'd every one with a kind of an Half-Pike. To the heads of their Pikes they tye two Squibs croſs-wiſe, about a foot long, and as big as a mans Arm, which will carry the Half-Pike five hundred paces. The King is alſo attended by three or four hundred Muſquateers; but they are very Cowards, and hardly know how to ſhoot off their pieces. He has alſo a certain number of Cavalry, which are Soldiers much alike. A hundred *Europeans* might well beat a thouſand *Indians*; but they would hardly accuſtom themſelves to live ſuch ſober lives. For as well the Horſe as the Infantry will live upon Meal kneaded with Water and brown Sugar; but in the evening, when they have convenience, they make *Quichery*, which is Rice boil'd in Water and Salt, with a Grain, ſo call'd. When they eat it, they ſtir it with the ends of their Fingers in melted Butter, which is the uſual food of the Soldiers and poor people. Beſide, the heat would kill our Souldiers, who would never be able to endure the Sun all the day long, as the *Indians* do. By the way, give me leave to tell you, that the Country people have no other cloathing than a piece of Linnen to hide their ſecret parts, being miſerable poor; for if their Governours know they have any thing about them, they ſeize it either as their right, or by force. There are ſome Provinces in *India* that lye waſte, the Natives being forc'd to fly, by reaſon of the cruelty of their Governours. Under the pretence of being *Mahumetans* they perſecute the poor Ido-

Idolaters beyond all measure; and if any one of them embrace *Mahumetism*, 'tis only because they would not work any longer. For they turn Souldiers or *Faquirs*, who are a sort of people that profess a renunciation of the World, and live upon Alms, but are indeed very Rascals. They reckon that there are in *India* 800000 of these *Mahumetan Faquirs*, and twelve hunder'd-thousand Idolaters.

Once in fifteen days the King goes a Hunting, mounted upon his Elephant, and so continues during the chase. All the Game he takes is brought within Musket-shot of his Elephants. Which consists generally of Lions, Tigers, Harts, and wild-Goats. For they will not meddle with Boars, as being *Mahumetans*. When he returns home, he puts himself into his *Palleki*, and goes in the same order, and with the same Guard, as when he returns from the *Mosquee*, saving that when he goes a Hunting, he is attended with three or four-hunder'd Horsemen, that ride without any discipline in the World.

As for the Princesses, as well the Wives, Daughters and Sisters of the King; they never stir out of the Palace, unless it be to spend a few days in the Countrey for their pleasure. Some of them go abroad, but very rarely, to visit some great Noble-mens Wives, as the Wife of *Giafer-Kan*, who is the King's Aunt. But that is only by particular leave of the King. And then it is not the custom as in *Persia*, where the Ladies make their visits only by night, and with a great number of Eunuchs, who clear the Streets of all people they meet. For in the *Mogul*'s Court, they usually go out about nine in the morning, with only three or four Eunuchs, and ten or twelve Slaves, which are instead of Maids of Honour.

The Princesses are carri'd in *Palleki*'s cover'd over with Embroider'd Tapestry, and a litttle Coach to hold one single person that follows the *Palleki*, drawn by two men, the wheels not being above a foot in diameter. The reason why they carry that Coach along with them, is, because that when the Princesses arrive at the House where they intend to alight, the men that carry the *Palliki*, not being permitted to go any farther than the first Gate, they then take their Coaches, and are drawn by their female-Slaves to the Womens Apartment. I have also observ'd, that in all the Houses of great Noble-men, the Womens Apartment is at the farther end of all. So that you must cross two or three great Courts, and a Garden or two, before you can come at it.

When the Princesses are married to any of the Court-Grandees, they become absolute Mistresses of their Husbands; so that if they study not to please them, and do not as they would have them, in regard of their free access to the King they over-rule the King many times to their prejudice, even to the turning them out of their Employments.

As it is a custom that the first-born always is Heir to the Throne, though he be the Son of a Slave, so soon as the Princesses of the King's *Haram* perceive that there is any one among them big with Child, they use all the artifices imaginable to make them miscarry. Insomuch that being at *Patna* in the year 1666, *Cha-Est-Kan*'s Chirurgeon assur'd me, that the Wife of *Cha-Est-Kan* had procur'd the miscarrying of eight Women, because she would suffer no other Womens Children but her own.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Commodities which are brought as well out of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, *as out of the Kingdoms of* Golconda *and* Visapour, *and other neighbouring Territories.*

IT will be neceſſary for the Reader to take notice what I have already ſaid concerning the weights and Meaſures in uſe among the *Indians*, where I ſpoke concerning the *Mines*, and the *Serre*. Now for the *Cobit*.

The *Cobit* is a meaſure for all Commodities that are meaſur'd by the Ell, of which there are ſeveral ſorts, as in *Europe* there are ſeveral ſorts of Ells. The *Cobit* is divided into 24 *Taſots*: and in regard the greateſt part of the Commodities of *India* are utter'd at *Surat*, I have giv'n you a deſcription in the margin of the fourth part of a *Surat-Cobit*, divided into ſix *Taſots*.

Of their Silk.

KAſembaſar, a Village in the Kingdom of *Bengala*, ſends abroad every year two and twenty-thouſand Bales of Silk; every Bale weighing a hunder'd pound. The two and twenty Bales make two millions and two-hunder'd-thouſand pound, at ſixteen ounces to the pound. The *Hollanders* uſually carry away ſix or ſeven-thouſand Bales, and would carry away more, did not the Merchants of *Tartary*, and the *Mogul*'s Empire oppoſe them: for they buy up as much as the *Hollander*; the reſt the Natives keep to make their Stuffs. This Silk is all brought into the Kingdom of *Guzerat*, the greateſt part whereof comes to *Amadabat*, and to *Surat*, where it is wrought up.

In the firſt place they make Carpets of Silk and Gold, others of Silk and Silver, others all of Silk: For the Worſted Carpets are made at *Vestapour*, ſome twelve leagues from *Agra*.

In the ſecond place they make Satins with ſtreaks of Gold and Silver; others plain; with Taffata's after the ſame faſhion.

In the third place they make *Patoles*, which are a ſort of Silk-ſtuff very thin, but painted with all ſorts of Flowers, the manufacture whereof is at *Amadabat*. They coſt from eight Roupies to forty the piece. This is a Commodity wherein The *Dutch* will not ſuffer any one of the *Hollanders* to trade in particular: for they tranſport it to the *Philippine-Iſlands*, to the Iſlands of *Borneo*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, and other neighbouring Iſlands.

The raw-Silk of *Kaſembaſar* is yellowiſh, as are all the raw-Silks that come from *Perſia* and *Sicily*; but the Natives of *Kaſembaſar* have a way to whiten it, with a Lye made of the Aſhes of a Tree which they call *Adam*'s Fig-tree; which makes it as white as the *Paleſtine*-Silk. The *Hollanders* ſend away all their Merchandize which they fetch out of *Bengala*, by water, through a great Canal that runs from *Kaſembaſar* into *Ganges*, for fifteen leagues together; from whence it is as far by water down the *Ganges* to *Ouguely*, where they laid their Ships.

Of the Calicuts: and firſt of the painted Calicuts, call'd Chites.

CHites or Painted Calicuts, which they call *Calmendar*, that is to ſay, done with a Pencil, are made in the Kingdom of *Golconda*; and particularly about *Maſtipatan*. But there is made ſo little, that though a man ſhould employ all the Workmen that underſtand the art of weaving Calicuts, he would hardly find enough to make three Bales.

The *Chites* which are made in the Empire of the Great *Mogul* are all Printed; and nothing ſo beautiful, neither for the figures nor the fineneſs of the Linnen. Thoſe which are made at *Lahor*, are the coarſeſt, and conſequently the cheapeſt of all. They are ſold by *Corges*, every *Corge* conſiſting of twenty pieces, which coſt from 16 to 30 Roupies.

The

The *Chites* which are made at *Seronge*, are sold from 20 to 50 Roupies the *Corge*, or thereabouts.

These *Chites* serve for Coverlets for Beds, for Sofra's or Table-cloaths after the Countrey-fashion, Pillowbears, Handkerchiefs, but more especially for Wastcoats as well for men as women in *Persia*.

The fine Calicut-*Chites* are made at *Brampour*; and are us'd for handkerchiefs by those that snuff Tobacco.

The women also, over all *Asia*, make Veils of these Calicuts, to wear over their heads, and about their shoulders, which Veils are call'd *Ormis*.

The *Basta's* or Calicuts painted red, blue, and black, are carr'id white to *Agra*, and *Amadabat*, in regard those Cities are neareſt to the places where the *Indigo* is made that is us'd in colouring. They cost from two Roupies to 30 or 40 a-piece, according to the fineness and the quantity of Gold at the ends, and sometimes upon the sides. The *Indians* have a way to dip some of these Calicuts in a certain water that makes them look like Water'd-Chamlets, which adds also to the price.

That sort which is sold for two Roupies, and so onward till ye come to twelve, is transported to the Coast of *Melinda*, and it is the greatest Trade the Governour of *Mozambique* drives, who sells them to the *Cafres*, that vend them again among the *Abyssins*, and into the Kingdom of *Saba*: for those people not understanding the use of Soap, need no more but only to wash these Calicuts in water. That sort which is valu'd from 12 Roupies upward, is transported to the *Philippine*-Islands, the Islands of *Borneo*, *Jéva*, *Sumatra*, and other adjacent places. Where the women wear no other clothes, than a single piece of this Calicut. One part whereof, without cutting it, serves for a Petticoat; the other they wind about their stomachs and their heads.

White Calicuts.

WHite Calicuts come partly from *Agra*, and about *Labor*, part from *Bengala*: some from *Brouda*, *Baroche*, *Renonsari*, and other places. They are brought out of the Loom to *Renonsari*, and *Baroche*, where they are whiten'd by reason of the convenience of their Meadows, and the great store of Limons, that grow thereabouts. For the Calicuts are never so white as they should be, till they are dipt in Limon-water.

The Calicuts that come from *Agra*, *Labor*, and *Bengala*, are sold by the *Corge*, and they are of several prices, from seventeen Roupies to three or four-hunder'd, as the Merchant will have them wov'n.

The Calicuts that come from *Renonsari*, and *Baroche*, are one and twenty cubits long, new out of the Loom; but in the whitening they shrunk to twenty cubits.

Those of *Brouda* twenty cubits from the Loom, and shrink in the whitening to nineteen and a half.

All the Calicuts or *Basta's* that come from these three Cities, are of two sorts: for some are broad, some are narrow. The narrow are those I have already mention'd, the prices whereof are various, from two *Mamoudi's* to six.

The broad *Basta's* are a cubit, and one third part wide; the whole piece twenty cubits long. The usual price of them is from five *Mamoudi's* to twelve: but a Merchant being upon the place, may cause them to be made much more large and fine, till they are worth five-hunder'd *Mamoudi's* a-piece. I saw two pieces sold for a thousand *Mamoudi's*.

The *English* bought one, and the *Hollanders* another, each piece containing eight and twenty cubits.

Mahamed Alibeg returning into *Persia* out of *India*, where he had been Embassador, presented *Cha-Sef* the second with a Coco-nut, about the bigness of an Ostrich-egg, all beset with Pearls: and when it was open'd there was taken out of it a Turbant that had sixty cubits of Calicut in length to make it, the Cloath being so fine, that you could hardly feel it in your hand. For they will spin their thread so fine, that the eye can hardly discern it, or at least it seems to be but a Cob-web.

Twisted

Twisted-Cotton.

COtton twisted and untwisted comes from the Provinces of *Brampour* and *Guzerat*. Untwisted Cotton is never transported into *Europe*, being too cumbersome, and of little value; only they send it to *Ormus*, *Balsara*, and sometimes to the *Philippine*-Islands, and the Islands of *Sinde*. As for the twisted Cottons, the *English* and *Hillonders* transport a good quantity, not of the finest, but of that sort which is priz'd from fifteen to fifty *Mamoudi's*: It serves for wicks for Candles, for Packsaddles, and for the ground of Silk-stuffs.

Indigo.

INdigo comes from several parts of the great *Mogul*'s Empire; and according to the diversity of the places it differs in quality, and consequently in price. In the first place, it comes from the Territories of *Biana*, *Indoua*, and *Corsa*, a day or two's journey from *Agra*: which is esteem'd the best of all. It is made also eight days journey from *Surat*, in a Village call'd *Sarquesi*, two leagues distance from *Amadabat*. Here the flat *Indigo* is made. There is also *Indigo* little inferior in goodness and price, which comes from the King of *Golconda*'s Territories. The *Mein* of *Surat*, which contains 42 *Serre's*, or 34 and a half of our pounds, is valu'd from 15 to 20 Roupies. They make as good as this at *Baroche*. That which is made up about *Agra* is made up in half Balls, and is the most sought for in all *India*. It is sold by the *Mein*, which in those places contains 60 *Serres*, or 51 and three quarters of our pounds. The usual price is from 36 to 40 Roupies. There grows also *Indico* some 36 leagues from *Brampour*, about a great Village call'd *Raout*, and round about the neighbouring Towns in the road to *Surat*: of which the Natives usually make above a hunder'd-thousand Roupies.

There comes *Indigo* also from *Bengala*, which the *Holland*-Company transports for *Maslipatan*. But they buy this *Indigo*, and that of *Brampour* and *Amadabat*, cheaper by twenty four in the hunder'd, than that of *Agra*.

Indigo is made of an Herb which they sow every year after the rains are over: which when it is grown up, is very like our Hemp. They cut it three times a year; first when it is about two or three foot high; and they cut it within half a foot of the ground; the first cutting far exceeds the two latter. The second cutting is worse than the first by ten or twelve in the hunder'd, and the third worse than the second by twelve in the hunder'd. The difference is found by breaking a piece of the Paste, and observing the colour. The colour of that *Indigo* which is made of the first cutting, is a violet-blue, but more brisk and lively than the two others: and that which is made of the second is more lively than the third.

When they have cut the Herb, they throw it unto Pits which they make with Lime, which becomes so hard, that you would judg it to be one intire piece of Marble. They are generally fourscore or a hunder'd paces in circuit; and being half full of water, they fill them quite up with the Herb. Then they bruise and jumble it in the water till the leaf, for the stalk is worth nothing, become like a kind of thick mud. This being done, they let it settle for some days; and when the settling is all at the bottom, and the water clear above, they let out all the water. When the water is as drain'd out, they fill several baskets wit hthis slime, and in a plain Field you shall see several men at work, every one at his own basket, making up little pieces of *Indigo* flat at the bottom, at the top sharp like an egg. Though at *Amadabat* they make their pieces quite flat like a small cake. Here you are to take particular notice, that the Merchants, because they would not pay custom for an unnecessary weight, before they transport their *Indigo* out of *Asia* into *Europe*, are very careful to cause it to be sifted, to seperate the dust from it; which they sell afterwards to the Natives of the Countrey to dye their Calicuts. They that sift this *Indigo* must be careful to keep a Linnen-cloath before their faces, and that their nostrils be well-stopt, leaving only two littles holes for their eyes. Besides, they must every half hour be sure to drink milk, which is a great preservative against the piercing quality of the dust. Yet notwithstanding

ſtanding all this caution, they that have ſifted *Indigo* for nine or ten days, ſhall ſpit nothing but blew for a good while together. Once I laid an Egg in the morning among the ſifters, and when I came to break it in the evening it was all blew within.

As they take the Paſte out of the Baskets with their Fingers dipt in Oil, and make it into Lumps, or Cakes they lay them in the Sun to dry. Which is the reaſon that when the Merchants buy *Indigo*, they burn ſome pieces of it, to try whether there be any duſt among it. For the Natives who take the Paſte out of the Baskets to make it into Lumps, lay it in the Sand, which mixes with the Paſte, and fouls it. But when the Merchants burn it, the *Indigo* turns to Aſhes, and the Sand remains. The Governours do what they can to make the Natives leave their Knavery; but notwithſtanding all their care, there will be ſome deceit.

Salt-Peter.

GReat ſtore of *Salt-Peter* comes from *Agra* and *Patna*; but the refin'd coſts three times more than that which is not. The *Hollanders* have ſet up a Ware-Houſe fourteen Leagues above *Patna*, and when their *Salt-Peter* is refin'd, they tranſport it by Water by *Ogueli*. A Mein of refin'd *Salt-Peter* is worth ſeven Mamoudi's.

Spice.

CArdamom, Ginger, Pepper, Nutmegs, Nutmeg-Flowers, Cloves and Cinnamon, are all the different ſorts of Spices known to us. I put Cardamom, and Ginger in the firſt place becauſe that Cardamom grows in the Territories of *Viſapour*, and Ginger in the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*. And as for other Spices, they are brought from other Forreign parts to *Surat*, which is the grand Mart.

Cardamom is the moſt excellent of all other Spices, but it is very ſcarce; and in regard there is no great ſtore in the place where it grows, it is only made uſe of in *Aſia*, at the Tables of great Princes. Five hundred pound of Cardamoms, are priz'd from a hundred to a hundred and ten Reals.

Ginger is brought in great quantities from *Amadabat*, where there grows more than in any other part of *Aſia*; and it is hardly to be imagin'd how much there is tranſported candied into Foreign parts.

Pepper is of two ſorts. There is a ſort which is very ſmall, another ſort much bigger; both which ſorts are diſtinguiſh'd into ſmall and great Pepper. The larger ſort comes from the Coaſt of *Malavare*; and *Tuticorin* and *Calicut* are the Cities where it is brought up. Some of this Pepper comes from the Territories of the King of *Viſapour*, being vended at *Rejapour*, a little City in that Kingdom. The *Hollanders* that purchaſe it of the *Malavares*, do not give Money for it, but ſeveral ſorts of Commodities in Exchange; as Cotton, Opium, Vermillion, and Quickſilver; and this is the Pepper which is brought into *Europe*. As for the little Pepper that comes from *Bantam*, *Aſchen*, and ſome other parts toward the Eaſt, there is none of it carried out of *Aſia*, where it is ſpent in vaſt quantities, eſpecially among the *Mahumetans*. For there are double the Grains of ſmall Pepper in one pound, to what there are of the great Pepper; beſides that the great Pepper is hotter in the mouth.

The little Pepper that comes to *Surat*, has been ſold ſome years for thirteen or fourteen Mamoudi's the Mein; and ſo much I have ſeen the *Engliſh* give for it, to tranſport it to *Ormus*, *Balſara*, and the Red Sea. As for the great Pepper which the *Hollanders* fetch from the Coaſt of *Malavare*, five hundred pound in truck brings them in not above thirty-eight Reals; but by the Commodities which they give in Barter, they gain *Cent. per Cent.*

The Nutmeg, the Nutmeg-Flow'r, the Clove, and Cinnamon, are the only Spices which the *Hollanders* have in their own hands. The three firſt come from the *Molucca* Iſlands; the fourth, which is Cinnamon, from the Iſland of *Ceylan*.

'Tis obſervable of the Nutmeg, that the Tree which bears it is never planted, which has been confirm'd to me by ſeveral perſons that have liv'd ſeveral years in the Countrey. They related to me, that the Nutmeg being ripe, ſeveral Birds come from the Iſlands toward the South, and devour it whole, but are forc'd to throw it up again before it be digeſted. The Nutmeg then beſmear'd with a viſcous matter, falling to the ground takes root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive were it planted. This puts me in mind of making one obſervation upon the Birds of Paradiſe. Theſe Birds being very greedy after Nutmegs, come in flights to gorge themſelves with the pleaſing Spice, at the ſeaſon, like Felfares in Vintage time; but the ſtrength of the Nutmeg ſo intoxicates them, that they fall dead drunk to the Earth, where the Emets in a ſhort time eat off their Legs. Hence it comes, that the Birds of Paradiſe are ſaid to have no Feet; which is not true however, for I have ſeen three or four that had Feet; and a *French* Merchant ſent one from *Aleppo* as a Preſent to *Lewis* the Thirteenth that had Feet; of which the King made great account, as being a very lovely Fowl.

But notwithſtanding all the *Hollanders* Projects, you may buy Cloves at *Macaſſar* without purchaſing them of the *Hollander*; in regard the Iſlanders buy them of the *Dutch* Captains and Soldiers, which the *Hollanders* have in thoſe places where the Cloves grow, giving them in exchange Rice, and other neceſſaries for the ſupport of life, without which they would ſtarve, being very ſadly provided for.

When the Natives of *Macaſſar* are thus furniſh'd of Cloves, they barter them in Exchange for ſuch Commodities as are brought them; ſometines they give Tortoiſe-Shells in exchange, and Gold Duſt; by which the Merchant gains ſix or ſeven in the hundred, being better than the Money of the Iſland, though it be Gold, by reaſon the King ofttimes enhances the value of it. The places where Cloves grow, are *Amboyna*, *Ellias*, *Seram*, and *Bouro*.

The Iſlands of *Banda* alſo, in number ſix, *viz. Nero*, *Lontour*, *Poulcay*, *Roſegnin*, and *Grenapuis*, bear Nutmegs, in great abundance. The Iſland of *Grenapuis* is about ſix Leagues in compaſs, and ends in a ſharp point, where there is a continual fire burning out of the Earth. The Iſland of *Damme*, where there grows great ſtore of Nutmegs, and very big, was diſcover'd in the year 1647, by *Abel Taſman*, a *Dutch* Commander.

The price of Cloves and Nutmegs, as I have known them ſold to the *Hollanders* at *Surat*, was as follows.

The Mein of *Surat* contains forty Serres, which make thirty-four of our Pounds, at ſixteen Ounces to the Pound.

A Mein of Cloves was ſold for a hundred and there Mamoudi's and a half.

A Mein of Mace was ſold for a hundred and fifty-ſeven Mamoudi's and a half.

Nutmegs for fifty-ſix Mamoudi's and a half.

Cinnamon comes at Preſent from the Iſland of *Ceylan*. The Tree that bears it is very much like the Willow, and has three Barks. They never take off but the firſt and ſecond, which is accounted the beſt. They never meddle with the third, for ſhould the Knife enter that, the Tree would dye. So that it is an art to take off the Cinnamon, which they learn from their youth. The Cinnamon Spice is much dearer to the *Hollanders* than people think; for the King of *Ceylan*, otherwiſe call'd King of *Candy*, from the name of his principal City, being a ſworn Enemy to the *Hollanders*, ſends his Forces with an intention to ſurprize them, when they gather their Cinnamon; ſo that they are forc'd to bring ſeven or eight hundred men together to defend as many more that are at work. Which great expence of theirs very much enhances the price of the Cinnamon. There grows upon the Cinnamon Tree a certain fruit like an Olive, though not to be eaten. This the *Portugals* were wont to put into a Caldron of Water, together with the tops of the Branches, and boil'd it till the Water was all conſum'd. When it was cold, the upper part became a Paſte like white Wax; of which they made Tapers to ſet up in their Churches, for no ſooner were the Tapers lighted, but all the Church was perfum'd. Formerly the *Portugals* brought Cinnamon out of other Countries, belonging to the *Raja's* about

Cochin.

Cochin. But the *Hollanders* have deſtroyed all thoſe places, ſo that the Cinnamon is now in their hands. When the *Portugals* had that Coaſt, the *Engliſh* bought their Cinnamon of them, and uſually paid for it by the Mein fifty Mamoudi's.

Drugs that are brought to Surat, *and brought from other Countries, with the price of every one by the Mein.*

Salt Armoniack, according to the uſual price, coſts by the Mein twenty Mamoudi's.

Borax, comes unrefin'd from *Amadabat*, as does Salt Armoniack, and coſts by the Mein thirty-five Mamoudi's.

Gum-Lack, ſeven Mamoudi's and a half.

Gum-Lack waſh'd, ten Mamoudi's.

Gum-Lack in ſticks of Wax, forty Mamoudi's.

There are ſome of theſe Sticks that coſt fifty or ſixty Mamoudi's the Mein, and more when they mix Musk in the Gum.

Saffron of *Surat*, which is good for nothing but for colouring, four Mamoudi's and a half.

Cumin White, eight Mamoudi's.

Cumin Black, three Mamoudi's.

Arlet ſmall, three Mamoudi's.

Frankincenſe, that comes from the Coaſt of *Arabia*, three Mamoudi's.

Myrrh, that which is good, call'd *Mirra Giler*, thirty Mamoudi's.

Myrrh *Bolti*, which comes from *Arabia*, fifteen Mamoudi's.

Caſſia, two Mamoudi's.

Sugar Candy, eighteen Mamoudi's.

Aſutinat, a ſort of Grain, very hot, one Mamoudi.

Anniſe-Seed Groſs, three Mamoudi's and a half.

Anniſe-Seed ſmall and hot, one Mamoudi and a half.

Oupelote, a Root, fourteen Mamoudi's.

Cointre, five Mamoudi's.

Auzerout, from *Perſia*, a hundred and twenty Mamoudi's.

Aloes Succotrine, from *Arabia*, twenty eight Mamoudi's.

Licorice, four Mamoudi's.

Lignum Aloes, in great pieces, two hundred Mamoudi's.

Lignum Aloes, in ſmall pieces, four hundred Mamoudi's.

Vez-Cabouli, a certain Root, twelve Mamoudi's.

There is a ſort of Lignum Aloes very Gummy, which comes to, by the Mein, four thouſand Mamoudi's.

Gum-Lake for the moſt part comes from *Pegu*; yet there is ſome alſo brought from *Bengala*, where it is very dear, by reaſon the Natives fetch that lively Scarlet colour out of it, with which they paint their Calicuts. Nevertheleſs, the *Hollanders* buy it, and carry it into *Perſia* for the ſame uſe of painting. That which remains after the colour is drawn off, is only fit to make ſealing Wax. That which comes from *Pegu* is not ſo dear, though as good for other Countries. The difference is only this, that it is not ſo clean in *Pegu*, where the Piſmires foul it, as in *Bengala*, where it grows in a healthy place, full of Shrubs, where thoſe Animals cannot ſo well come at it. The Inhabitants of *Pegu* never make any uſe of it in painting, being a dull ſort of people, that are in nothing at all induſtrious.

The women of *Surat* get their livings by cleanſing the Lake after the Scarlet colour is drawn from it. After that they give it what colour they pleaſe, and make it up into Sticks for ſealing Wax. The *Engliſh* and *Holland* Company carry away every year a hundred and fifty Cheſts. The price is about ten Sous the pound.

Powder'd Sugar is brought in great quantities out of the Kingdom of *Bengala*; it cauſes alſo a very great Trade at *Ougeli*, *Patna*, *Daca*, and other places. I have been told it for a very great certainty, by ſeveral ancient people in *Bengala*, that Sugar being kept thirty years becomes abſolute poiſon, and that there is no Venome more dangerous, or that ſooner works its effect. Loaf-Sugar

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where they are wash'd, the more lively will the printed and painted colours appear. It is easy to distinguish between the printed and the painted Calicuts; and between the neatness of the work: but for the fineness and other qualities, they are not so easily discern'd; and therefore the Broaker must be more careful.

Cheats in Cotton.

THE cheat in the weight is twofold. The first, by laying them in a moist place; and thrusting in the middle of every Skain something to add to the weight. The second, in not giving good weight when the Broaker receives it from the Workman, or Merchant that delivers it.

There is but one cheat in the quality, that is by putting three or four Skains, of a coarser Commodity than that which is uppermost, into one *Mein*. Which in a great quantity mounts high; for there are some Cottons that are worth an hunder'd Crowns the *Men*. These two cheats being often us'd by the *Holland*-Company, there is no way but to weigh your Commodity in the presence of the *Dutch*-Commander, and his Councel, and to examine every *Mein*, Skain by Skain. When this is done, they who are order'd to be at this examination, are oblig'd to fix to every Bale a ticket of the weight and quality: for if there be a faileur, they who fix the ticket are engag'd to make good what is wanting.

Deceits in Indigo.

I Have told you, that when the Work-men have made up the Indigo-Paste into lumps, with their fingers dipt in Oil, they lay them in the Sun a drying. Now those that have a design to cheat the Merchants, dry them in the sand, to the end that the sand sticking to the Indigo, should encrease the weight. Sometimes they lay up their Paste in moist places, which makes it give, and consequently renders it more heavy. But if the Governour of the place discovers the cheat, he makes them severely pay for it: and the best way of discovery is to burn som pieces of Indigo, for the sand will remain.

Indian Broakers.

THE Broakers are as it were the Masters of the *Indian* Families; for they have all Goods at their disposal. The Work-men choose the most aged and most experienc'd, who are to endeavor equal advantages for the whole Tribe they undertake for. Every evening that they return from their business, and that, according to the custom of the *Indians*, who make no Suppers, they have eaten some little piece of Sweet-meat, and drank a glass of water, the eldest of the Tribe meet at the Broaker's House, who gives them an account of what he has done that day, and then they consult what he is to do next. Above all things, they caution him to look to his hits, and to cheat, rather than be cheated.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of Diamonds, and the Mines and Rivers where they are found; and first of the Author's journey to the Mine of Raolconda.

THE Diamond is the most precious of all Stones, and it was in that sort of Commodity wherein I most dealt. And therefore to acquire a perfect experience, I went to all the Mines; and to one of the Rivers where they are found. To which purpose I travell'd to four Mines; of which I will give you a description; and of one of the Rivers where I have also been.

The first of these Mines, where I was, is in the Territories of the King of *Visapour*, in the Province of *Carnatica*; and the place is call'd *Raolconda*, five days journey from *Golconda*, and eight or nine from *Visapour*. This Mine was discover'd not above two-hunder'd years ago, as I was Inform'd by those of the Countrey.

Round about the place where the Diamonds are found, the ground is sandy, full of Rocks, much resembling the parts near *Fountain-Bleau*. There are in the Rocks several veins, some half a finger, some a whole finger-wide: And the Miners make use of Irons with hooks at the end, with which they pick out the earth or Sand, which they put into tubs, and among that earth, they find the Diamonds. But because these veins do not run always streight, but sometimes down, sometimes upward, the Miners are constrain'd to break the Rock, following always the trace of the veins: When they have open'd all the veins, and taken out all the sand, then they wash it two or three times over to look for the Diamonds. In this Mine it is that they find the cleanest Stones, and of the whitest water. But the mischief is, that to fetch the sand out of the Rock, they are forc'd to strike such terrible blows with a great Iron-leaver, that they flaw the Diamond, and make it look like Crystal. Which is the reason there are found so many soft Stones in this Diamond-Mine, though they make a great shew. If the Stone be clean, they only give it a turn or two upon the wheel, not caring to shape it, for fear of losing the weight. If there be any flaws, or any points, or any black or red specks in it, they cut all the Stone into Fossets; or if there be only a little flaw, they work it under the ridg of one of the Fossets, to hide the defect. Now because a Merchant desires rather to have a black speck than a red one; 'tis but burning the Stone, and the speck becomes black. This trick at length I understood so well, that when I saw any Stones in them that came from the Mine made into Fossets, especially very small ones, I was certain there was either some speck or some flaw in the Stone.

There are several Diamond-Cutters at this Mine, but none of them have above one Mill, which is of Steel. They never cut but one Stone at a time upon each Mill, casting water continually upon the Mill, to find out the grain of the Stone; which being found they pour on Oil, (not sparing for powder of Diamonds though it be very dear,) to make the Stone slide the faster; and they lay on more weight than we do. I have seen them lay upon one Stone an hunder'd and fifty pound of Lead. I must confess it was a great Stone, which weigh'd an hunder'd and three Carats, after it was cut; and the Mill was like ours, only the great Wheel was turn'd by four *Negros*. The *Indians* are not of the same opinion that we are; for they do not believe that the weight gives any luster to the Stones. If theirs be not subject to take their luster, 'tis because there is always a Boy that stands with a thin woodden-slice in his hand, and waters the Wheel continually with Oil and Powder of Diamonds. Besides, their Wheel does not go so fast as ours, because the Woodden-wheel that turns the Steel-wheel, is not above three foot in Diameter.

They cannot give that lively polishment to Stones, as we give to ours in *Europe*; and I believe the reason to be, because their Wheel does not run so flat as ours. For in regard it is of Steel, to rub it upon the Emeril, as must be done every four and twenty hours, the Tree must be taken off, which can never be put on again

again ſo as to run ſo flat as it did. Had they the invention of Iron-mills, upon which they never uſe Emeril, but only the File, becauſe their is no neceſſity to take off the Tree to file the Mill, they might poliſh their Stones better than they do. I have told you they muſt eithe rub the Mill with Emeril, or file it every four and twenty hours. For when the Stone has run for ſome time, that part of the Mill becomes as ſmooth and bright as glaſs: ſo that if you do not rough it again either with Emeril or the File, the powder will not ſtay; whereas if the powder ſtay, there is more work done in an hour than otherwiſe in two.

Though a Diamond be naturally very hard, having a kind of a knot, as you ſee in wood, the *Indian* Lapidaries will cut the Stone, which our *European* Lapidaries find great difficulty to do, and uſually will not undertake to perform; which makes the *Indians* require ſomething more for the faſhion.

As for the Government of the Mines, they trade very freely, and very faithfully. They pay two *per cent.* to the King for all that they buy: beſides that, he has alſo a duty from the Merchants for leave to dig. The Merchant after he has made ſearch with the Miners, who know all the places where the Diamonds grow, chooſes out a place about two-hunder'd paces in compaſs, where they ſet at work ſometimes fifty, ſometimes an hunder'd Miners, as they are in haſt of work. And from the day that they begin to work, to the day that they end, the Merchants pay to the King two Pagods a-day; and four when they employ an hunder'd men.

Theſe poor people never get above three Pagods all the year long, though they underſtand their buſineſs extremely well; ſo that their wages being ſo ſmall, they make no ſcruple, when they can handſomely, to hide a Stone for their own profit; and in regard they are quite naked, only for a rag about their privities, ſometimes they are ſo dextrous, as to ſwallow the Stone. The chief of the Merchants who employ theſe Miners ſhew'd me one of them, that had cozen'd him of a Stone, and had put it into the corner of his eye, but he took it from the fellow ſo ſoon as he had diſcover'd the cheat. To prevent this cozenage, there are twelve or fifteen in fifty, who are engag'd to the Merchant, that he ſhall have no injury done him, nor any theſts committed. If by accident they meet with a Stone that weighs 14 or 16 Carats, they preſently carry it to the Maſter of the work, who gives him in recompence the *Sarpo*, which is a piece of Calicut to make him a Bonnet, to the value of 25 Sous, together with half a Pagod in Silver, or elſe a whole Pagod, when he gives him neither Rice nor Sugar.

The Merchants that come to trade at the Mines keep their Lodgings; and every morning about ten or eleven a clock, after they have din'd, the Maſters of the Miners bring their Diamonds to ſhew them. If the Stones are large, or that there be ſo many as amount from two-thouſand to ſixteen-thouſand Crowns, they will leave them with the ſtrange Merchant ſeven or eight days, for the Merchants to conſider. When the Merchant has ſeen the Stones, it becomes him to agree upon the price in a ſhort time. Otherwiſe the party that owes the Stones, takes them away again, and you ſhall never ſee the ſame Stones again, unleſs mix'd with others. When the bargain is concluded, the Purchaſer gives a Bill of Exchange upon the Banker. If you have agreed to pay him in four dayes, and make him ſtay longer, you muſt pay him down one and an half in the hunder'd for a months intereſt. Moſt commonly when they know the Merchant to be ſufficient, they will chooſe to take a Bill of Exchange for *Agra*, for *Golconda*, or *Viſapour*, but more eſpecially for *Surat*, as being the moſt frequented Port in all *India*, where they may furniſh themſelves with all Commodities which they want.

'Tis very pleaſant to ſee the young children of the Merchants and other people of the Countrey, from the age of ten to fifteen or ſixteen years, who ſeat themſelves upon a Tree, that lies in the void place of the Town: Every one of them has his Diamond-weights in a little Bag hanging at one ſide, on the other his Purſe, with five or ſix-hunder'd Pagods in Gold in it. There they ſit expecting when any perſon will come to ſell them ſome Diamonds. If any perſon brings them a Stone, they put it into the hands of the eldeſt Boy among them, who is as it were their chief; who looks upon it, and after that gives it to him that is next him; by which means it goes from hand to hand, till it return to him again, none of the reſt ſpeaking one word. After that he demands the price, to buy it if poſſible; but

but if he buy it to dear, 'tis upon his own account. In the evening the Children compute what they have laid out, then they look upon their Stones, and seperate them according to their water, their weight, and clearneſs. Then they bring them to the great Merchants, who have generally great parcels to match: and the profit is divided among the children equally; only the chief among them has a fourth in the hunder'd more than the reſt. As young as they are, they ſo well underſtand the price of Stones, that if one of them have bought any purchaſe, and is willing to loſe one half in the hunder'd, the other ſhall give him his Money. They ſhall hardly bring you a parcel of Stones, above a dozen, wherein there is not ſome flaw or other defect.

When I came to the Mine, I went to wait upon the Governour, who told me I was welcome; and becauſe he made no queſtion but that I had brought Gold with me, (for they talk of nothing under Gold at the Mines,) he bid me only lay it in my Chamber, and he would undertake it ſhould be ſafe. Thereupon he preſented me with four ſervants to watch my Gold day and night, and to follow my orders, bidding me withal fear nothing, but eat, drink, and ſleep, and take care of my health; but withal he told me I muſt be careful of not cheating the King. Thereupon I fell to buying, and found profit enough, above twenty in the hunder'd cheaper than at *Golconda*.

I have one thing to obſerve which is more than ordinarily curious, concerning the manner how the *Indians*, as well as *Mahumetans* as Idolaters, drive their bargains. Every thing is done with great ſilence, and without any talking on either ſide. The buyer and the ſeller ſit one before another like two Taylors, and the one of the two opening his Girdle, the ſeller takes the right-hand of the purchaſer, and covers his own hand and that with his Girdle: under which, in the preſence of many Merchants that meet together in the ſame Hall, the bargain is ſecretly driven without the knowledg of any perſon. For then the purchaſer nor ſeller ſpeak neither with their mouths nor eyes, but only with the hand, as thus. When the ſeller takes the purchaſer by the whole hand, that ſignifies a thouſand, and as often as he ſqueezes it, he means ſo many thouſand Pagods or Roupies, according to the Money in queſtion. If he takes but half to the knuckle of the middle-finger, that's as much as to ſay fifty: The ſmall end of the finger to the firſt knuckle ſignifies ten. When he graſps five fingers, it ſignifies five-hunder'd; if but one finger, one-hunder'd. This is the myſtery which the *Indians* uſe in driving their bargains. And many times it happens, that it the ſame place, where there are ſeveral people, one and the ſame parcel ſhall be ſold ſeven or eight times over, and no perſon know that it was ſold in that manner every time.

As for the weight of the Stones, no perſon can be deceiv'd in them, unleſs he purchaſe them in hugger-mugger. For if they are publickly bought, there is a perſon on purpoſe paid by the King, without any benefit from particular perſons, whoſe place it is to weigh the Diamonds; and when he has ſpoken the weight, the buyer and ſeller are ſatisfi'd in his words, as not being a perſon any way oblig'd to favour any perſon.

Having diſpatch'd all my buſineſs at the Mine, the Governour appointed me ſix Horſe-men to convoy me through the Territories under his Government, which extends to a River that ſeparates the Kingdom of *Viſapour* from that of *Golconda*. 'Tis a very difficult thing to croſs that River, it being deep, broad and rapid; beſides that, there are no Boats. But they ferry over Men, Carriages, Oxen and Coaches upon a round Veſſel, ten or twelve foot in Diameter, made of Oſier-twigs, like our Flaskets, and cover'd without with Ox-hides; as I have already related. They might eaſily uſe Boats, or make a Bridg; but the King of *Golconda* will not ſuffer either, becauſe the River parts the two Kingdoms. Every evening the Ferry-men on both ſides are bound to carry to two Governours on each ſide the River, an exact account of the Perſons, Carriages and Merchandizes which they ferri'd over that day.

Coming to *Golconda*, I found that the perſon whom I had left in truſt with my Chamber, was dead: but that which I obſerv'd moſt remarkable, was, that I found the door ſeal'd with two Seals, one being the *Cadi's* or chief Juſtice's, the other the *Sha-Bander's*, or Provoſt of the Merchants. An Officer of Juſtice, together with the Servants I had left behind, watch'd the Chamber night and day. This

Officer

Officer hearing of my arrival, went and gave notice to the *Cadi* and *Sha-Bander*, who ſent for me. The *Cadi* preſently ask'd me, if the Money I had left in the Chamber where the perſon dy'd were mine, and how I could prove it. I told him I had no better proofs than the Letters of Exchange which I had brought to the Banker that paid it by my order to the perſon deceas'd; to whom I had alſo giv'n farther order, that if the Banker paid me in Silver, he ſhould change the ſum into Gold. Thereupon the Bankers were ſent for, who affirming the payments accordingly, the *Cadi* ſent his Deputy to op'n the Chamber door; nor would he leave me, till I had counted over my Money, and had aſſur'd him it was right. After that I return'd to the *Cadi* and the *Sha-Bander*, and ſignifi'd as much to them; and having paid them ſome Fees which they demanded. to the value of four Crowns and a half of our Money, I return'd them my thanks for their care. This I relate to ſhew the juſtice of the Country.

CHAP. XII.

The Authors Journey to the other Mines; and how they find the Diamonds there.

SEven days journey from *Golconda* Eaſtward there is another Diamond Mine, call'd in the language of the Country *Gani*, in the *Perſian* tongue *Coulour*. It is near a great Town, by which the ſame River runs, which I croſs'd coming from the other Mine; and a League and a half from the Town is a high Mountain in the form of a Half-Moon; the ſpace between the Town an the Mountain is a Plain where they dig and find Diamonds. The nearer they dig to the Mountain, the larger Stones they find; but at the top they find nothing at all.

It is not above a hundred years ſince this Mine was found out by a Countryman, who digging in a piece of ground to ſow Millet, found therein a pointed Stone that weigh'd above twenty-five Carats; he not knowing what the Stone was, but ſeeing it gliſter, carry'd it to *Golconda*, where as it happen'd well for him, he met with one that traded in Diamonds. The Merchant informing himſelf of the place where the Stone was found, admir'd to ſee a Jewel of that bigneſs, not having ſeen any one before that weigh'd above ten or twelve Carats. However his report made a great noiſe in the Country; inſomuch that the Mony'd men in the Town ſet themſelves to work, and cauſing the ground to be ſearch'd, they found, and ſtill do find bigger Stones, and in greater quantity than in any other Mine. For they found a great number of Stones from ten to forty Carats, and ſometimes bigger; among the reſt that large Stone that weigh'd nine hundred Carats, which *Mirgimola* preſented to *Aureng-zeb*.

But though this Mine of *Coulour* be ſo conſiderable for the quantity of great Stones which are there found, yet the miſchief is, the Stones are not clean; the Waters having ſomething of the quality of the Earth where they are found. If the Ground be merſhy, the Water enclines to black; if it be red, there is a redneſs in the Water; in other places the Stones appear ſomewhat greeniſh, in others yellowiſh; ſuch a diverſity of Soils there is between the Town and the Mountain. Upon the moſt part of theſe Stones after they are cut, there appears a kind of greaſie moiſture, which muſt be as often wip'd off.

As for the Water of the Stones, it is remarkable, that whereas in *Europe* we make uſe of day-light to examine the rough Stones, and to judg of their Water, and the ſpecks that are found therein, the *Indians* do all that in the night-time, ſetting up a Lamp with a large Wick, in a hole which they make in the Wall, about a foot ſquare; by the light whereof they judg of the Water and clearneſs of the Stone, which they hold between their Fingers. The Water which they call celeſtial is the worſt of all, and it is impoſſible to diſcern it ſo long as the Stone is rough. The moſt infallible way to find out that Wa-

ter, is to carry the Stone under a Tree thick of Boughs, for by the verdure of that ſhade you may eaſily diſcern whether the Water be blewiſh or no.

The firſt time I was at the Mine, there were above ſixty thouſand perſons at work, men, woman, and children; the men being employ'd to dig, the women, and Children to carry the Earth.

After the Miners have pitch'd upon the place where they intend to work, they level another place cloſe by, of the ſame extent, or elſe a little bigger, which they encloſe with a Wall about two foot high. In the bottom of that little Wall, at the diſtance of every two foot, they make ſmall holes to let in the water; which they ſtop up afterwards, till they come to drain out the water again. The place being thus prepar'd, the people that are to work meet all together, men, women, and children, with the Workmaſter in the Company of his Friends and Relations. Then he brings along with him ſome little Image of the God that they adore; which being plac'd upright upon the ground, they all proſtrate themſelves three times before it, while their Prieſt ſays a certain prayer. The prayer being ended, he marks the forehead of every one with a kind of Glue, made of Saffron and Gum, to ſuch a compaſs as will hold ſeven or eight Grains of Rice, which he ſticks upon it; then having waſh'd their bodies with water, which every one brings in his pot, they rank themſelves in order to eat what the Workmaſter preſents them, before they go to work, to encourage them both to labour and be faithful. This Feaſt conſiſts of nothing elſe but every one his Plate of Rice, diſtributed by the *Bramin*; for an Idolater may eat any thing from the hands of one of their Prieſts. The Plates are made of the Leaves of a certain Tree, not much unlike our Walnut-tree Leaves. Beſides this, every one has a quarter of a pound of Butter, melted in a ſmall Copper pot with ſome Sugar.

When their Feaſt is over, the men fall to digging, the women and children to carry Earth to the place prepar'd in that mannner as I have already deſcrib'd, They dig ten, twelve, and ſometimes fourteen foot deep; but when they come to any water they leave off. All the Earth being carry'd into the place before-mention'd, the men, women, and children with Pitchers throw the water which is in the drains upon the Earth, letting it ſoak for two or three days, according to the hardneſs of it, till it come to be a kind of Batter; then they open the holes in the Wall to let out the water, and throw on more water ſtill, till all the mud be waſh'd away, and nothing left but the Sand. After that they dry it in the Sun; and then they winnow the Sand in little Winnows, as we winnow our Corn. The ſmall duſt flies away, the great remains, which they pour out again upon the ground.

The Earth being thus winnow'd, they ſpread with a kind of Rake, as thin as they poſſibly can; then with a wooden Inſtrument, like a Paviers Rammer, about half a foot wide at the bottom, they pound the Earth from one end to the other, two or three times over. After that they winnow it again then; and ſpreading it at one end of the Van, for fear of loſing any of the Earth, they look for the Diamond.

Formerly they were wont to pound the Earth with Flint-ſtones, inſtead of wooden Rammers; which made great flaws in the Diamonds, and is therefore now left off.

Heretofore they made no ſcruple to buy thoſe Diamonds that had a green outſide; for being cut, they prov'd very white, and of an excellent water.

Since they have been more nice; for there was a Mine diſcover'd between *Coulour* and *Raolconda*, which the King caus'd to be ſhut up again, by reaſon of ſome cheats that were us'd there; for they found therein that ſort of Stones which had this green outſide, fair and tranſparent, and which appear'd more fair than the others; but when they came to the Mill they crumbl'd to pieces.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A Continuation of the Authors Travels to the Diamond Mines.

I come to the third Mine, which is the moſt ancient of all, in the Kingdom of *Bengala*. You may give it the name of *Soumelpour*, which is the name of the Town next to the place where the Diamonds are found; or rather *Gouel*, which is the name of the River in the Sand whereof they ſeek for the Stones. The Territories through which this River runs, belong to a *Raja*, who was anciently tributary to the Great *Mogul*, but revolted in the time of the Wars between *Sha-jehan* and *Gehan-guir* his Father. So ſoon as *Sha-jehan* came to the Empire, he ſent to demand his Tribute of this *Raja*, as well for the time paſt, as to come; who finding that his Revenues were not ſufficient to pay him, quitted his Country, and retir'd into the Mountains with his Subjects. Upon his refuſal, *Sha-jehan* believing he would ſtand it out, ſent a great Army againſt him, perſwading himſelf that he ſhould find great ſtore of Diamonds in his Country. But he found neither Diamonds, nor People, nor Victuals, the *Raja* having burnt all the Corn which his Subjects could not carry away; ſo that the greateſt part of *Sha-jehans* Army periſh'd for hunger. At length the *Raja* return'd into his Country, upon condition to pay the *Mogul* ſome ſlight Tribute.

The Way from Agra to this Mine.

From *Agra* to *Halabas*, coſtes 130
From *Halabas* to *Banarous*, coſtes 33
From *Agra* to *Saſaron*, coſtes 4
From *Agra* to *Saſeron* you travel Eaſtward; but from *Saſeron* to the Mine you muſt wind to the South, coming firſt to a great Town, coſtes 21
This Town belongs to the *Raja* I have ſpoke of. From thence you go to a Fortreſs call'd *Rodas*, coſtes 4
This is one of the ſtrongeſt places in all *Aſia*, ſeated upon a Mountain fortifi'd with ſix Baſtions, and twenty-ſeven pieces of Cannon, with three Moats full of Water, wherein there are good Fiſh. There is but one way to come to the top of the Mountain, where there is a Plain half a League in compaſs, wherein they ſow Corn and Rice. There is above twenty Springs that water that Plain; but all the reſt of that Mountain from top to bottom is nothing but a ſteep Precipice cover'd with over-grown Woods. The *Raja's* formerly us'd to live in this Fort with a Garriſon of ſeven or eight hundred men. But the Great *Mogul* has it now; having taken that Fort by the policy of the famous *Mirgimola*, which all the Kings of *India* could never take before. The *Raja* left three Sons, who betray'd one another; the eldeſt was poiſon'd, the ſecond went and ſerv'd the Great *Mogul*, who gave him the command of four thouſand Horſe; the third poſſeſſes his Fathers Territories, paying the *Mogul* a ſmall Tribute.
From the Fortreſs of *Rodas* to *Soumelpour*, coſtes 30
Soumelpour is a great Town, the Houſes whereof are built of Earth, and cover'd only with Branches of Coco-trees. All theſe thirty Leagues you travel through Woods, which is a very dangerous paſſage, as being very much peſter'd with Robbers. The *Raja* lives half a League from the Town, in Tents ſet upon a fair riſing ground, at the foot whereof runs the *Gouel*, deſcending from the Southern Mountains, and falling into *Ganges*.
In this River they find the Diamonds. For after the great Rains are over, which is uſually in *December*, they ſtay all *January* till the River be clear; by reaſon that by that time in ſome places it is not above two foot deep, and in ſeveral places the Sand lies above the water. About the end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, there flock together out of the great Town,

and some others adjoining, above eight thousand persons, men, women and children, that are able to work. They that are skilful know by the sand whether there be any Diamonds or no, when they find among the sand little Stones like to those which we call Thunder-Stones. They begin to make search in the River from the Town of *Soumelpour* to the very Mountains from whence the River falls, for fifty Leagues together.

Where they believe there are Diamonds, they encompass the place with Stakes, Faggots, and Earth, as when they go about to make the Arch of a Bridg to drain all the water out of that place. Then they dig out all the Sand for two foot deep, which is all carried and spread upon a great place for that purpose prepar'd upon the side of the River; encompass'd with a little Wall about a foot and half high. When they have fill'd this place with as much Sand as they think convenient, they throw water upon it, wash it, and sift it; doing in other things as they do at the Mines which I have already describ'd.

From this River come all those fair Points which are call'd natural Points, but a great Stone is seldom found here. The reason why none of these Stones have been seen in *Europe*, is because of the Wars, that have hinder'd the people from working.

Besides the Diamond Mine which I have spoken of in the Province of *Carnatica*, which *Mirgimola* caus'd to be set up, by reason of the yellowness of the Diamonds, and the foulness of the Stones; there is in the Island of *Borneo*, the largest Island in the World, another River call'd *Succadan*, in the Sand whereof they find Diamonds as hard as any in the other Mines. The principal reason that dissuaded me from going to the Island of *Borneo* was, because I understood that the Queen of the Island would not permit any Strangers to carry away any of those Diamonds out of the Island. Those few that are exported, being carry'd out by stealth, and privately sold at *Batavia*. I say the Queen, and not the King, because in that Island the Women have the Soveraign Command, and not the Men. For the people are so curious to have a lawful Heir upon the Throne, that the Husband not being certain that the Children which he has by his Wife are his own; but the Wife being always certain that the Children which she bears are hers, they rather choose to be govern'd by a Woman, to whom they give the Title of Queen; her Husband being only her Subject, and having no power but what she permits him.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the diversity of Weights us'd at the Diamond Mines. Of the Pieces of Gold and Silver there Currant; and the Rule which they observe to know the Price of Diamonds.

AT the Mine of *Raolconda* they weigh by Mangelins, a Mangelin being one Carat and three quarters, that is seven Grains.

At the Mine of *Gani* or *Coulour* they use the same weights.

At the Mine of *Soumelpour* in *Bengala*, they weigh by Rati's, and the Rati is seven eighths of a Carat, or three Grains and a half. They use the same Weights over all the Empire of the *Mogul*.

In the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Visapour*, they make use of Mangelins; but a Mangelin in those parts is not above one Carat and three eighths. The *Portugals* in *Goa* make use of the same Weights in *Goa*; but a Mangelin there is not above five Grains.

As for the Money in use: First, in *Bengala*, in the Territories of the *Raja* before mention'd, in regard they lye enclos'd within the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*, they make their payments in Roupies.

At

At the two Mines about *Raolconda* in the Kingdom of *Viſapour*, the payments are made in new Pagods, which the King coins in his own Name, as being independent from the Great *Mogul*. The new Pagod is not always at the ſame value; for it is ſometimes worth three Roupies and a half, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs; being advanc'd and brought down according to the courſe of Trade, and the correſpondence of the Bankers with the Princes and Governors.

At the Mine of *Colour* or *Gani*, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Golconda*, they make their payments in new Pagods, which are equal in value to the King of *Viſapour*'s. But ſometimes you are forc'd to give four in the hunder'd more, by reaſon they are better Gold, and beſides, they will take no others at the Mine. Theſe Pagods are coin'd by the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, who, whether willingly or by force, are privileg'd by the King to coin them in their Forts: And thoſe of the *Hollanders* coſt one or two *per cent.* more than the *Engliſh*, by reaſon they are better Gold, and for that the Miners chooſe them before the other. But in regard the Merchants are prepoſſeſs'd that the Miners are a rude and ſavage ſort of people, and that the ways are dangerous, they ſtay at *Golconda*, where the Workmaſters keep correſpondence with them, and ſend them their Jewels. There they pay in old Pagods coin'd many ages ago by ſeveral Princes that Reign'd in *India* before the *Mahumetans* got footing therein. Thoſe old Pagods are worth four Roupies and a half, that is to ſay, a Roupy more than the new: not that there is any more Gold in them, or that they weigh any more. Only the Bankers, to oblige the King, not to bring down the price, pay him unnually a very great Sum, by reaſon they get very much by it. For the Merchants receive none of thoſe Pagods without a Changer to examin them, ſome being all defac'd, others low-metal others wanting weight: ſo that if one of theſe Bankers were not preſent at the receipt, the Merchant would be a greater loſer, ſometimes one, ſometimes five, ſometimes ſix i'th' hunder'd: for which they alſo pay them one quarter in the hunder'd for their pains. When the Miners are paid, they alſo receive their Money in the preſence of Bankers, who tells them which is good, and which is bad; and has for that alſo one quarter i'th' hunder'd. In the payment of a thouſand or two-thouſand Pagods, the Banker, for his fee, puts them into a bag, and ſeals it with his Seal; and when the Merchant pays for his Diamonds, he brings the Seller to the Banker, who finding his bag entire, aſſures the party that all is right and good within; and ſo there is no more trouble.

As for the Roupies, they take indifferently, as well the Great *Mogul*'s as the King of *Golconda*'s: by reaſon that thoſe which that King coins, are to be coin'd, by Articles, with the Great *Mogul*'s ſtamp.

'Tis an idle thing to believe that vulgar error, that it is enough to carry Spices, Tobacco, Looking-glaſſes, and ſuch trifles to truck for Diamonds at the *Indian*-Mines: For I can aſſure ye, theſe people will not only have Gold, but Gold of the beſt ſort too.

As for the roads to the Mines, ſome fabulous modern relations have render'd them very dangerous, and fill'd them full of Lions, Tigers, and cruel People; but I found them not only free from thoſe wild creatures, but alſo the People very loving and courteous.

From *Golconda* to *Raolconda*, which is the principal Mine, the road is as follows: the road being meaſur'd by *Gos*, is four *French*-leagues.

From *Golconda* to *Canapour*, one Gos.
From *Canapour* to *Parquel*, two Gos and a half.
From *Parquel* to *Cakenol*, one Gos.
From *Cakenol* to *Canol-Candanor*, three Gos.
From *Canol-Candanor* to *Setapour*, one Gos.
From *Setapour* to the River, two Gos.
That River is the bound betwéen the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Viſapour*.
From the River to *Alpour*, three quarters of a Gos.
From *Alpour* to *Canal*, three quarters of a Gos.
From *Canal* to *Raolconda*, two Gos and a half.

Thus from *Golconda* to the Mine, they reckon it ſeventeen Goſs, or 68 *French*-Leagues.

From *Golconda* to the Mine of *Coulour* or *Gani*, is reckon'd thirteen Gos and three quarters, or 55 *French*-leagues.

From

From *Golconda* to *Almaſpinda*, three Gos and a half.
From *Almaſpinda* to *Kaper*, two Gos.
From *Kaper* to *Montecour*, two Gos and a half.
From *Montecour* to *Naglepar*, two Gos.
From *Naglepar* to *Eligada*, one Gos and a half.
From *Eligada* to *Sarvaron*, one Gos.
From *Sarvaron* to *Mellaſeron*, one Gos.
From *Mellaſeron* to *Ponocour*, two Gos and a quarter.
At *Ponocour* you only croſs the River to *Conlour*.

CHAP. XV.

The Rule to know the juſt price and value of a Diamond of what weight ſoever, from three to a hundred, and upwards: a ſecret known to very few people in Europe.

I Make no mention of Diamonds of three Carats, the price thereof being ſufficiently known.

Firſt then, as to others above that weight, you muſt know how much the Diamond weighs, and ſee if it be perfect; if it be a thick Stone, well-ſquar'd, and have all its corners, if the water be white and lively, without ſpecks and flaws. If it be a Stone cut in Facets, which we call a Roſe-Diamond, you muſt take notice whether the form be round or oval, whether it be of a fair breadth, and not of Stones clapt together; whether it be of a good water, and without ſpecks or flaws.

Such a Stone weighing one Carat, is worth 150 Livres or more. Now to know how much a Stone of the ſame perfection, weighing 12 Carats, is worth.

Multiply 12 by 12, it makes 144. Then multiply 144 by 150, which is the price of a Stone of one Carat, it comes to 21600 Livres.

As for Example.

12
12
144
150
7200
144
21600 *livres.*

To know the price of imperfect Diamonds, you muſt obſerve the ſame rule, grounded upon the price of a Stone of one Carat.

You have a Diamond of fifteen Carats ſhewn ye, neither of a good water, nor good form, and full of ſpecks and flaws beſides: ſuch a Diamond cannot be worth above 60, or 80, or 100 Livres at moſt, according to the goodneſs of the Stone. Multiply therefore the weight of the Diamond of 15 Carats by 15: then multiply the product, which is 125, by the value of the Stone of one Carat, which we will grant to be 80 Livres, the product whereof is 10000 Livres, the price of a Diamond of 15 Carats.

The

The Example.

15
15

75
15

125
80

10000 *livres.*

By that it is eaſie to diſcover the difference between a perfect and an imperfect Stone. For if that Stone of 15 Carats were perfect, the ſecond multiplication ſhould be wrought by 150, which is the price of a perfect Stone of one Carat: and then the Diamond would come not to 10000 Livres, but to 33750 Livres, that is 23750 Livres more than an imperfect Diamond of the ſame weight.

By this rule obſerve the price of two the greateſt Diamonds of the World for Cut-ſtones, the one in *Aſia*, belonging to the Great *Mogul*; the other in *Europe*, in the poſſeſſion of the Duke of *Tuſcany*.

The Great *Mogul*'s Diamond weighs 279 and 9 16*th* Carats. It is of a perfect good water, of a good ſhape, with only a little flaw in the edg of the cutting below, which goes round about the Stone. Without that flaw, the firſt Carat were worth 160 Livres, but for that reaſon I reckon it not at above 150; and ſo by the rule it comes to 11723278 Livres, 14 Sous, and three Liards. Did the Diamond weigh no more than 279 Carats, it would not be worth above 11676150 Livres, ſo that the nine 16*ths* comes to 47128 Livres, 14 Sous, and three Liards.

The Great Duke of *Tuſcany*'s Diamond weighs 139 Carats, clean and well-ſhap'd, cut in facets every way: but in regard the water enclines ſomewhat toward the colour of Citron, I do not value the firſt Carat above 135 Livres; ſo that by the rule the Diamond ought to be worth 2608335 Livres.

A Diamond by the Miners is call'd *Iri*, which the *Turks*, *Perſians* and *Arabians* call *Almas*.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Colour'd Stones, and the Places where they are found.

THere are but two places in all the Eaſt where Colour'd-Stones are found, within the Kingdom of *Pegu*, and the Iſland of *Ceylon*. The firſt is a Mountain twelve days journey, or there-abouts, from *Siren*, toward the North-eaſt; the name whereof is *Capelan*. In this Mine are found great quantities of Rubies and Eſpinels, or Mothers of Rubies, yellow Topazes, blew and white Saphirs, Jacinths, Amethyſts, and other Stones of different colours. Among theſe Stones which are hard, they find other Stones of various colours, that are very ſoft, which they call *Bacan* in the language of the Country, but are of little or no eſteem.

Siren is the name of the City where the King of *Pegu* reſides; and *Ava* is the Port of his Kingdom. From *Ava* to *Siren* you go by water in great flat-bottom'd-Barks, which is a voyage of ſixty days. There is no going by land, by reaſon the Woods are full of Lions, Tigers, and Elephants. It is one of the pooreſt Countreys in the World, where there is no Commodity but Rubies; the whole Revenue whereof amounts not to above a hunder'd-thouſand Crowns. Among all the Stones that are there found, you ſhall hardly ſee one of three or four Ca-

rats

rats that is absolutely clean, by reason that the King strictly enjoyns his Subjects not to export them out of his Dominions; besides that, he keeps to himself all the clean Stones that are found. So that I have got very considerably in my Travels, by carrying Rubies out of *Europe* into *Asia*. Which makes me very much suspect the relation of *Vincent le Blanc*, who reports that he saw in the King's Palace, Rubies as big as eggs.

All Rubies are sold by weights, which are call'd *Ratis*; that is, three grains and a half, or seven 8*ths* of a Carat: and the payments are made in old Pagods.

A Ruby weighing one Ratis, has been sold for Pagods	20
A Ruby of 2 Ratis and one 8*th*, Pagods	85
A Ruby of 3 Ratis and one 4*th*, Pagods	185
A Ruby of 4 Ratis and five 8*ths*, Pagods	450
A Ruby of 5 Ratis, Pagods	525
A Ruby of 6 Ratis and a half, Pagods	920

If a Ruby exceed six Ratis, and be a perfect Stone, there is no value to be set upon it.

The Natives of the Country call all Colour'd-Stones Rubies, distinguishing them only by the colour. Saphirs they call Blue-Rubies, Amethysts they call Violet-Rubies, Topazes Yellow-Rubies; and so of other Stones.

The other place where Rubies are found, is a River in the Island of *Ceylan*, which descends from certain high Mountains in the middle of the Island; which swells very high when the rains fall; but when the waters are low, the people make it their business to search among the Sands for Rubies, Saphirs and Topazes. All the Stones that are found in this River, are generally fairer and clearer than those of *Pegu*.

I forgot to tell you that there are some Rubies, but more Balleis-Rubies, and an abundance of Bastard-Rubies, Saphirs and Topazes found in the Mountains that run along from *Pegu* to the Kingdom of *Camboya*.

Colour'd-Stones are also found in some parts of *Europe*, as in *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. In *Hungary* there is a Mine where they find certain Flints of different bigness, some as big as eggs, some as big as a man's fist, which being broken, contain a Ruby within as hard and as clean as those of *Pegu*.

In *Hungary* there is a Mine of Opals, which Stone is no-where else to be found in the World but there.

The *Turquoise* is no-where to be found but in *Persia*. Where there are two Mines. The one is called the *Old-Rock*, three days journey from *Mecked*, toward the North-west, near a great Town which goes by the name of *Michabourg*. The other which is call'd the *New-Rock* is five days journey off. Those of the *New-Rock* are of a Paler blue enclining to white, and less esteem'd, so that you may have a great many for a little Money. Some years since the King of *Persia* commanded that no *Turquoises* should be digg'd out of the *Old-Rock*, but only for himself; making use of those *Turquoises* instead of enamelling, to adorn Hilts of Swords, Knives and Daggers; of which the *Persians* are altogether ignorant.

As for Emraulds, it is a vulgar error to say they come originally from the East. And therefore when Jewellers and Gold-smiths, to prefer a deep-colour'd Emrauld enclining to black, tell ye, it is an Oriental Emrauld, they speak that which is not true. I confess I could never discover in what part of our Continent those Stones are found. But sure I am, that the Eastern-part of the World never produc'd any of those Stones, neither in the Continent, nor in the Islands. True it is, that since the discovery of *America* some of those Stones have been often brought rough from *Peru* to the *Philippine*-Islands, whence they have been transported into *Europe*; but this is not enough to make them Oriental. Besides that, at this time they send them into *Spain* through the North-Sea.

CHAP.

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The third Fishery is at *Camogete*, near the Continent.

The fourth at *Rio de la Hacha*, all along the same Coast.

The fifth and last, at St. *Martha's*, sixty Leagues from *Rio de la Hacha*. All these three Fisheries produce very weighty Pearls; but they are generally ill-shap'd, and of a water enclining to the colour of Lead.

As for *Scotch* Pearl, and those that are found in the Rivers of *Bavaria*, tho a Neck-lace of them may be worth a thousand Crowns, yet they are not to be compar'd with the Eastern and West *Indian* Pearls.

Some years since there was a Fishery discover'd in a certain place upon the Coast of *Japan*, and I have seen some which the *Hollanders* have brought thence. They are of a very good water, and large, but very uneven.

Take this observation along with you, touching the difference of their waters; some being very white, others inclining to yellow, others to black, others to a leaden colour. As for the last, there are no such but only in *America*, which proceeds from the nature of the Earth at the bottom of the Water, which is generally more ouzy than in the East. I once met with six Pearls in the return of a Cargo from the West *Indies* that were perfectly round, but black like jet, which weigh'd one with another twelve Carats. I carried them into the East *Indies* to put them off, but could meet with no Chapman to buy them. As for those that incline to yellow, it proceeds from hence, that the Fishermen selling the Oysters to the Merchants in heaps, while they stay fourteen or fifteen days till the Oysters lose their water, the Oysters wast and begin to smell, for which reason the Pearl grows yellow by infection, which appears to be a truth, in regard that where the Oysters preserve their liquor the Pearls are white. Now the reason why they stay till the Oysters open of themselves, is because that if they should force them open, they might perhaps injure and cut the Pearl. In short, the Eastern people are much of our humour in matter of whiteness, for they love the whitest Pearls and the blackest Diamonds; the whitest bread, and the fairest women.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the Pearls are bred in the Oysters; how they Fish for them, and at what time.

SOme ancient Writers have vulgarly reported, that Pearls are produc'd by the Dew of Heaven, and that there is but one in an Oyster; but experience teaches the contrary. For the Oyster never stirs from the bottom of the Sea, where the Dew can never come, which is many times twelve fathoms deep; besides, that it is as often observ'd, that there are six or seven Pearls in one Oyster; and I have had in my hands an Oyster, wherein there were above ten beginning to breed. 'Tis very true, that they are not always of the same bigness; for they grow in an Oyster after the same manner as Eggs in the Belly of a Pullet. But I cannot say there are Pearls in all, for you may open many Oysters and find none.

'Tis no advantage to them that fish for Pearls; for if the poor people could find any other employment, they would never stick to such a one as meerly keeps them alive. But the Land is so barren, that you may travel twenty Leagues before you meet with one blade of Grass; and the people are so miserably poor, that they feed upon nothing but Dates and Salt-fish.

They fish in the Eastern Seas twice a year; the first time in *March* and *April*, the second time in *August* and *September*; and they keep their Fairs in *June* and *November*. However they do not fish every year; for they that fish, will know beforehand whether it will turn to account or no. Now to the end they may not be deceiv'd, they send to the places where they are wont to fish, seven or eight Barks, who bring back each of them about a thousand Oysters, which

which they open, and if they find not in every thouſand Oyſters to the value of five Fano's of Pearl, which amounts to half a Crown of our Money, 'tis a ſign that the Fiſhing will not turn to account, in regard the poor people would not be able to defray their charge. For partly for a ſtock to ſet out, and partly for victuals while they are abroad, they are forc'd to borrow Money at three or four in the hundred a month. So that unleſs a thouſand Oyſters yield them five Fano's of Pearls, they do not fiſh that year. As for the Merchants, they muſt buy their Oyſters at hap-hazard, and be content with what they find in them. If they meet with great Pearls, they account themſelves happy; which they ſeldom do at the Fiſhery of *Manar*, thoſe Pearls being fit for little elſe but to be ſold by the Ounce, to powder. Sometimes a thouſand Oyſters amounts to ſeven Fano's, and the whole Fiſhery to a hundred thouſand Piaſters. The *Hollanders* take of every Diver eight Piaſters, in regard they always attend the Fiſhery with two or three ſmall Men of War, to defend them from the *Malavares* Pyrats.

The more Rain falls in the year, the more profitable the Fiſhery happens to be. They fiſh in twelve fathom water, five or ſix Leagues off at Sea, ſometimes two hundred and fifty Barks together, among which there is not above one or two Divers at moſt.

There is a Cord ty'd under the Arms of them that dive, one end whereof is held by them that are in the Bark. There is alſo a great ſtone of eighteen or twenty pound ty'd to the great Toe of him that dives; the end of the Rope that faſtens it being alſo held by them in the Veſſel. The Diver has beſide a Sack made like a Net, the mouth whereof is kept open with a Hoop. Thus provided, he plunges into the Sea, the weight of the ſtone preſently ſinking him; when he is at the bottom, he ſlips off the ſtone, and the Bark puts off. Then the Diver goes to filling his Sack, as long as he can keep his breath; which when he can do no longer, he gives the Rope a twitch, and is preſently hall'd up again. Thoſe of *Manar* are better Fiſhers, and ſtay longer in the water than thoſe of *Bakren* and *Catifa*; for they neither put Pincers upon their Noſes, nor Cotton in their Ears, as they do in the *Perſian* Gulf.

After the Diver is draw'n up, he ſtays half a quarter of an hour to take breath, and then dives again, for ten or twelve hours together. As for the Oyſters themſelves, they throw'em away, as being ill-taſted and unſavoury.

To conclude the diſcourſe of Pearls, you are to take notice, that in *Europe* they ſell them by the Carat weight, which is four Grains. In *Perſia* they ſell them by the Abas, and one Abas is an eighteenth leſs than our Carat. In the Dominions of the *Mogul*, the Kings of *Viſapour* and *Golconda* weigh them by the Ratis, and one Ratis is alſo an eighteenth leſs than our Carat.

Goa was formerly the greateſt place of the World for the trade of jewels and Pearls. You muſt know therefore, that in *Goa*, and in all other places which the *Portugals* had in the *Indies*, they us'd a particular weight to ſell their Pearls by, which they call Chego's; the proportion whereof to Carats appears in the following Table.

Carats.	*Chegos.*	*Carats.*	*Chegos.*
1	5	21	306
2	8	22	336
3	11 and a half	23	367 & a quarter
4	16	24	400
5	21	25	430
6	27	26	469 & a quarter
7	34	27	506 & a quarter
8	44	28	544 & a quarter
9	56	29	584
10	69	30	625
11	84	31	667 & a quarter
12	100	32	711
13	117	33	756 and a quart.
14	136	34	802 and 3 quart.
15	156	35	850 and a quart.
16	177 & 3 quart.	36	900
17	200 & a half	37	950 and a half
18	225	38	1002 and 3 quart.
19	250 & a half	39	1056
20	277 & 3 quart.	40	1111 and a quart.

CHAP. XIX.

Observations upon the faireſt and largeſt Diamonds and Rubies which the Author has ſeen in Europe *and* Aſia, *repreſented according to the Figures in the Plates; as alſo upon thoſe which the Author ſold to the King upon his laſt return from the* Indies; *with the Figure of a large Topaz, and the faireſt Pearls in the World.*

Numb. 1.

THis Diamond belongs to the Great *Mogul*, being cut into the ſame form; and it weighs 319 Ratis and an half, which make 279 and nine 16*ths* of our Carats: when it was rough, it weigh'd 907 Ratis, which make 793 Carats.

Numb. 2.

Is the figure of a Diamond belonging to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*. It weighs 139 Carats and an half: the fault of it is, that the water enclines ſomewhat to a Citron-colour.

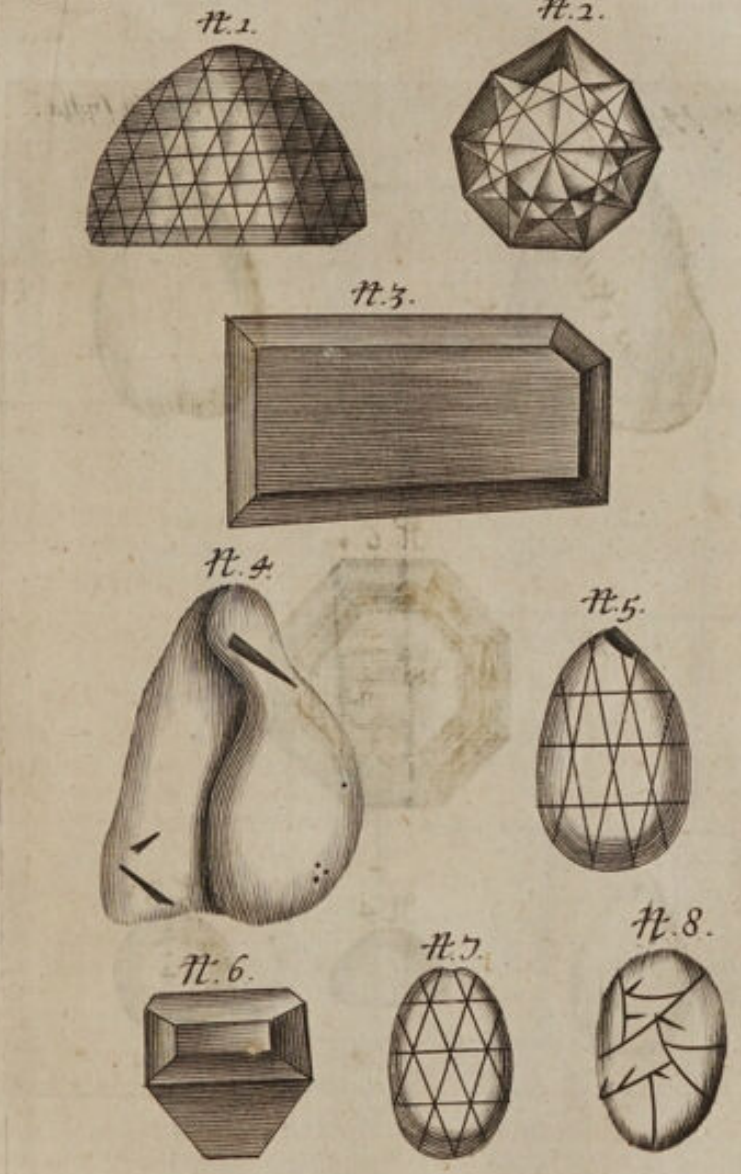
Numb. 3.

Is a Stone that weighs 176 and one 8*th* Mangelins, which makes 242 Carats and five 16*ths*. A Mangelin coming to one and three 8*ths* of our Carats. Being at *Golconda* I ſaw this Stone; and it was the biggeſt that ever I ſaw in my life in a Merchant's-hands. It was valu'd at 500000 Roupies, or 750000 Livres of our Money: I offer'd 400000 Roupies, but could not have it.

Numb. 4.

Is the figure of a Diamond which I bought at *Amadabat*; and it weigh'd 178 Ratis, or 157 Carats and a quarter.

Numb. 5.


N.1.
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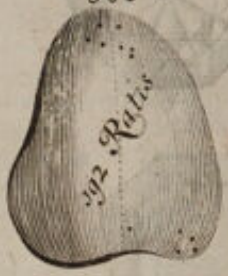
Page 140. Jewells in India.

№ 1 *



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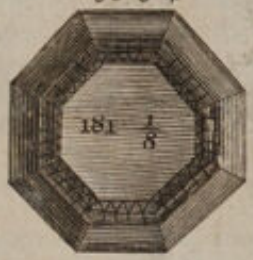


№ 5 *

№ 4

№ 3 *

Page 199 A Representation of 24 ye faireſt Diamonds Choſen out among all thoſe which Travels in India. Monſeiur Javernier ſold to ye King at his laſt return from the Indies, upon which Conſideration, and for severall ſervices done the Kingdome His Majeſty honored him with the Title of Noble.

A. Is a Diamond cleane of a faire violet

B.C Are two of a pale roſe Colour

D. Is one of an Extraordinary faire water.

All ye reſt are white and Cleare and were Cutt in India.

The three belom marked 1.2.3. are foule

Numb. 5.

Is the figure of the fore-mention'd Diamond, after it was cut on both ſides; there remaining 94 Carats and a half; the water being perfect. The flat-ſide where there were two flaws below, was as thin as a ſheet of brown-paper: When the Stone was cut, I caus'd all that thin ſide to be taken off, with one part of the end above, where there remains one little ſpeck of a flaw.

Numb. 6.

Is another Diamond which I bought at the Mine of *Coulour*. It is fair and clean, and weighs 36 Mangelins, or 63 and 3 8*ths* of our Carats.

Numb. 7. *and* 8.

Are two pieces of a Stone that was cut in two, which being entire, weigh'd 75 Mangelins and a half, or 104 Carats. Though it were of a good water, it ſeem'd ſo foul in the middle, that, in regard it was large, and held at a high price, there was ne're a *Banian* would venture upon it. At length an *Hollander* bought it, and cutting it in two, found in the middle of it, eight Carats of filth like a rotten-weed. The ſmall piece happen'd to be clean, excepting a little flaw hardly to be perceiv'd, but for the other, wherein there are ſo many other croſs flaws, there was no way but to make ſeven or eight pieces of it. The *Hollander* ran a great *riſco* in cutting it a-ſunder; for it was very great luck that it had not broke into a hunder'd pieces. Yet for all that it did not turn to account; ſo that it is in vain for another to buy that which a *Banian* refuſes.

CHAP. XX.

The Forms of twenty Rubies which the Author ſold to the King upon his laſt return from the Indies. *The firſt part of the Plate ſhews the weight, extent, and thickneſs of every Stone.*

Numb. 1.

IS the Figure of a Ruby that belongs to the King of *Perſia*. It is in ſhape and bigneſs like an Egg, boar'd through in the middle, deep colour'd, fair and clean, except one flaw in the ſide. They will not tell you what it coſt, nor let you know what it weighs; only it appears by the Regiſter that it has been ſeveral years in the Kings Treaſury.

Numb. 2.

Is the Figure of a *Balleis* Ruby; ſold for ſuch to *Giafer-Kan*, the Great *Moguls* Uncle, who paid 950000 Roupies, 1425000 Livres for it. But an old *Indian* Jeweller affirming afterwards, that it was no *Balleis* Ruby, that it was not worth above 500 Roupies, and that *Giafer-Kan* was cheated; and his opinion being confirm'd by *Sha-jehan*, the moſt skilful in Jewels of any perſon in the Empire *Aureng-zeb* compell'd the Merchant to take it again, and to reſtore the Money back.

Num. 3, and 4.

Is the Figure of a Ruby belonging to the King of *Viſapour*. *Numb.* 4, is the height of the Stone above the Gold. And *Numb.* 3, is the roundneſs of the

Beazil. It weighs fourteen Mangelins, or seventeen Carats and a half; a *Visapour* Mangelin being but five Grains. It cost the King 14200 new Pagods, or 74550 Livres.

Numb. 5.

Is the Figure of a Ruby that a *Banian* shew'd me at *Banarous*; it weighs 58 Rati's, or 50 Carats and 3 quarters; being of the second rank in beauty. In shape it is like a Plump Almond, bor'd through at the end. I offer'd 40000 Roupies, or 60000 Livres for it; but the Merchant demanded 55000 Roupies.

Numb. 6.

Is the Figure of a great Topaz belonging to the Great *Mogul*; nor did I see him wear any other but that, all the while I was in *India*. This Topaz weighs 181 Rati's and half a quarter, or 157 Carats and three quarters. It was bought at *Goa* for the Great *Mogul*, and cost 181000 Roupies, or 271500 Livres of our Money.

Numb. 7, 8, 9.

Are the Figures of three several Rubies belonging to the King of *France*.

Numb. 1.

Is the Figure of a Pearl which the King of *Persia* bought at the Fishery of *Catifa* in *Arabia*. It cost him 32000 Tomans, or 1400000 Livres of our Money, at forty-six Livres and six Deneers to a Toman. It is the fairest and most perfect Pearl that ever was yet found to this hour, having no defect.

Numb. 2.

Is the Figure of the biggest Pearl that ever I saw in the Court of the Great *Mogul*. It hangs about the artificial Peacocks neck that adorns his great Throne.

Numb. 3.

Is the Figure of a Pearl that I sold to *Cha-Est-Kan*; the Water is somewhat faint, but it is the biggest Pearl that was ever carried out of *Europe* into *Asia*.

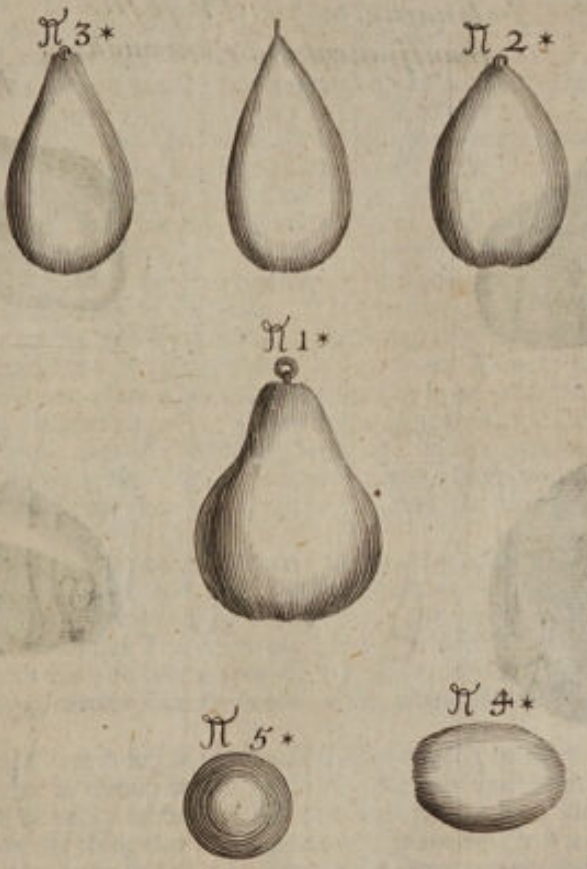
Numb. 4.

Is a great perfect Pearl, as well for its Water as for its form, which is like an Olive. It is in the midst of a Chain of Emraulds and Rubies, which the Great *Mogul* wears; which being put on, the Pearl dangles at the lower part of his Breast.

Numb. 5.

Is a Pearl perfectly round, the biggest I ever saw, and belongs to the Great *Mogul*. The like could never be found; for which reason the Great *Mogul* lays it up very charily, and never uses it. For if it could be match'd, both would make a Pair of Pendants for the Ears, set between Rubies or Emraulds, according to the custom of the Country; there being no person of any quality that does not wear a Pearl between two colour'd Stones in his Ear.

CHAP.


3*
2*
1*
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4*

The forme of three Balais Rubies belonging to his Majestie transparent quite through.

N. 7.

N. 7.

N. 8.

N. 8.

N. 9.

N. 9.

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have assur'd me they would sometimes give 20000 Crowns for such a piece. And no wonder they will give so much Money for a piece of Coral, who despising all other Jewels and Pearls, care for nothing but that which is in no esteem any where else. They set a great value upon the Skin of a certain Fish which is rougher than a Seal-skin. Upon the back of the Fish there are six little holes, and sometimes eight, somewhat elevated, with another in the middle; in the form of a Rose. They make Scabberds for Swords of the Skin; and the more those holes grow in the form of a Rose, the higher value they put upon them; having giv'n ten-thousand Crowns for a Skin. To conclude the discourse of Coral, you must know that the meaner sort of people use it for Bracelets and Neck-laces, all over *Asia*, especially toward the Northern Territories of the great *Mogul*; and all along the Mountains as you go to the Kingdom of *Asem* and *Boutan*.

Yellow-Amber is only found upon the Coast of *Prussia* in the *Baltick-Sea*, where the Sea throws it upon the Sand when such and such winds blow. The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who is Sovereign of that Coast, farms it out for 20000 Crowns a year, and sometimes 22000. And the Farmers keep guards on both sides of the shoar, in regard the Sea casts it up sometimes upon one side, and sometimes upon the other, to prevent the stealing of it.

Amber is nothing but a certain congelation made in the Sea, like a certain Gum; for you shall find in several pieces, Flies, Gnats, and other insects congeal'd therein. I saw seven or eight Flies so congeal'd in one piece.

In *China*, when any great Lord makes a Feast, it is for his Grandeur and Magnificence to cause three or four several sorts of Perfuming-pots to be set upon the Table, and to throw into every one of them a vast quantity of Amber; for the more it burns, and the bigger the pieces are, the more magnificent is the Entertainment accounted. The reason of this custom is, because they adore the fire; and besides, that the Amber casts forth a scent pleasing to the *Chineses*, there is a kind of Oil in it, that flames after a more unusual manner than other materials of fire. This wast of Amber makes it the best Commodity that could be imported into *China*, if the Trade were free for Strangers. At present the *Hollanders* have engross'd all this Trade to themselves, and the *Chineses* come all to *Batavia* to buy it.

As for Amber-grise; there is no person in the World that knows either what it is, or where, or how it is produc'd. But the fairest probability is, that it must be only in the Eastern-Sea: though some parcels have been found upon the Coast of *England*, and in some other parts of *Europe*. The greatest quantity is found upon the Coast of *Melinda*, but more especially in the mouth of a River call'd *Rio de Sena*. The Governor of *Mozambique* gets in the three years of his Government above 300000 Pardo's of Amber-grise, every Pardo containing 27 Sous of our Money. Sometimes they meet with very large and very considerable pieces. In the year 1627 a *Portugal* setting Sail from *Goa* to the *Manilles*, after he had past the Streight of *Malacca*, was by tempest driv'n near an unknown Island, where they came to an Anchor. Several of the Ship's-Company ventring a-shore, met with a River; and going to bath themselves in it, one of them found a great piece of Amber-grise that weigh'd thirty-three pounds; but falling together by the ears about their shares, the Captain, to reconcile them, told them 'twas pitty to deface it, in regard it was a Present fit for the King; and therefore advis'd them to present it to the Vice-Roy, who would no doubt reward them for their pains. By that means the Captain got the parcel out of their Clutches, and presenting it to the Vice-Roy, got a reward for himself; and the Party that found it: but the rest had nothing at all.

In the year 1646 or 1647, a *Middleburgher* of good quality found a piece of forty-two pounds upon the Coast of the Island of St. *Maurice*, where he commanded for the *Holland*-Company, East of the Island of St. *Lawrence*, and sent it to *Batavia*: but there being a mark, as if some piece of it were broken off, the *Zelander*, was accus'd to have taken half, and turn'd out of his Command, whatever he could say to justify himself.

CHAP.

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The Beast Which yeilds Muſk
The Bladder Where the
Muſke lyes

CHAP. XXII.

Of Musk and Bezoar; and some other Medicinal Stones.

THE best sort, and the greatest quantity of Musk, comes from the Kingdom of *Boutan*, from whence they bring it to *Patna*, the chief City of *Bengala*, to truck it away for other Commodities. All the Musk that is sold in *Persia* comes from thence. And the Musk-Merchants had rather deal with you for Coral and Yellow-Amber, than for Gold or Silver; in regard the other is more in esteem among the Natives where they live. I was so curious as to bring the Skin of one to *Paris*, of which I caus'd the figure to be cut.

After they have kill'd the creature, they cut off the bladder that grows under the belly as big as an egg, nearer to the genital parts than to the navil. Then they take out the Musk that is in the bladder, which at that time looks like clotted-blood. When the natives would adulterate their Musk, they stuff the bladder with the liver and blood of the Animal slic'd together, after they have taken out as much of the right Musk as they think convenient. This mixture in two or three years time produces certain Animals in the bladder that eat the good Musk; so that when you come to open it, there is a great wast. Others, so soon as they have cut off the bladder, and taken out as much of the Musk, as that the deceit may not be too palpable, fill up the Vessel with little stones to make it weight. The Merchants are less displeas'd at this deceit than the former, by reason that they do not find the Musk to be eaten. But the deceit is harder to be discover'd, when they make little Purses of the skin of the belly of the Beast, which they sow up with strings of the same skin, which are like the true bladders; and then fill those Purses with what they have taken out of the right bladders, and the other fraudulent mixture which they design to put among it. True it is, that should they tye up the bladder as soon as they cut it off, without giving it air or time to lose its force, the strength of the perfume would cause the blood to gush out of the nose, so that it must be qualifi'd to render it acceptable, or rather less hurtful to the brain. The scent of the Beast which I carri'd to *Paris*, was so strong, that I could not keep it in my Chamber; for it made all peoples heads ake that came neer it. At length my Servants laid it in a Garret, and cut off the bladder, and yet the scent remain'd very strong. This creature is not to be found in 65 degrees, but in 60 there are vast numbers, the Countrey being all over cover'd with Forrests. True it is, that in the months of *February* and *March*, after these creatures have endur'd a sharp hunger, by reason of the great Snows that fall where they breed, ten or twelve foot deep, they will come to 44 or 45 degrees to fill themselves with Corn and new Rice. And then it is that the Natives lay gins and snares for them to catch them as they go back: shooting some with Bows, and knocking others o'the head. Some have assur'd me that they are so lean and faint with hunger at that time, that you may almost take them running. There must be surely a prodigious number of these creatures, none of them having above one bladder no bigger then a Hen's-egg, which will not yield above half an ounce of Musk: and sometimes three or four will not afford an ounce; and yet what a world of Musk is bought up?

The King of *Boutan* fearing that the cheats and adulterations of Musk would spoil the Musk-Trade, order'd that none of the Bladders should be sow'd up, but that they should be all brought to *Boutan*, and there, after due inspection, be seal'd up with his Seal. Yet notwithstanding all the wariness and care of the King, they will sometimes cunningly open them, and put in little pieces of Lead to augment the weight. In one Voyage to *Patna* I bought 7673 bladders, that weigh'd 2557 ounces and an half; and 452 ounces out of the bladder.

Bezoar comes from a Province of the Kingdom of *Golconda* toward the North-east. It is found among the ordure in the paunch of a wild-Goat that browzes upon a certain Tree, the name whereof I have forgot. This shrub bears little buds, round about which, and the tops of the boughs, the Bezoar engenders in

the maw of the Goat. It is ſhap'd according to the form of the buds or tops of the branches which the Goats eat: which is the reaſon there are ſo many ſhapes of Bezoar-Stones. The Natives, by feeling the belly of the Goat, know how many Stones ſhe has within, and ſell the Goat according to the quantity. This they will find out by ſliding their hands under their bellies, and then ſhaking both ſides of the paunch; for the Stones will fall into the middle, where they may eaſily count them all by their feeling.

The rarity of Bezoar is in the bigneſs; though the ſmall Bezoar has the ſame vertue as that which is larger. But there is more deceit in the large Bezoar; for the Natives have got a trick to add to the bigneſs of the Stone, with a certain Paſte compos'd of Gum, and ſomething elſe of the colour of Bezoar. And they are ſo cunning too, to ſhape it juſt like natural Bezoar. The cheat is found out two ways; the firſt is by weighing the Bezoar, and then ſteeping it in warm water; if neither the water change colour, nor the Bezoar loſe any thing of its weight, the Stone is right. The other way is to thruſt a red-hot Bodkin of Iron into the Stone; if the Bodkin enters, and cauſes it to fry, there is a mixture. Bezoar is dearer according to the bigneſs of the Stones, advancing in price like Diamonds. For if five or ſix Bezoars weigh an ounce, an ounce will be worth fifteen or eighteen Franks; but if it be a Stone of one ounce, that very ounce is well worth 100 Franks. I have ſold one of four ounces and a half for 2000 Livres.

I have been very curious to inform my ſelf of all things that concern'd the nature of Bezoar; but could never learn in what part of the body of the Goat it was to be found. One time among the reſt, having oblig'd ſeveral Native Merchants by putting off for them a great quantity of Bezoar; upon my requeſt, though it be death without mercy to tranſport any of theſe Goats out of the Countrey, they brought me ſix Goats by ſtealth to my lodging. When I ask'd the price of them, I was ſurpriz'd, when they told me one was worth but three Roupies; that the two other were worth four Roupies; and the three others four and three quarters a piece. I ask'd them why ſome were more worth than others; but I found afterwards that the firſt had but one Bezoar, that the reſt had two, or three, or four. The ſix Goats had in all ſeventeen Bezoars in them, and a half one, as big as the half of a Hazel-nut. The inſide was like the ſoft ordure of the Goat, the Bezoar lying among the dung, which is in the belly of the Goat. Some averr'd that they grew right againſt the liver, others right againſt the heart, but I could never find out the truth.

As well in the Eaſt, as Weſt, there are a great quantity of Bezoars that breed in the ſame manner in Cows; of which there have been ſome that have weigh'd ſeventeen or eighteen ounces; For there was ſuch a one that was giv'n to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*. But thoſe Bezoars are little eſteem'd, ſix grains of the other Bezoar working more powerfully than thirty of this.

As for the Bezoar which breeds in Apes, as ſome belive, it is ſo ſtrong, that two grains work as effectually as ſix of Goat's-Bezoar: but it is very ſcarce, as being only found in thoſe Apes that breed in the Iſland of *Macaſſar*. This ſort of Bezoar is round, whereas the other is of ſeveral faſhions, as I ſaid before. As the Apes Bezoar is ſtronger, and ſcarcer than the Goats, ſo it is dearer, and more ſought after; a piece as big as a nut, being ſometimes worth a hunder'd Crowns. The *Portugals* make great account of this Bezoar, ſtanding always upon their guard for fear of being poiſon'd.

There is another Stone in great eſteem, that is call'd the Porcupine's-Stone, which that creature is ſaid to carry in its head, and is more precious than Bezoar againſt poiſon. If it be ſteep'd in water a quarter of an hour, the water becomes ſo bitter, that nothing can be more bitter. There is alſo a Stone ſometimes found in the belly of that creature of the ſame nature; and as good as that which comes from the head; nevertheleſs with this difference, that being ſteep'd in water, it loſes nothing of its weight nor bulk, as the other does. I have bought in my time three of thoſe Stones. One of them coſt me 500 Crowns, and I exchang'd it to advantage. I paid four-hunder'd Crowns for the other, which I kept, the other was ſold me for 200 Crowns, which I preſented to a friend.

There

There is the Serpent-Stone not to be forgot, about the bigneſs of a *double*; and ſome are almoſt oval, thick in the middle, and thin about the ſides. The *Indians* report that it is bred in the head of certain Serpents. But I rather take it to be a Story of the Idoloter's Prieſts, and that the Stone is rather a compoſition of certain Drugs. Whatever it be, it is of excellent vertue to drive any venom out of thoſe that are bit by venomous creatures. If the perſon bit be not much wounded, the place muſt be incis'd; and the Stone being appli'd thereto, will not fall off till it has drawn all the poiſon to it. To cleanſe it, you muſt ſteep it in Womans-milk, or for want of that, in Cows-milk; after the Stone has lain ten or twelve hours, the milk will turn to the colour of an Apoſtemated matter. The Arch-Biſhop of *Goa* carrying me to his Cabinet of Rarities, ſhew'd me one of theſe Stones; and after he had aſſur'd me of the rare qualities it had, gave it me. Once as he croſs'd a Merſh in the Iſland of *Salſeté* where *Goa* ſtands, one of the men that carr'd his *Pallequis*, being half naked, was bit by a Serpent, and heal'd at the ſame time. I bought ſeveral; but there are none but the *Bramines* that ſell them, which makes me believe that they compound them. There are two ways to try whether the Serpent-Stone be true or falſe. The firſt is, by putting the Stone in your mouth, for then it will give a leap, and fix to the Palate. The other is, by putting it in a glaſs full of water; for if the Stone be true, the water will fall a boyling, and riſe in little bubbles up to the top of the Glaſs.

There is another Stone, which is call'd the Stephen's-Stone with the hood. This is a kind of Serpent that has a kind of a hood hanging down behind the head, as it is repreſented in the Figure. And it is behind this hood that the Stone is found, many times as big as Pullet's-egg. There are ſome Serpents both in *Aſia* and *America* of a monſtrous bigneſs, 25 foot long; as was that, the skin whereof is kept in *Batavia*, which had ſwallow'd a Maid of 18 years of age. Theſe Stones are not found in any of thoſe Serpents that are not at leaſt two foot long. This Stone being rubb'd againſt another Stone, yields another ſlime, which being drank in water by the perſon that has the poiſon in his body, powerfuly drives it out. Theſe Serpents are no-where to be found but upon the Coaſts of *Melinde*; but for the Stones you may buy them of the *Portugueze* Mariners and Souldiers that come from *Mozambique*.

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remarkable, was a natural Tree, all of Gold, two foot and four inches high, and six inches about in the ſtock. It had ten or twelve branches, ſome whereof ſhot out half a foot in length, and an inch about; others much ſmaller. In ſome parts of the great branches appear'd certain bunches that reſembl'd buds. The roots of the Tree, which were alſo natural, were thick and ſhort; the longeſt not exceeding four or five inches.

The Natives of *Monomotopa* knowing the time of the year that the Commodities arrive, come to *Sofala* and *Chepon-Goura* to furniſh themſelves. Thither alſo come the *Cafres* of other Provinces and Kingdoms for the ſame purpoſe. Whereupon the Governors of thoſe places ſell them what they want, truſting them till the next year, when they oblige themſelves to bring their Gold, which they are very punctual to do, for elſe there could be no Trade between them. The Natives of *Monomotopa* never live long, by reaſon of the badneſs of the waters in the Countrey: For at the age of five and twenty years they begin to be dropſical; ſo that it is a great wonder if any among them live above forty years. The Province where the River *Sene* has its head, is call'd *Monkaran*, and is under the Juriſdiction of a certain King, beginning a hunder'd leagues, or there-abouts, above *Chapon-Goura*. The people of that Country find great ſtore of duſt-Gold in the Rivers that fall into the *Sene*; but it is much coarſer than the other, though they bring it to *Chepon-Goura* and *Sofala*. The Countrey is very healthy, and the people live as long as they do in *Europe*. Some years there are *Cafres* that come from beyond the Province of *Monkaran*, even as far as the *Cape of good Hope*. The *Portuguez* have enquir'd after their Countrey, and the name; but they can tell no more, only that it is call'd *Sabia*, commanded by a King; and that they are four months generally travelling to *Sofala*. The Gold which they bring is very fine, and in pieces like that of *Monomotopa*, which they ſay they find in the high Mountains, digging only ten or twelve foot in the ground. They alſo bring great quantities of Elephants-teeth; wherewith, by their report, the Countrey does ſo abound, that you may ſee them in herds in the fields; and that all the Paliſado's of their Fortreſſes, and the Pales of their Parks, are made of Elephants-teeth. Their uſual Diet is Elephants-fleſh; which four *Cafres* will kill with their *Ageagayes*, or a ſort of Half-pikes. The water of their Countrey is very bad, which is the reaſon that their thighs are ſwell'd, and it is a wonder to ſee any one of them free.

Beyond *Sofala* there is a Countrey commanded by a King, who is call'd the King of *Beroé*. In ſome parts of his Countrey there grows a Root about an inch thick, and of a yellow colour. It heals all ſorts of Fevers, cauſing the Patient to vomit. But becauſe it grows very ſcarce, the King ſtrictly forbids his Subjects to export it. The taſt of it is very bitter upon the tongue.

As for Silver-Mines, there are none in all *Aſia* but only in *Japon*; but ſome years ſince, at *Delegora*, *Sangora*, *Bordelon* and *Bata*, have been diſcover'd plentiful Mines of Tin, to the great damage of the *Engliſh*, there being now enough in *Aſia* of their own beſides.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Relation of a Notable piece of Treachery, whereby the Author was abus'd when he Embark'd at Gomrom *for* Surat.

IN the Month of *April* 1665, being ready to depart from *Gomrom* for *Surat*, in a Veſſel that belong'd to a *Holland*-Broaker, commanded by a *Holland*-Captain, the *Engliſh* Agent gave me a Packet of Letters to deliver to the Preſident at *Surat*. The Packet was large, containing not only the Companies-Letters, but ſeveral private Letters to particular perſons at *Surat* and other parts of *India*. This Packet I receiv'd in the preſence of one *Caſembrot*, a *Hollander*, who inform'd another *Dutch-man*, whoſe name was *Waauwuck*, of it. Thereupon they preſently contriv'd

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TRAVELS IN INDIA.

The Third Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the particular Religion of the Mahometans *in the East* Indies.

THE diversity of Opinions among the *Maahometans*, does not consist in the different Expositions which they put upon the *Alcoran*; but in the contrariety of Belief which they receiv'd by Tradition from the first Successors of *Mahomet*. From thence there sprung two Sects, directly opposite: The one, which is call'd the Sect of the *Sounnis*, follow'd by the *Turks*; and the other of the *Chiais*, which is adher'd to by the *Persians*. I will not enlarge my self upon these two Sects, that divide all *Mahumetism*; it being my design, only to tell you how the condition of that false Religion stands in the Empire of the Great *Mogul*, and in the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Visapour*.

When *Mahumetism* was first brought into the *Indies*, there was an excess of pride, but no devotion among the Christians; and the Idolaters were an effeminate people, able to make little resistence; so that it was easie for the *Mahumetans* to subdue both the one and the other by force of Arms, which they did so advantageously, that many, as well Christians as Idolaters, embrac'd the *Mahumetan* Religion.

The Great *Mogul*, with all his Court, follows the Sect of the *Sounnis*; the King of *Golconda*, that of the *Chiais*. In the King of *Visapour*'s Territories the *Sounnis* and *Chiais* are mingl'd together; which may be said also of the Court of the Great *Mogul*, in regard of the great numbers of *Persians* that flock thither to serve in his Armies. True it is, that though they abhor the *Sounnis*, yet they adhere to the Religion of the Prince; holding it lawful for the preservation of their Estates to conceal their belief. As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Golconda*, *Koutoub-Cha*, the present King, very zealously maintains the Law of the *Chiais*; in regard the Grandees of his Court are almost all *Persians*.

Aureng-zeb testifies above all things an extraordinary devotion for the Sect of the *Sounnis*; of which he is so zealous an observer, that he surpasses all his Predecessors in outward profession; which was the Cloak under which he usurp'd the Crown. When he took possession of his Throne, he gave it out that he did it only out of a design to cause the Law of *Mahomet* to be more strictly observ'd, which had been very much neglected in the Reign of *Shazehan* his Father, and *Gehan-guir* his Grandfather; and to shew himself more zealous to the Law, he turn'd *Faquir* or *Dervich*, that is, poor Volunteer; and

under-

under that falſe pretence of Piety he cunningly made way to the Empire. And indeed though he has a great many *Perſians* under his pay, yet he will not permit them to keep holy the day conſecrated to the memory of *Hoſen* and *Heuſſin*, the two ſons of *Ali*, who were put to death by the *Sonnis*; beſides that they, to pleaſe him, are willing enough to conform.

CHAP. II.

Of the Faquirs, *or poor* Mahometan *Volunteers in the Eaſt* Indies.

THey reckon that there are in the *Indies* eight hundred thouſand *Faquirs*, and twelve hunder'd thouſand Idolaters; which is a prodigious Number. They are all of them Vagabonds, and lazy Drones, that dazle the eyes of the people with a falſe zeal, and make them believe that whatever comes out of their mouths is an Oracle.

There are ſeveral ſorts of *Mahometan Faquirs*. The one ſort go almoſt naked like the Idolatrous *Faquirs*, having no certain abode in the world, but giving themſelves up to all manner of uncleanneſs. There are others whoſe Garments are of ſo many different pieces and colours, that a man can hardly tell of what they are made. Theſe Garments reach down to the half Leg, and hide the rags that are underneath. They go generally in Troops; and have their Superiour of the Gang, who is known by his Garment, which is generally poorer, and conſiſts of more patches than the other. Beſides, that he draws after him a great Iron Chain, which is ty'd to his Leg, and is about two Ells long, and proportionably thick. When he ſays his prayers, he does it with a loud voice, and rattling his Chain all the while, which is accompany'd with an affected gravity, that draws the Veneration of the people. In the mean time the people prepare Dinner for him and his company, in the place where he takes up his ſtand, which is uſually in ſome ſtreet or publick place. There he cauſes his Diſciples to ſpread certain Carpets, where he ſets himſelf down to give audience to the people. On the other ſide, the Diſciples go about publiſhing through the Country the vertues of their Maſter, and the favours he receives from God, who reveals his moſt important ſecrets to him, and gives him power to relieve perſons in affliction by his counſel. The people, who give credit to him, and believe him to be a holy man, approach him with a great devotion, and when they come near him, they pull off their Shoes, and proſtrate themſelves to kiſs his feet. Then the *Faquir*, to ſhew his humility reaches out his hand to kiſs; that done, he cauſes them that come to conſult him, to ſit down by him, and hears every one apart. They boaſt themſelves to have a prophetick Spirit; and above all to teach barren women a way how to have Children, and to be belov'd by whom they pleaſe.

There are ſome of theſe *Faquirs* who have above two hundred Diſciples, or more, which they aſſemble together by the ſound of a Horn, or the Beat of a Drum. When they travel, they have their Standard, Lances, and other Weapons which they pitch in the ground, near to their Maſter, when he repoſes in any place.

The third ſort of Eaſt *Indian Faquirs*, are thoſe that being born of poor Parents, and deſirous to underſtand the Law, to the end they may become *Moulla's* or Doctors, retire to the *Moſquees*, where they live upon the Alms which is given them. They employ all their time in reading the *Alcoran*, which they get by heart; and if they can but add to that ſtudy the knowledg of ſome natural things, and an exemplary life withall, they come to be chief of the *Moſquees*, and to the dignity of *Moullahs*, and Judges of the Law. Thoſe *Faquirs* have their Wives; and ſome, out of their great zeal to imitate *Mahomet*, have three or four; thinking they do God great ſervice in begetting many Children to be followers of their Laws.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Religion of the Gentiles, *or Idolatrous* Indians.

THe Idolaters among the *Indians* are so numerous, that they are reckon'd to be five or six for one *Mahometan*. It seems a wonderful thing, that such a prodigious multitude of men should be conv'd by a handful, and bow so easily under the yoak of the *Mahometan* Princes. But that wonder well may cease, when we consider that those Idolaters are not in union among themselves; for Superstition has introduc'd such a diversity of Opinions and Customs, that they can never agree one with another. An Idolater will not eat Bread nor drink Water in the House of any one that is not of his *Caste*; though it be more noble, and much more superior to his own. Yet they all eat and drink in the *Bramins* Houses, which are open to all the world. A *Caste* among the Idolaters, is very near the same thing which was anciently call'd a Tribe among the Jews. And though it be vulgarly believ'd, that there are seventy-two *Castes*, yet I have been inform'd by some of their most ingenuous Priests, that they may all be reduc'd into four Principal ones, from whence all the rest drew their Original.

The first *Caste* is that of the *Bramins*, who are the Successors of the ancient *Brachmans*, or *Indian* Philosophers, that study'd Astrology. You may also meet with some of their Ancient Books, in reading whereof the *Bramins* spend all their time; and are so vers'd in their observations, that they never fail a minute in the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon. And to preserve this knowledg among themselves they have a kind of University, in a City which is call'd *Benarez*, where they make all their exercises in Astrology, and where they have Doctors that expound their Law, which they very strictly observe. But in regard they are so great a number, and cannot all come to study at that University, they are all very ignorant, and consequently very superstitious; those that go for the most refin'd Wits, being the greatest Sorcerers.

The second *Caste* is that of the *Rasponies* or *Ketris*, that is to say, Warriors and warlike people. These are the only Idolatrous *Indians* that have any courage to signalize themselves in War. All the *Raja's* that I have so often mention'd, are of this *Caste*. These are so many petty Kings, whom their disunion has render'd Tributary to the Great *Mogul*. But in regard that the greatest part of them are in his service, they are highly recompenc'd by the large Salaries they receive for the small Tribute which they pay. These *Raja's*, and the *Rasponies* their Subjects, are the chiefest support of the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*; for indeed the *Raja's Jessing* and *Jessomsing* were those that lifted up *Aurengzeb* to the Throne. But you must take notice, that all of this second *Caste* are not Warriors; for they are the *Rasponies* only that go to War, and are all Horsemen. But for the *Ketris*, they are degenerated from their Ancestors, and of Soldiers are become Merchants.

The third Caste is that of the *Bannians*, who are altogether addicted to Trade; of whom some are *Sheraffs* or Bankers, others Broakers, employ'd between Merchant and Merchant for buying and selling. Those of this *Caste* are so subtil and nimble in Trade, that as I have said before, the *Jews* may be their Prentices. They accustom their Children betimes to fly Idleness. And instead of suffering them to lose their time in playing in the Streets, as we generally do, they teach them Arithmetick; which they are so perfect at, that without making use either of Pen or Ink, or Counters, but only of their memories, they will in a moment cast up the most difficult account that can be imagin'd. They always live with their Fathers, who instruct them in Trade, and do nothing but what they shew them. If any man in the heat of passion chafe at 'em, they hear him patiently without making any reply, and parting coldly from him, will not see him again in three or four days, when they think his passion may be over. They never eat any thing that has life; nay they would rather dye,

than kill the ſmalleſt Animal or Vermin that crawls; being in that point above all things the moſt zealous Obſervers of the Law. They never fight, nor go to War; neither will they eat or drink in the Houſe of a *Raſpoute*, becauſe they kill the Victuals they eat, all but Cows, which they never touch.

The fourth *Caſte* is that of the *Charados* or *Soudras*; who go to War as well as the *Raſpoutes*, but with this difference, that the *Raſpoutes* ſerve on Horſe-back, and the *Charados* on foot. Both of them take it for an Honour to dye in Battel; and let him be Horſe or Foot, that Soldier is accounted infamous that retreats in Fight; 'tis an eternal blot in his Family. upon which ſubject I will tell you a ſtory. A Soldier who was paſſionately in love with his Wife, and reciprocally belov'd by her, had fled from the fight, not ſo much out of any fear of death, as out of a conſideration of the grief which it would occaſion to his Wife, ſhould he leave her a Widow. When ſhe knew the reaſon of his flight, as ſoon as he came to the door, ſhe ſhut it againſt him, and order'd him to be told, that ſhe could never acknowledg that man for a Husband, who had preferr'd the Love of a Woman before his Honour; that ſhe did not deſire to ſee him any more, as being a ſtain to the Reputation of her Family; and that ſhe would endeavour to teach her Children to have more courage than their Father. The Wife continuing firm to her reſolution, the Husband to regain his Honour and her affection, return'd to the Army, where he ſo behav'd himſelf, that he became famous; and having highly made amends for his Cowardiſe, the door of his Houſe was again ſet open, and his Wife receiv'd him with her former kindneſs.

The reſt of the Natives, that are not reckon'd in the number of theſe *Caſtes*, are call'd *Pauzecour*. Theſe are ſuch as employ themſelves in Handicraft Trades; among which there is no other diſtinction, but according to the Trades which they follow from Father to Son. So that a Taylor cannot prefer his Son, but only in his own Calling, though he be never ſo rich; nor marry either a Son or Daughter, but to one of his own Craft. By the ſame rule, when a Taylor dies, all thoſe of his own Trade accompany the corps to the place where it is burnt: and the ſame practiſe is obſerv'd in all other Trades.

Among the particular *Caſtes*, there is one that goes by the name of *Alecors*, whoſe employment is only to clean Houſes; for which every Family pays him ſomething once a month, according to their proportion and quality. If a perſon of quality in the *Indies* keeps fifty Servants, ſet him be *Mahometan* or Idolater, there isnot one of them will take a Beſome in his hand to ſweep the Houſe; for he would think himſelf affronted, it being one of the greateſt ſcorns you can put upon an *Indian*, to call him *Alacor*. Beſides, every one of thoſe Servants knows his buſineſs; whether it be to carry the pot of Water to drink by the way, or to give his Maſter his Pipe of Tobacco when he calls for it; ſo that if the Maſter ſhould bid one to do that which the other was appointed to do, that Servant would ſtand like a Statue, and never make him any anſwer. But for the Slaves, they are oblig'd to do what ever the Maſter commands them. Theſe *Alacors* having no other buſineſs but only to make clean the Houſes, eat the ſcraps of all other *Caſtes*; and ſo without ſcruple feed upon any thing. There are none but thoſe of this Tribe make uſe of Aſſes, to carry away the filth of the Houſes into the Field; for which reaſon none of the reſt of the *Indians* will ſo much as touch that Animal; which is quite otherwiſe in *Perſia*, as well for carriage, as to ride upon. Moreover, there are none of the other *Indians*, except the *Alacors* that will eat.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Kings and Idolatrous Princes of Asia.

THE chiefest of the Idolatrous Kings of *Asia*, are the King of *Aracan*, the King of *Pegu*, the King of *Siam*, the King of *Cochinchina*, and the King of *Tunquin*. As for the King of *China*, we know that he was an Idolater before the *Tartars* invaded his Dominions. But since that, we know not what to report of certainty, in regard that the *Tartars* who are now Masters of the Country, are neither Idolaters nor *Mahometans*, but rather both together. In the Islands, the King of *Japon*, the King of *Ceylan*, and some petty Kings of the *Molucca* Islands are Idolaters; as are all the *Raja's* as well in the Empire of the Great *Mogul*, as in the neighbouring Kingdoms of *Visapour* and *Golconda*. In a word, all the meaner sort of people, as well in the Territories of the Great *Mogul*, Kings of *Golconda* and *Visapour*, as in the Isles of *Achan*, *Java*, and *Macassar*, though their Kings are *Mahumetans*, are all themselves Idolaters.

Some fifty years ago, one of the Kings of *Ceylan* became a Christian, and was baptiz'd by the name of *John*, being call'd before the Emperor *Priapender*. But as soon as he had embrac'd the Christian Faith, the Princes and Priests of the Country set up another King in his room. He endeavour'd all he could to bring his people to follow his example; to which purpose he assign'd to the Father *Jesuits*, twelve large Villages about *Colombo*, for the bringing up the youth of the Country in their Colledges; to the end that they being well instructed, might instruct others. For the King made it plain to the *Jesuits*, that it was impossible for them so well to understand the Language of the Country, as to be able to preach to the Natives. Besides, that they found the ingenuities of the Youth of *Ceylan* so quick and apprehensive, that they learnt more Latin, Philosophy, and other Sciences in six months, than the *Europeans* learnt in a year; and that they put such subtle Questions to their Masters, as were beyond imagination.

Some years after the King had profess'd Christianity, a witty man of the Island of *Ceylan*, and a good natural Philosopher, whose name was *Alegamme*, *Motiar*, or the Master of the Philosophers, after he had convers'd with the *Jesuits* and other Religious persons, was inspir'd to turn Christian. Thereupon he went to the *Jesuits*, and told them, that he desir'd to be a Christian; but withall he was very earnest to know what Jesus Christ had done, and left in writing. They gave him the new Testament, which he set himself to read with that heed and study, that in less than six months there was hardly a passage which he could not repeat. After that he again testifi'd to the *Jesuits* and other Religious persons, that he had a great desire to turn Christian, in regard he found their Religion to be such as Jesus Christ had taught; but only he wonder'd that they themselves did not follow his example. For that he could never find by his reading, that Jesus Christ ever took any money of any body; but that they took all they could get, and never baptiz'd nor buri'd unless they were well paid. But though he started the Question, he was baptiz'd, and afterwards became a sedulous converter of others.

CHAP. V.

What the Idolaters believe touching a Divinity.

THough the Idolatrous *Indians* attribute to the Creature, as to Cows, Apes, and ſeveral Monſters, thoſe Divine Honours which are only due to the true Diety; yet they acknowledge one only Infinite God, Almighty, and only Wiſe, the Creator of Heaven and earth, who fills all places with his preſence. They call him in ſome places *Permeſſer*, in others *Peremael*, and *Weſtnon* among the *Bramins* that inhabit the Coaſt of *Cormandel*. It may be, becauſe they have heard that the Circle is the moſt perfect of all Figures, therefore it is that they ſay God is of an Oval Figure; for they have in all their Pagods an Oval Flintſtone, which they fetch from *Ganges*, and worſhip as a God. They are ſo obſtinately wedded to this fooliſh imagination that the wiſeſt among the *Bramins* will not ſo much as hear any argument to the contrary. So that it is no wonder that a people led by ſuch blind Guides, ſhould fall into ſuch Abyſſes of Idolatry. There is one Tribe ſo ſuperſtitious, in reference to that article, that they carry thoſe Oval Flints about their Necks, and beat them againſt their Breaſts, when they are at their devotions. In this dark and lamentable miſt of ignorance, theſe Idolaters make their Gods to be born like men, and aſſign them Wives, imagining that theirs are the pleaſures of men. Thus they take their *Ram* for a great Deity, in regard of the Miracles which they believe he wrought while he liv'd upon Earth. *Ram* was the Son of a potent *Raja*, who was call'd by the name of *Deſeret*, and the moſt vertuous of all his Children, which he had by two lawful Wives. He was particular belov'd by his Father, who deſign'd him to be his Succeſſor. But the Mother of *Ram* being dead, the *Raja's* other Wife, who had her Husband entirely at her beck, prevail'd with him to exterminate *Ram* and his Brother *Lokeman* from his Houſe, and all his Territories; upon whoſe exclufion the Son of that Wife was declar'd the *Raja's* Succeſſor. As the two Brothers were about to be gone, *Ram's* Wife *Sita*, of whom he went to take his leave, and whom the Idolaters worſhip as a Goddeſs, beg'd of him that ſhe might not leave him, having made a reſolution never to forſake him; whereupon they all three went together to ſeek their fortunes. They were not very ſucceſsful at firſt; for as they paſs'd through a Wood, *Ram* being in purſuit of a Bird, ſtray'd from the Company, and was miſſing a long time; inſomuch that *Sita* fearing that ſome diſaſter was befall'n him, beſought *Lokeman* to look after him. He excus'd himſelf at firſt, by reaſon that *Ram* had oblig'd him never to leave *Sita* alone, foreſeeing by a Prophetick Spirit what would befall her, ſhould ſhe be left to her ſelf. Nevertheleſs *Lokeman* being over perſwaded by the prayers of his fair Sifter, went to ſeek for *Ram* his Brother; but in the mean time *Rhevan* another of the Idolaters Gods, appear'd to *Sita* in the ſhape of a *Faquir*, and beg'd an Alms of her. Now *Ram* had order'd *Sita*, that ſhe ſhould not ſtir out of the place where he left her; which *Rhevan* well knowing, would not receive the Alms which *Sita* preſented him, unleſs ſhe would remove to another place; which when *Sita* had done, either out of negligence or forgetfulneſs, *Rhevan* ſeiz'd upon her, and carry'd her into the thick of the Wood, where his Train ſtay'd for him. *Ram* at his return miſſing *Sita*, fell into a ſwoon for grief, but being brought again to himſelf by his Brother *Lokeman*, they two immediately went together in ſearch of *Sita*, who was ſo dearly belov'd by her Husband.

When the *Bramins* repeat this Rape of their Goddeſs, they do it with tears in their eyes, and great demonſtrations of ſorrow; adding upon this ſubject, an infinite company of Fables more ridiculous, to ſhew the great courage of *Ram* in purſuit of the Raviſher. They employ'd all Creatures living upon the diſcovery; but none of them had the luck to ſucceed, only the Monkey call'd *Harman*. He croſs'd over the Sea at one Leap, and coming into *Rhevans* Gardens, found *Sita* in the extremity of affliction; and very much ſurpriz'd to hear

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an Ape ſpeak to her in her Husbands behalf. At firſt ſhe would not give any credit to ſuch an Ambaſſador; but the Ape, to ſhew that his Commiſſion was authentick, preſents her with a Ring which her Husband had giv'n her, and that ſhe had left behind her among her Furniture. She could hardly however believe ſo great a Miracle, as that *Ram* her Husband ſhould make a Beaſt ſpeak, to bring her the news of his health, and to teſtifie as he did the marks of his affection. But the Ape *Harman* wrought Miracles himſelf, for being taken for a Spy by ſome *Rhevans* Servants, who therefore would have burnt him, he made uſe of the fire which they had prepar'd to burn him, to ſet *Rhevans* Palace on fire, which he almoſt conſum'd to the ground, with all the tatters and rags which were ty'd to his tail and his body. When the Ape had thus done, the better to eſcape out of *Rhevans* hands, he took the ſame way he came, and repaſſing the Sea again at one jump, he came and gave *Ram* an account of his adventures; and told him in what a ſorrowful condition he had found *Sita*, who did nothing but mourn by reaſon of her abſence from her Husband. *Ram* touch'd with his Wives affection, reſolv'd to deliver her out of *Rhevans* hands, whatever it coſt him; whereupon he rais'd Forces, and being guided by the Ape, at length he came to *Rhevans* Palace, that ſtill ſmoak'd, the fire had been ſo great; and by reaſon that *Rhevans* Servants were diſpers'd, *Ram* had an eaſie opportunity to ſee his belov'd *Sita* again, whom *Rhevan* abandon'd wholly to him, flying for fear to the Mountains. *Ram* and *Sita* were infinitely overjoy'd at their coming together again, and return'd very great Honours to *Harman*, who had done him ſo great ſervice.

As for *Rhevan*, he ſpent all the reſt of his days like a poor *Faquir*, ſeeing his Country ruin'd by *Ram*'s Troops, who was reſolv'd to be reveng'd for the injury which he had receiv'd; and from this *Rhevan* it was, from whence that infinite multitude of *Faquirs*, that ſwarm all over *India*, firſt took their Original.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Faquirs, *or poor* Volunteers *among the* Indians, *and of their Pennances.*

THE Original of the *Faquirs*, as I ſaid before, came from that *Rhevan*, whom *Ram* diſpoil'd of his Kingdom; at which he conceiv'd ſuch an unſpeakable ſorrow, that he reſolv'd to lead a Vagabond life, and to wander about the world, poor, ſtript of all, and in a manner quite naked. He found enough to follow him in a courſe of life that gives them ſo much liberty. For being worſhip'd as Saints, they have in their hands all opportunities of doing evil.

Theſe *Faquirs* wander generally in Troops, every one of which has a Superior. And in regard they are quite naked, Winter and Summer lying upon the hard ground, when it is cold, the young *Faquirs*, and others that are moſt devout, go in the afternoon to ſeek for the dungs of Cows and other Creatures, of which they make their fires. They rarely burn Wood, for fear of killing any living Animal which is wont to breed in it; and therefore the Wood wherewith they burn their dead, is only ſuch as has floated long in the Water, which never breeds in any ſort of living Creature. The young *Faquirs* having got together a good quantity of dung, mix'd with dry turf, make ſeveral fires, according to the bigneſs of the Company; round about every one of which the *Faquirs* ſeat themſelves. When they grow ſleepy, they lay themſelves upon the ground, ſpreading the Aſhes abroad which ſerve them for a Mattreſs; without any other Canopy than that of Heaven.

As for the *Faquirs* that do Pennance, when they are laid down in the ſame poſture as you ſee them in the day time, they kindle a good fire on each ſide of them, for otherwiſe they would not be able to to endure the cold. The rich

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Idolaters account themſelves happy, and their Houſes to be fill'd with the benedictions of Heaven, when they have any of theſe *Faquirs* for their Gueſts, which the more auſtere they are, the more they honour: and it is the glory of the Troop to have one among them that does ſome conſiderable act of Penance.

The Crews of *Faquirs* many time joyn together to go in Pilgrimage to the Principal Pagods, and publick Waſhings, which they uſe upon certain dayes in the year in the River *Ganges*, whereof they make the chiefeſt account; as alſo in that which ſeparates the Territories of the *Portugals* of *Goa* from the Dominions of the King of *Viſapour*. Some of the moſt auſtere *Faquirs* live in little pittiful Huts neer their Pagods, where they have once in four and twenty hours ſomething to eat beſtow'd upon them for God's ſake. The Tree whereof I have giv'n the deſcription, is of the ſame ſort as that which grows neer *Gomron*, which I have deſcrib'd in my *Perſian* Relations. The *Franks* call it the *Banians*-Tree, becauſe in thoſe places where thoſe Trees grow, the Idolaters always take up their quarters, and dreſs their victuals under them. They have thoſe Trees in great reverence, and oft-times build their Pagods either under or very neer them. That which the Reader ſees here deſcrib'd, grows at *Surat*; in the trunk whereof, which is hollow, is the figure of a Monſter, repreſenting the face of a deform'd Woman, which they ſay was the firſt Woman, whoſe name was *Mamaniva*; thither great numbers of Idolaters every day reſort: neer to which there is ſome *Bramin* or other always appointed to be ready to ſay Prayers, and receive the Alms of Rice, Millet, and other Grains which the charitable beſtow upon them. The *Bramin* marks the forhead of all, both Men and Woman, that come to pray in the Pagod, with a kind of Vermillion, wherewith he alſo beſmears the Idol; for being thus mark'd, they belive the evil Spirit cannot hurt them, as being then under the protection of their God.

Number 1. is that part where the *Bramins* paint their Idols; ſuch as *Mamaniva*, *Sita*, *Madedina*, and others; whereof they have a great number.

Numb. 2, is the figure of *Mamaniva*, which is in the Pagod.

Numb. 3, is another Pagod neer the former. There ſtands a Cow at the door, and within ſtands the figure of their God *Ram*.

Numb. 4, is another Pagod, into which the *Faquirs*, that do Penance, often retire.

Numb. 5, is another Pagod dedicated to *Ram*.

Numb. 6, is a Hut into which a *Faquir* makes his retirement ſeveral times a year, there being but one hole to let in the light. He ſtays there according to the height of his devotion, ſometimes nine or ten days together, without either eating or drinking; a thing which I could not have believ'd, had I not ſeen it. My curioſity carri'd me to ſee one of thoſe penitents, which the Preſident of the *Dutch*-Company, who ſet a ſpy to watch night and day whether any body brought him any victuals. But he could not diſcover any relief the *Faquir* had, all the while ſitting upon his Bum like our Taylors, never changing his poſture above ſeven days together, not being able to hold out any longer, by reaſon the heat and ſtench of the Lamp was ready to ſtifle him. Their other ſorts of Penance out-doing this, might be thought incredible, were there not ſo many thouſand witneſſes thereof.

Numb. 7, is the figure of another Penitentiary, over whoſe head ſeveral years have paſt; and yet he never ſlept day nor night. When he finds himſelf ſleepy, he hangs the weight of the upper part of his body upon a double-rope that is faſten'd to one of the boughs of the Tree; and by the continuance of this poſture, which is very ſtrange and painful, there falls a humour into their legs that ſwells them very much.

Numb. 8, is the figure of two poſtures of two doing Penance; who, as long as they live, carry their arms above their heads in that manner; which cauſes certain Carnoſities to breed in the joynts, that they can never bring them down again. Their hair grows down to their waſts, and their nails are as long as their fingers. Night and Day, Winter and Summer they go always ſtark naked in the ſame poſture, expos'd to the heat and rain, and the ſtinging of the Flies; from which they have not the uſe of their hands to rid themſelves. In other

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Funerals in India. Page 165

The Figure of a Penitent as they are represented in little under the Ba:nians great Tree.

neceſſities they have other *Faquirs* in their company always ready to aſſiſt them.

Numb. 9, is the poſture of another Penitent, who every day for ſeveral hours ſtands upon one foot, holding a chafing-diſh in his hand, into which he pours Incenſe, as an Offering to his God, fixing his eyes all the while upon the Sun.

Num. 10 and 11, are the figures of two other Penitents ſitting with their hands rais'd above their heads in the air.

Numb. 12, is the poſture wherein the Penitents ſleep, without ever reſting their arms; which is certainly one of the greateſt torments the body of man can ſuffer.

Numb. 13, is the poſture of a Penitent, whoſe arms, through weakneſs, hang flagging down upon his ſhoulders, being dry'd up for want of nouriſhment.

There are an infinite number of other Penitents; ſome who in a poſture quite contrary to the motion and frame of nature, keep their eys always turn'd toward the Sun. Others who fix their eyes perpetually upon the ground, never ſo much as ſpeaking one word, or looking any perſon in the face. And indeed there is ſuch an infinte variety of them, that would render the farther diſcourſe of them more tedious

True it is, that I have hid thoſe parts which modeſty will not ſuffer to be expos'd to view. But they both in City and Countrey go all as naked as they came out of their Mothers wombs; and though the Woman approach them to take them by the fingers-ends, and to kiſs thoſe parts which modeſty forbids to name; yet ſhall you not obſerve in them any motion of ſenſuality; rather quite contrary, ſeeing them never to look upon any perſon, but rowling their eyes in a moſt frightful manner, you would belive them in an extaſie.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Idolaters belief touching the eſtate of the Soul after death.

'TIS an Article of the Idolaters Faith, that the Souls of Men departing out of the body, are preſented to God; who according to the lives which they lead, orders them another body to inhabit. So that one and the ſame perſon is born ſeveral times into the World. And that as for the Souls of wicked and vicious perſons, God diſpoſes them into the bodies of contemptable Beaſts, ſuch as Aſſes, Dogs, Cats, and the like; to do Penance for their crimes in thoſe infamous Priſons. But they believe that thoſe Souls that enter into Cows are happy; preſuming that there is a divinity in thoſe creatures. For if a man dye with a Cows-tail in his hand, they ſay it is enough to render him happy in the other World.

The Idolaters believing thus the tranſmigration of the Souls of men into the bodies of other creatures, they abhor to kill any creature whatever, for fear they ſhould be guilty of the death of ſome of their kindred or friends doing Penance in thoſe bodies.

If the Men in their life-time are famous for their vertuous deeds, they hold that their Souls paſs into the bodies of ſome Potent *Raja's*: where they enjoy the pleaſures of this life in thoſe bodies, as the reward of thoſe good works which they did.

This is the reaſon why the *Faquirs* put themſelves to ſuch horrible Penances. But becauſe that all are not able to endure ſo much torment in this World, they labour to ſupply the defect of that cruel Penance by good works. And beſides, they charge their Heirs in their Wills to give Alms to the *Bramins*, to the end that by the powerful effect of their Prayers, their God may aſſign them the body of ſome Noble Perſonage.

In *January* 1661, the Broaker belonging to the *Holland* Company, whose name was *Mondas-Parek*, dy'd at *Surat*. He was a rich Man, and very charitable, giving his Alms very liberally as well to the Christians as to the Idolaters; The Capuchins at *Surat* living one part of the year upon the Rice, Butter and Pulse which he sent them. This *Banian* was not sick above four or five days; during all which time, and for eight days more after he was dead, his Brothers distributed nine or ten-thousand Roupies; and in the burning of his body they mix'd Sandal-wood, and *Lignum-Aloes*, with the ordinary wood, believing that by that means the Soul of their Brother transmigrating into another body, he would come to be some great Lord in another Country. There are some that are such fools that they bury their treasure in their life-time, as it is the usal custome of all the rich Men in the Kingdom of *Asen*; to the end that if they should be condemn'd to the body of some poor miserable person, they might have wherewithal to supply their necessities. I remember one day that I bought in *India* an Agate Cup half a foot high; he that sold it me, assur'd me that it had been buried under ground above 40 years, and that he kept it to serve his occasions after death; but that it was to him a thing indifferent whether he buried his Cup or his Money. In my last Voyage I bought of one of these Idolaters sixty-two Diamonds of about six grains a-piece; and while I was wondring to see so fair a parcel, he told me I needed not to wonder; for he had been fifty years getting them together, to serve him after his death, but that having occasion for Money, he was forc'd to part with them. This buried treasure stood the *Raja-Seva-Gi* in great stead, when he took Arms against the Great *Mogul*, and the King of *Visapour*. For that *Raja* having taken *Callian Biondi*, a small City in the Kingdom of *Visapour*, by the advice of the *Bramins*, who assur'd him he should find great store of treasure buri'd, caus'd the greatest part thereof to be demolish'd; and found so much wealth, as to maintain his Army, which was above thirty-thousand Men. It is impossible to convince these poor Idolaters of their errors; in regard they will hear no reason, but submit themselves altogether to their old forms and customs.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Custom among the Idolaters to burn the Bodies of their Dead.

THE custom of burning the Bodies of the dead is very ancient among the Gentiles; which Ceremony they most commonly perform by the banks of Rivers, where they wash the dead; which is the last purgation of them from their sins. Nay, their superstition is so great sometimes, that they will carry the sick person, death approaching, to the bank of some River or Pond, and put his feet in the water. As nature fails, they dip him deeper and deeper till at length they hold him expiring up to the chin in the River: to the end that the same time that the Soul departs out of the Body, both Body and Soul may be cleans'd from all defilement; and then plunging the newly dead Body over head and ears, they bring it out, and burn it in the place appointed; which is generally neer some Pagod. There are some persons that make it their business to fetch Wood, and agree what they shall have for their pains. An Idolater being dead, all those of his *Caste* or Tribe assemble together at the House of the deceas'd, and laying the Body upon a Bier cover'd with clean fine Linnen according to his Quality and Estate, they follow the Bier, which is carri'd by such as are appointed for that purpose to the place where the Body is to be burn'd. As they go along they sing certain Prayers to their God, pronouncing several times the words *Ram*, *Ram*, while another going before the Bier, sounds a little Bell, to advertize the living to pray for the dead. The Body being set down by the bank of the River or Pond, they first plunge it into the water, and then they burn it. According to the quality of the deceas'd they also mingle with the ordinary wood Sandal-wood, and other

other Sweet-woods. But the Idolaters do not only burn the Bodies of the dead, but the Bodies of the living. They ſcruple to kill a ſerpent, or a louſe, but account it a meritorious thing to burn a living Wife with the body of the deceas'd Husband.

CHAP. X.

How the Wives are burnt in India *with the Bodies of their deceas'd Husbands.*

IT is alſo an ancient cuſtom among the *Indians*, that the Husband happening to dye, the Wife can never marry again. So that as ſoon as the Man is dead, the Wife retires to bewail her Husband; ſome days after that, they ſhave off her hair; ſhe lays aſide all the ornaments of her apparel; ſhe takes off from her arms and legs the Bracelets which her Husband put on when he eſpous'd her, in token of her ſubmiſſion, and her being chain'd to him: and all the reſt of her life ſhe lives ſlighted and diſpis'd, and in a worſe condition than a Slave in the very Houſe where ſhe was Miſtreſs before. This unfortunate condition cauſes them to hate life, ſo that they rather chooſe to be buri'd alive with the body of their deceas'd Husbands, then to live in the ſcorn and contempt of the World. Beſides that, the *Bramins* make them believe, that in dying after that manner, they ſhall revive again with him in another World, with more honour and more advantages than they enjoy'd before. Theſe are the motives that perſwade the Woman to burn with their Husbands; beſides that, the Prieſts flatter them with a hope, that while they are in the midſt of the flames, before they expire, *Ram* will appear, and reveal wonderful viſions to them; and that after their Souls have tranſmigrated into various Bodies, they ſhall at length obtain a high degree of Honour to eternity.

However, there is no Woman that can burn her Husband's body, till ſhe has the leave of the Governor of the place where ſhe inhabits, who be ing a *Mahumetan*, and abhorring that execrable cuſtom of Self-murder, is very ſhy to permit them. Beſides, there are none but Widows that have no children, that lye under the reproach that forces them to violent death. For as for the Widows that have children, they are by no means permitted to burn themſelves; but quite the contrary, they are commanded to live for the education of the children. Thoſe Woman whom the Governour will not permit to burn themſelves, ſpend the reſt of thir lives in doing Penance, and performing works of Charity. Some make it their buſineſs to ſit upon the Road to boyl certain Pulſe in water, and to give the liquor to Travellers to drink. Others ſit with fire always ready for them to light their Tobacco. Others make vows to eat nothing but the undigeſted grains which they find in Cow-dung.

The Governour finding no perſwaſions will alter the Woman's reſolution, but more eſpecially perceiving by the ſign which his Secretary makes him, that he had receiv'd the Coin, in a ſurly manner gives the Woman leave, bidding the Devil take her and all her kindred.

When they have got this leave, their Muſick begins to ſtrike up, and away they ding to the Houſe of the deceas'd, with Drums beating, and Flutes playing before them; and in that manner they accompany the perſon that is to be burnt, to the place appointed. All the kindred and friends of the Widow that is to dye, come to her, and congratulate her for the happineſs ſhe is to enjoy in the other World: and for the honour which the *Caſte* ſhe is of receives by her generous reſolution, ſhe dreſſes her ſelf as ſhe were going to be marri'd, and ſhe is conducted in triumph to the place of execution. For the noiſe is loud of Muſical Inſtruments, and Womens Voices, that follow her ſinging Songs in honour of the miſerable creature that is going to dye. The *Bramins* that accompany her, exhort her to give publick teſtimonies of her conſtancy and courage: and many of our *Europeans*

are of opinion, that to take away the fears of death, which naturally terrifies humanity, the Priests do give her a certain Beverage to stupify and disorder the senses, which takes from her all apprehension of her preparations for death. 'Tis for the *Bramins* interest that the poor miserable creatures should continue in their resolutions; for all their Bracelets as well about their legs as their arms, the Pendents in their ears; their Rings sometimes of Gold, sometimes of Silver; (for the poor wear only Copper and Tin,) all these belong to the *Bramins*, who rake for them among the Ashes when the party is burn'd.

I have seen Women burnt after three several manners, according to the difference of the Countrey. In the Kingdom of *Guzerat*, as far as *Agra* and *Dehli*, they set up a little Hut above twelve foot square upon the bank of a Pond or River. 'Tis made of Reeds, and all sorts of small Wood, with which they mingle certain pots of Oil and other Drugs to make it burn more vehemently. The Woman is plac'd in the middle of the Hut, in a half-lying-down posture, leaning her head upon a kind of a wooden Bolster, and resting her back against a Pillar, to which the *Bramin* tyes her about the middle, for fear he should run away when she feels the fire. In this posture she holds the body of her deceas'd Husband upon her knees, chewing *Betle* all the while: and when she has continu'd in this posture about half an hour, the *Bramin* goes out, and the woman bids them set fire to the Hut; which is immediately done by the *Bramins*, and the kindred and friends of the Woman; who also cast several pots of Oil into the fire, to put the Woman the sooner out of her pain. After the Woman is burnt, the *Bramins* search the Ashes for all her Bracelets, Pendants and Rings, whether Gold, Silver, Copper or Tin, which is all free booty to themselves.

In *Bengala* they burn the Woman after another fashion. In that Country a Woman must be very poor that does not accompany the Body of her deceas'd Husband to the *Ganges* to wash his Body, and to be wash'd her self before she is burnt. I have seen dead Carkasses brought to the *Ganges* above twenty days journey off from the place, and smelt 'em to boot; for the scent of them has been intollerably noysom. There was one that came from the Northern Mountains neer the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, with the body of her Husband carri'd in a Waggon; she travel'd twenty days a-foot, and neither eat nor drank for 15 or 16 days together till she came to the *Ganges*, where after she had wash'd the body that stank abominably, and had afterwards wash'd her self, she was burnt with him with an admirable constancy. Before the Woman that is to be burnt, goes the Musick, consisting of Drums, Flutes and Hautboys, whom the Woman in her best Accoutrements follows, dancing up to the very Funeral-pile, upon which she gets up, and places her self as if she were sitting up in her Bed; and then they lay a-cross her the body of her Husband. When that is done, her kindred and friends, some bring her a Letter, some a piece of Calicut, another pieces of Silver or Copper, and desire her to deliver them to their Mother, or Brother, or some other Kinsman or Friend. When the woman sees they have all done, she asks the Standers-by three times, if they have nothing more of service to command her; if they make no answer, she ties up all she has got in a piece of Taffata, which she puts between her own belly, and the body of her Husband, bidding them to set fire to the Pile; which is presently done by the *Bramins* and her Kindred. I have observ'd, because there is scarcity of Wood in *Bengala*, that when these poor Creatures are half griddl'd, they cast their bodies into the *Ganges*, where the remains are devour'd by the Crocodiles.

I must not forget a wicked custom practis'd by the Idolaters of *Bengala*. When a Woman is brought to bed, and the Child will not take to the Teat, they carry it out of the Village, and putting it into a Linnen Cloath, which they fast'n by the four Corners to the Boughs of a Tree, they there leave it from morning till evening. By this means the poor Infant is expos'd to be tormented by the Crows, insomuch that there are some who have their eyes pickt out of their heads: which is the reason that in *Bengala* you shall see many of these Idolaters that have but one eye, and some that have lost both. In the evening they fetch the child away, to try whether he will suck the next night; and if he still refuse the teat, they carry him again to the same place next morning; which they do for three days together; after which, if the Infant after that refuses to suck, they believe

believe him to be a Devil, and throw him into *Ganges*, or any the next Pond or River. In the places where the Apes breed, these poor Infants are not so expos'd to the Crows; for where the Ape discovers a Nest of those Birds, he climbs the Tree, and throw, the Nest one way and the Eggs another. Sometimes some charitable people among the *Englisi*, *Hollanders*, and *Portugals*, compassionating the misfortune of those Children, will take them away from the Tree, and give them good education.

All along the Coast of *Cormandel*, when the Woman are to be burnt with their Husbands, they make a great hole in the ground nine or ten foot deep, and twenty-five or thirty foot square, into which they throw a great quantity of Wood and Drugs to make the fire burn more fiercely. When the fire is kindled, they set the body of the man upon the brink; and then presently up comes the Woman dancing and chewing *Betle*; accompany'd by her Friends and Kindred, with Drums beating, and Flutes sounding. Then the Woman takes three turns round the hole, and every time she has gone the round, she kisses her Friends and Kindred. After the third time the *Bramins* casts the Carcass of her Husband into the flame; and the woman standing with her back to the fire, is pusht in by the *Bramins* also, and tumbles backward. Then her Kindred and Friends cast Oil and other combustile Drugs upon the fire, to make it burn more vehemently, that the Bodies may be the sooner consum'd.

In most places upon the Coast of *Cormandel*, the Women are not burnt with their deceas'd Husbands, but they are buried alive with them in holes which the *Bramins* make a foot deeper than the tallness of the man and woman. Usually they chuse a Sandy place; so that when the man and woman are both let down together, all the Company with Baskets of Sand fill up the hole above half a foot higher than the surface of the ground, after which they jump and dance upon it, till they believe the woman to be stifl'd.

When some of the Idolaters upon the Coast of *Cormandel* are upon the point of death, their Friends do not carry them to the side of a River or Lake to cleanse their Souls, but they carry them to the fattest Cow they can find; and laying the sick party just behind the Cow, they lift up her Tail, and provoke her to piss. If she piss, so that it falls upon the face of the sick party, all the Company are overjoy'd, saying, that his Soul is happy. But if the Cow do not piss, to wash the sick parties face, they burn him with a great deal of sadness. If a Cow be sick, the owner must be careful to lead her to a Pond or River; for should she dye at his House, the *Bramins* would fine him.

CHAP. X.

Remarkable Storie of Women that have been burnt after their Husband decease.

THE *Raia* of *Velon* having lost his City and his life, through the loss of a Battel gain'd against him by the King of *Visapour*'s General, he was extreamly lamented at Court. Eleven of his Wives also were no less concern'd for his death, and resolv'd to be burnt when his Body was burn'd. The General of *Visapour*'s Army understanding their resolution thought at first to divert them, by promising them all kind usage. But finding perswasions, would not prevail, he order'd them to be shut up in a Room. He who had the order, going to put it in execution, the Women in a rage told him, that 'twas to no purpose to keep them Prisoners, for if they might not have leave to do what they had resolv'd, in three hours there would not one of them be alive. The person entrusted, laugh'd at their threats; but the Keeper of those women opening the door at the end of the three hours, found them

all ſtretch'd out dead upon the place, without any mark in the world to be ſeen that they had any way haſten'd their own deaths.

Two of the moſt potent *Raja's* of *India* came to *Agra* in the year 1642, to do homage to *Sha-jekan*, who then reign'd; who not having acquitted themſelves as they ought to have done, in the judgment of the Grand-Maſter of the Kings Houſhold, he told one of the *Raja's* one day, in the preſence of the King, that they had not done well, to behave themſelves in that manner toward ſo great a Monarch, as was the King his Maſter. The *Raja* looking upon himſelf to be a great King, and a great Prince, he and his Brother having brought along with them a Train of 15 or 16000 thouſand Horſe, was netl'd at the bold reproof which the Grand Maſter gave him, and drawing out his Dagger, ſlew him upon the place, in the preſence of the King. The Grand Maſter falling at the feet of his own Brother, who ſtood cloſe by him, he was going about to revenge his death, but was prevented by the *Raja's* Brother, who ſtab'd him, and laid him athwart his Brothers Body. The King, who beheld theſe two murthers one upon the neck of the other, retir'd into his *Haram* for fear. But preſently the *Omrahs* and other people fell upon the *Raja's*, and cut 'em to pieces. The King incens'd at ſuch an attempt committed in his Houſe and in his preſence, commanded the *Rajah's* bodies to be thrown into the River; which their Troops that they had left about *Agra* underſtanding, threaten'd to enter the City and pillage it. But rather than hazard the City, the King was adviſ'd to deliver them the Bodies of their Princes. When they were to be burn'd, thirteen Women belonging to the two *Raja's* Houſes, came dancing and leaping, and preſently got upon the Funeral pile, holding one another by the hands, and being preſently after ſtifl'd with the ſmoak, fell together into the fire. Preſently the *Bramins* threw great heaps of Wood, pots of Oil, and other combuſtible matter upon them, to diſpatch them the ſooner.

I obſerved a ſtrange paſſage at *Patna*, being then with the Governour, a young Gentleman of about twenty-four years of age, in his own Houſe. While I was with him, in came a young woman, very handſome, and not above two and twenty years old, who deſir'd leave of the Governour to be burnt with the Body of her deceas'd Husband. The Governour compaſſionating her youth and beauty, endeavour'd to divert her from her reſolution; but finding he could not prevail, with a ſurly countenance, he ask'd her whether ſhe underſtood what the torment of fire was, and whether ſhe had ever burnt her fingers? No, no, anſwer'd ſhe more ſtoutly than before, I do not fear fire, and to let you know as much, ſend for a lighted Torch, hither. The Governour abominating her anſwer, in great paſſion bid her go to the Devil. Some young Lords that were with the Governour, deſir'd him to try the Woman, and to call for a Torch; which with much ado he did, and a lighted Torch was brought. So ſoon as the woman ſaw the lighted Torch coming, ſhe ran to meet it, and held her hand in the flame, not altering her countenance in the leaſt; ſtill ſearing her arm along up to the very elbow, till her fleſh look'd as if it had been broil'd; whereupon the Governour commanded her out of his ſight.

A *Bramin* coming to *Patna*, and aſſembling all his Tribe together, told them, that they muſt give him two thouſand Roupies, and twenty-ſeven Ells of Calicut. To which the chief among them made him anſwer, that they were poor, and could not poſſible raiſe ſuch a ſum. However he perſiſted in his demand, poſitively affirming to them, that he would ſtay there without eating or drinking till they brought him the Money and the Cloath. With this reſolution he climb'd a Tree, and ſetting in the fork between the boughs, remain'd there without eating or drinking for ſeveral days. The noiſe of this extravagance coming to the ears of the *Hollanders* where we lay, we ſet Sentinels to watch whether it were true, that a man could ſit ſo long without victuals; which he did for thirty days together. The one and thirtieth day of ſuch an extraordinary Faſt, the Idolaters fearing to kill one of their Prieſts for want of granting him his demand, club'd together, and brought him his twenty-ſeven Ells of Calicut, and two thouſand Roupies. So ſoon as the *Bramin* ſaw the Money and the Cloath, he came down from the Tree; and after he had upbraided thoſe of his Tribe for want of Charity, he diſtributed all the Roupies among

among the poor, reſerving only five or ſix for himſelf. The Cloth he cut into little pieces, and gave away, keeping only to himſelf enough to cover his own nakedneſs; and having made this diſtribution, he diſappear'd of a ſudden, and no body knew what became of him, though dilligent ſearch was made after him.

When a *Chineſe* lies at the point of death, all his Kindred and Friends gather about him, and ask him whither he intends to go; they tell him alſo, that if he want any thing, he need but only ask and have, let it be Gold, Silver, or a Woman. When they are dead they perform many Ceremonies at their Funerals, which conſiſts chiefly in artificial fires, wherein the *Chineſes* are the moſt expert in the world; ſo that he muſt be a very poor man that has no fire-works at his Funeral. Beſides that, they put Money in a little Box, and bury it by the deceas'd; and leave good ſtore of victuals upon the Grave, out of an opinion that they riſe and eat. Which the Souldiers of *Batavia* obſerving, us'd to fill their Bellies at theſe Graves every time they walk'd their rounds. But when the *Chineſes* perceiv'd it, they poyſon'd the victuals to ſpoil the *Dutchmens* feaſting. The Townsmen of *Batavia* taking the Souldiers part, accus'd the *Chineſes* for poyſoning ſeveral of the *Dutch*. But the *Chineſes* pleaded, that if the Soldiers had over-eat themſelves, or ſurfeited themſelves upon what was left for the dead to eat, 'twas none of their fault; for that they did not leave their victuals for the Souldiers; and beſides that, among all the multitudes which they had buried, they never had heard the leaſt complaint before of any one that ever came by any harm by eating their food. Thus the buſineſs was huſh'd over; nor did the Souldiers dare to pilfer any more.

CHAP. IX.

Of the moſt celebrated Pagods *of the Idolaters in* India.

THE *Indian* Idolaters have a great number of Temples, ſmall and great which they call *Pagods*, where they pray to their Gods, and make their Offerings. But the poor people that live in the Woods and Mountains, and remote from Towns, are contented only with ſome ſtone, whereon they make a rude kind of Noſe, and paint it with ſome Vermillion colour, which ſerves all the whole neighbourhood to worſhip.

The four moſt celebrated Pagods, are *Jagrenate*, *Banarous*, *Matura*, and *Tripeti*.

Jagrenate is one of the mouths of *Ganges*, whereupon is built the Great Pagod, where the *Arch Bramin*, or chief Prieſt among the Idolaters keeps his reſidence. The great Idol that ſtands upon the Altar in the innermoſt part of the Pagod, has two Diamonds for his Eyes, and another that hangs about his neck, the leaſt of thoſe Diamonds weighing about forty Carats. About his Arms he wears Bracelets ſometimes of Pearls, and ſometimes of Rubies; and this magnificent Idol is call'd *Reſora*. The Revenues of this Pagod are ſufficient to feed fifteen or twenty thouſand Pilgrims every day; which is a number often ſeen there, that Pagod being the greateſt place of devotion in all *India*. But you muſt take notice, that no Goldſmith is ſuffer'd to enter this Pagod, becauſe that one of them being lock'd in all night long, ſtole a Diamond out of one of the Idols eyes. As he was about to go out, when the Pagod was open'd in the morning, he dy'd at the door; their God, as they affirm, revenging his own ſacriledg. That which renders this Pagod, which is a large building the moſt conſiderable in all *India*, is, becauſe it is ſituated upon the *Ganges*; the Idolaters believing that the waters of that River have a particular quality to cleanſe them from their ſins. That which makes it ſo rich (for it maintains above twenty thouſand Cows) is the vaſt Alms that are continually beſtow'd by ſo incredible a multitude as comes from all parts. Which Alms are not ſo much as at the diſcretion of the Donor, at the Will of the chief

Prieſt,

Prieſt, who before he gives them leave to ſhave and waſh in *Ganges*, taxes them according to their quality, of which he has information. Thus he collects vaſts ſums, of which he makes little or no profit himſelf; all going to feed the poor, and the repair of the Pagod. The chief *Bramin* cauſes Victuals to be diſtributed to the Pilgrims every day; as Milk, Rice, Butter and Wheat; but to the poor, who want wherewithall to cook it, they diſtribute their food ready dreſst. In the morning they boil a quantity of Rice in Earth'n pots of different bigneſs; and at the hour when the Pilgrims come for their meat, the chief *Bramin* orders another *Bramin* to take a pot of boil'd Rice; this pot he lets fall; and if there be five, the pot breaks into five equal parts, and every one takes his own ſhare. And in the ſame manner he breaks it into more pieces, if there be more perſons, to whom he is to diſtribute the food. Which is a thing very ſtrange and worthy obſervation. They never boil twice in an Earthen pot; but in a Copper pot; nor have they any other Diſhes, than only certain Leaves, which they faſten together, and a certain kind of a Baſon, about a foot in compaſs, wherein they melt their Butter, and ſtir the Rice with the ends of their fingers when they eat. They have alſo a kind of a Shell, wherein they pour their melted Butter, which they will ſwallow down, as we do Sack.

Now for the deſcription of a particular Idol which ſtands upon the Altar in the Pagod of *Jagrenate*: It is cover'd from the Shoulders downward with a great Mantle that hangs down upon the Altar. This Mantle is of Tiſſue of Gold or Silver, according to the Solemnities. At firſt it had neither feet nor hands; but after one of their Phropets was taken up into Heaven, while they were lamenting what to do for another, God ſent them an Angel in the likeneſs of that Prophet, to the end they might continue their Veneration toward him. Now while this Angel was buſie in making this Idol, the people grew ſo impatient, that they took him out of the Angels hands, and put him into the Pagod, without hands or feet; but finding that the Idol appear'd in that manner too deform'd, they made him hands and arms of thoſe ſmall Pearls which we call Ounce-Pearls. As for his feet, they are never ſeen, being hid under his Cloak. There is no part op'n but his hands and feet; the head and body being of Sandal-wood; round about the *Duomo*, under which this Idol ſtands, being very high, from the bottom to the top, are only Niches fill'd with other Idols; the greateſt part whereof repreſent moſt hideous Monſters, being all of different colours. On each ſide of this Pagod, there ſtands another much leſs, where the Pilgrims make their leſſer Offerings. And ſome that have in ſickneſs, or upon buſineſs made any Vows to any Deity, bring thither the reſemblance thereof in remembrance of the good which they have receiv'd. They rub this Idol every day with ſweet Oils, that make it of a black colour. And at the right hand of this Idol ſits his Siſter, who ſtands upon her feet, and is well clad, being calPd by the name *Sorera*; upon his left, ſtands his Brother, cloath'd all over alſo, whom they call *Balhadar*. Before the Idol, ſomewhat toward his left hand, ſtands the Idols Wife upon her feet, all of maſſy Gold, by the name of *Remin*; whereas the other three, are only of Sandal-wood.

The other two Pagods are appointed for the reſidence of the chief *Bramin*, and other *Bramins* that officiate in the great Pagod. All theſe *Bramins* go with their heads bare, and for the moſt part ſhav'd; having no other Cloathes but only one piece of Calicut, with one half whereof they cover their bodies; the other part ſerves them inſtead of a Scarf. Neer the Pagod ſtands the Tomb of one of their Prophets, whoſe name was *Cabir*, to whom they give great honour. You are to take notice alſo, that their Idols ſtand upon a kind of Altar encompaſs'd with Iron Bars. For no perſons are to touch them, but only certain *Bramins*, appointed for that ſervice by the chief *Bramin*.

Next to that of *Jagrenate*, the moſt famous Pagod is that of *Banarous*, being alſo ſeated upon the *Ganges*, in a City that bears the ſame name. That which is moſt remarkable is, that from the Gate of the Pagod to the River there is a deſcent all of Stone; neer to which are certain Platforms, and ſmall blind Chambers, ſome of the *Bramins* lodging, others where they dreſs their victuals;

victuals; for so soon as the Idolaters have said their Prayers, and made their Offerings, they dress their food, not suffering any person to touch it but themselves, for fear lest any unclean person should come neer it. But above all things, they passionately desire to drink of *Ganges* water; for as often as they drink it, they are wash'd, as they believe, from all their sins. Great numbers of these *Bramins* go every day to the cleanest part of the River, where they fill their little round earthen-pots full of water, the mouths whereof are very small, and contain every one of them a Bucket-full. Being thus fill'd they bring them before the great Priest, who covers them with a fine piece of flame-colour'd Calicut, three or four times doubl'd, to which he sets his Seal. The *Bramins* carry these pots, some six of them ty'd together with six little cords fasten'd to the end of a stick as broad as a lath, shifting their shoulders often; travelling sometimes three or four hunder'd leagues with those precious burthens up into the Countrey. Where they sell it, or present it; but that is only to the rich, from whence they expect great rewards. There are some of the Idolaters, who when they make any great Feast, especially when they marry their children, will drink four or five hunder'd Crowns in this water. They never drink of it till the end of their meals; and then a glass or two according to the liberality of the Master of the Feast. The chief reason why they esteem the water of *Ganges* so highly, is, because it never putrifies, nor engenders any Vermin; though I know not whether they may be believ'd, considering the great quantity of dead bodies which they fling into the *Ganges*.

The body of the Pagod of *Banarous* is made like a Cross, as are all the rest of the Pagods, the four parts whereof are equal. In the midst there is a *Cupola* rais'd very high, the top whereof is pyramidal; at the end also of every four parts of the Cross there is a Tower, to which there is an ascent on the out-side. Before you come to the top, there are several Balconies and Niches wherein to take the fresh air: and round about are figures of all sorts of creatures, but very Lewd work. Under the *Duomo*, in the middle of the Pagod there is an Altar, like a Table, eight foot long, and six foot broad, with two steps before, that serve for a footstool, which is cover'd sometimes with a rich Tapestry, sometimes with Silk, sometimes with Cloath of Gold or Silver, according to the solemnity of their Festival. Their Altars are cover'd with Cloath of Gold or Silver, or else with some painted Calicuts. Approaching the entry of the Pagod, you see the Altar right before ye, together with the Idols which are upon it. For the Women and Virgins worship without, not being permitted to enter the Pagod, no more than is a certain Tribe which is among them. Among the Idols that stand upon the great Altar, there is one plac'd upright some five or six foot high; but you can see neither arms, nor legs, nor body: nothing appears but the head and neck, all the rest being cover'd down to the Altar with a Robe that spreads it self below. Sometimes you shall see the neck set out with some rich Chain either of Gold, Rubies, Pearls or Emraulds. This Idol was made in honour and likeness of *Bainma-don*, who was heretofore a very great and holy Personage among them, whose name they oft'n have in their mouths. Upon the right-side of the Altar stands the figure of a *Chimera*, part Elephant, part Horse, part Mule. It is of massive Gold, and they call it *Garon*, not suffering any person to approach it but the *Bramins*. They say it is the resemblance of the Beast which carri'd that holy person when he liv'd upon earth. And that he travell'd long journeys upon his back, to see if the people remain'd in their duty, and whether they did no wrong one to another. Between the great Gate and the great Altar upon the left-hand, there is a little Altar, upon which there stands an Idol of black Marble sitting cross-legg'd, about two foot high. While I was there, a little Boy who was the Son of the High-Priest stood upon the left-side of the Altar, and all the people threw him certain pieces of Taffata, or imbroider'd Calicut, like Handkerchiefs, all which he return'd to the people again after he had wip'd them upon the Idol. Others threw him Bracelets of Coral, others of yellow-Amber, others threw him fruits and flowers; whatever they threw him, he rubb'd it upon the Idol, put it to his lips, and then restor'd it to the people. This Idol is call'd *Morli-Ram*, that is to say *God-Morli*, and was the Brother of him that stands upon the great Altar.

Under

Under the Portal of the Pagod sits one of the principal *Bramins* with a great Bason by him, full of a yellow colour mix'd with water. All these poor Idolaters come and present themselves before him, who gives them a mark from between the eyes to the top of the nose, then upon the arms, and upon the stomach; by which marks they know who have wash'd themselves in *Ganges*, and who not. Those that never wash'd themselves but in the waters of their own Wells, or have only sent for it from the River, they do not belive to be perfectly purifi'd, and by consequence they are not to be mark'd with that colour. By the way take notice, that these Idolaters are mark'd with different colours, according to the Tribe they are of. But in the Empire of the Great *Mogul*, they who are painted with yellow compose the biggest Tribe, and are the least defil'd. For when they are necessitated to the deeds of nature, some think it enough to wash the part defil'd; but they first rub the part with a handful of sand, then they scour it with water. After so doing, they affirm their bodies to be clean, and that they can eat their food without fear.

Neer to this great Pagod upon the Summer-West, stands a kind of a Colledg, which the *Raja Jessing*, the most potent of all the Idolaters in the *Mogul*'s Empire, built for the education of the youth of the better sort. I saw two of the children of that Prince there at School, who had for their Masters several *Bramins*, who trught them to write and read in a language peculiar to the Idolaters Priests, and far different from the speech of the common people. Entring into the Court of that Colledg, and casting my eyes up, I discover'd two Galleries that went round the Court, where I saw the two Princes sitting, attended by several petty Lords and *Bramins*, who made several Mathematical Figures upon the ground with chalk. The two Princes seeing me, sent to know who I was; and understanding that I was a *Frank*, they sent for me up, and ask'd me several questions touching *Europe*, and particularly touching *France*. Whereupon there being two Globes in the room which the *Hollanders* had giv'n the *Bramins*, I shew'd the Princes where *France* lay upon one of them. After I had taken leave, I ask'd one of the *Bramins* when I might see the Pagod open: he answer'd me, the next morning before Sun-rising. When I came there, I observ'd before the door, a Gallery supported with Pillars, where there was already a great crowd of men, women and children expecting when the Pagod would be open'd. By and by, the Gallery, and a great part of the Court being full, there came eight *Bramins*, four of each side of the Gate, with every one a Censer in his hand, follow'd by a rabble of other *Bramins* that made a hideous noise with Drums and other Instruments. The two eldest of the *Bramins* sing a Song; and then all the people falling into the tune, fall a singing and playing, with every one a Peacock's-tail, or some other kind of stable, to drive away the flies, that the Idol may not be annoid when they op'n the Pagod. This fanning, and the Musick, lasted a good half hour. Then the two principal *Bramins* made a great noise three times with two little Bells, and with a kind of a Mallet knockt at the Pagod-door. Which was presently open'd by six *Bramins* within, discovering, some six or seven paces from the entrance, an Alter with an Idol upon it, which they call *Ram*, *Ram*, the Sister of *Morli-Ram*. Upon her right-hand she has a child made like a great *Cupid*, which they call the God *La-kemin*, and in her left-arm a little Girl, which they call the Goddess *Sita*. So soon as the Pagod was open, and that a great Curtain was drawn, the people, who perceiv'd the Idol, fell upon the ground, laying their hands upon their heads, and prostrating themselves three times. Then rising up, they threw great quantities of Nosegays and Garlands to the Priests; with which the *Bramins* touch'd the Idol, and then restor'd them again. Before the Alter stood a *Bramin*, who held in his hand a lamp of nine wieks lighted, upon which he cast Incense every foot, and then held it to the Idol. All these ceremonies lasted above an hour; after which the people departed, and the Pagod was shut. They presented the Idol with great store of Rice, Meal, Butter, Oil, and Milk-meats, of which the *Bramins* lose nothing. Now in regard this Idol is the representation of a Woman, the Women all invoke it, and call her their Patroness: which is the reason that the place is generally crowded with Women and Maids. The *Raja*, to have this Idol in the Pagod of his own house, and for taking it out of the great Pagod, has expended as well upon the *Bramins*, as in alms to the poor, above five Lacres of Roupies, or 750000 Livres of our Money.

On

On the other ſide of the Street where the Colledg is built, there ſtands another Pagod, call'd *Richourdas*, from the name of the Idol, which is within upon the Altar: and ſomewhat lower upon another ſmall Altar ſtands another Idol, which they call *Goupaidas*, the Brother of *Richourdas*. You ſee nothing but the face of all theſe Idols, which is either of wood or jet; unleſs it be the Idol of *Morly-Ram*, which ſtands in the great Pagod ſtark naked. As for the Idol *Ram-Kam*, which ſtands in the Raja's Pagod, it has two Diamonds inſtead of eyes, which the Prince caus'd to be ſet there, with a Coller of Pearl, and Canopy over his head, ſupported with four Silver-Pillars.

Some eight days journey from *Banarous*, bending Northward, you enter into a Mountainous Countrey; but which ſometimes op'ns it ſelf into very large plains, ſometimes three or four leagues in length. They are very fertil in Corn, Rice, Wheat, and Pulſe. But that which is the plague and ruine of the people of that Countrey, is the vaſt number of Elephants that breed there, and devour their Harveſt. If a Caravan paſs through any part of that Countrey where there are no Inns, in regard the people are forc'd to lye in the op'n Fields, they have much ado to defend themſelves from the Elephants that will come to take away their proviſions. To skare them, the people make great fires, ſhoot off their Muſkets, hooping and hollowing ever and anon. In this place there is another Pagod, well-built, and very ancient, adorn'd with many figures both within and without, which are only the repreſentations of Maids and Women; ſo that Men are ſeldom known to repair thither for devotion's-ſake; and therefore it is call'd the Womens Pagod. There is an Altar in the middle, as in other Pagods; and upon the Altar an Idol of maſſy Gold, four foot high, repreſenting a Maid ſtanding upright, which they call *Ram-Marion*. At her right-hand ſtands a Child of maſſy Silver, about two foot high; and they ſay that the Maid liv'd a very holy life, that that Child was brought to her by the *Bramins* to be inſtructed in her belief, and in the knowledg of well-living: but that after two or three years that the Child had liv'd with her, the Infant grew ſo knowing and ready witted, that all the *Raja's* of the Countrey long'd for her company; ſo that being ſtoll'n from her one night, ſhe was never ſeen afterwards. Upon the left-hand of this Idol, ſtands another Idol, repreſenting an old Man; who, as they ſay, was the ſervant of *Ram-Marion* and the Infant: for which reaſon the *Bramins* do very much reverence this Idol. They never come but once a year in devotion, but they muſt be there upon a prefix'd day, which is the firſt of *November*, though they never op'n the Pagod till the full of the Moon. During thoſe fifteen days, the Pilgrims, as well Men as Women, faſt from time to time, and waſh themſelves three times a-day, not leaving a hair in any part of their bodies, which they take off with a certain earth.

CHAP. XII.

A Continuation of the deſcription of the principal Pagods of the Indian *Idolaters.*

NExt to the Pagods of *Jngrenate* and *Banarous*, the moſt conſiderable is that of *Matura*, about eighteen leagues from *Agra*, upon the way to *Dehly*. It is one of the moſt ſumptuous Edifices in all *India*, and the place to which the greateſt number of Pilgrims was wont to reſort: But now there are very few or none; the Idolaters having ſenſibly loſt the reverence which they had for that Pagod, ſince the River of *Gemena*, that formerly ran by that Pagod, has chang'd its courſe, above half a league from it. For it requires ſo much time to return to the Pagod, after they have waſh'd in the River, that they were many times defil'd again before they could reach it. Though this Pagod ſtand in a bottom, yet you may diſcover it five or ſix leagues before you come at it, the building being very lofty and magnificent. The Stones are of a red colour,

which they fetch from a Quarry, neer *Agra*. They cleave like our Slates, some of them being fifteen foot long, and nine or ten foot broad, yet not above six fingers thick, especially when you cleave them as you would have them for use: They also make very fair Pillars. The Fortress of *Agra*, the Walls of *Sultanabat*, the King's House, the two *Mosquees*, and several Noblemens Houses are all built of this Stone.

The Pagod is built upon a great Platform of an *Octogonal* Figure, pav'd with Free-stone; being adorn'd round about with the figures of all sorts of creatures, especially Apes. There is an ascent to it two wayes of fifteen or sixteen steps a-piece, every step being two foot broad, for two persons to go a-brest. One of the ascents leads up to the great Portal of the Pagod, the other behind up to the Chancel. The Pagod does not take up above half the Platform, the other half serving for a *Piazza* before it. The Structure is in the form of a Cross, like the rest of the Pagods, in the midst whereof a great *Duomo*, with two others of each side somewhat less, advance themselves above the rest of the building. The out-side of the building from top to bottom is adorn'd with the figures of Rams, Apes and Elephants, and several sorts of Monsters. From one foot below every one of these *Duomo's* to the Roof, at such and such spaces, are Windows, some five, some six feet high, and to every Window, belongs a Balcone, where four persons may stand. Every Balcone is cover'd with a little Arch, supported by four Pillars, others by eight, every two touching one another. Round about the *Duomo's* are Niches fill'd with the figures of *Damons*. Some with four arms, some with four legs. Some with mens heads upon the bodies of Beasts, and long tails that hang down to their thighes: There are abundance of Apes; and indeed it is an ugly sight to behold so many deform'd spectacles. There is but one great door to the Pagod, upon each side whereof there are Pillars and Figures of Men and Monsters. The hinder-part is clos'd with a close Balister of Stone-Pillars five or six inches in Diameter, into which, as into a kind of *Sanctum Sanctorum*, none but the *Bramins* are permitted to enter: but for Money, I got in, and saw a square Altar some fifteen or sixten foot from the door cover'd with an old Tissue of Gold and Silver, upon which stood the great Idol, which they call *Ram, Ram*. You see nothing but his head, which is of a very black Marble, with two Rubies instead of eyes. All the body, from the shoulders to the feet, is cover'd with a Robe of Purple-Velvet, with some small embroidery. There are two other Idols of each side of him two foot high, apparrell'd in the same manner; only their faces are white, which they call *Beechor*. There I saw a Machine sixteen foot square, and between twelve and fifteen foot high; cover'd with painted Calicuts, representing the shapes of Devils. This Machine running upon four Wheels, they told me, was a moving Altar, upon which they carri'd their great God in Procession to visit the other Gods, as also to the River, whither all the people went upon their great Festival.

The fourth Pagod is that of *Tripeti*, in the Province of *Carnatica*, toward the Coast of *Coromandel*, and *Cape Comorin*. I saw it as I went to *Maslipatan*. It is a Pagod to which there belong a great number of little lodgings for the *Bramins*: so that altogether it seems to be a great Town. There are several Ponds round about it; but their superstition is so great, that no Passenger dare take any water out of them, but what the *Brumin* gives him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Pilgrimages of the Idolaters to their Pagods.

ALL the Idolaters under the Dominion of the Great *Mogul*, and other Princes, both on this side and beyond *Ganges*, at least once in their lives go in Pilgrimage to one of these Pagods that I have nam'd; but most generally to that of *Ingrenate*, as being the first and most considerable above all the rest. The *Bramins* and rich people go oftner. For some go every four years, some every six, or eight; and putting the Idols of their Pagods upon Pallekies cover'd with Tissues, they travel with their *Bramins*, as it were in procession to the Pagod which they most esteem.

They go not in Pilgrimage, one by one, or two and two, but whole Towns, and many times several Towns together. The poor that go a great way, are supply'd by the rich; who spend very freely in such acts of Charity. The rich travel in Pallekies or Chariots, the poor on foot, or upon Oxen; the Wife carrying the Child, and the man the Kitchin Implements.

The Idol which they carry in procession, by way of visit, and out of respect to the great *Ram-Ram*, lies at length in a rich Palleky, cover'd with Tissue of Gold and Silver, fring'd as richly; the Mattress and Bolster being of the same stuff under the head, feet, and elbows. The *Bramins* also distribute Flabels to the most considerable of the Company, the handles whereof being eight foot long, are plated with Gold and Silver. The Flabel being three foot in Diameter, of the same Tissue as the Pallekies; round about, it is adorn'd with Peacocks Feathers to gather more wind, and sometimes with Bells to make a kind of tingling. There are six of these Flabels usually employ'd to keep off the Flies from their God; the better sort taking it by turns, that the honour of waiting upon their God may be more equally shar'd.

CHAP. XIV.

Of divers Customs of the Indian *Idolaters.*

THE *Bramins* are well skill'd in Astrology; and will exactly foretell to the people the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon. The second of *July* 1666, about one a Clock in the afternoon, at *Patna* in *Bengala*, there was an Eclipse of the Sun; at which time it was a prodigious thing to see the multitudes of people, men, women, and children, that ran to the River *Ganges*, to wash themselves. But it behoves them to begin to wash three days before the Eclipse; all which time they labour day and night in providing all sorts of Rice Milk, Meats, and Sweatmeats, to throw to the Fish and Crocodiles, as soon as the *Bramins* give the word. Whatever Eclipse it be whether of the Sun or Moon, the Idolaters as soon as it appears, break all their Earthen Pots and Dishes in the house, which makes a hideous noise altogether.

Every *Bramin* has his Magick Book, wherein are abundance of Circles and Semicircles, Squares, Triangles, and several sorts of Cifers. They also make several Figures upon the ground, and when they find that the good hour is come, they cry aloud to the people to feed the fish. Then there ensues a most horrible Din of Drums, Bells, and great noise of sounding Mettal, which they twang one against another. And as soon as the victuals are thrown into the River, the people are to go in and wash and rub themselves till the Eclipse be over. So that in regard the waters were at that time very high, for more than three Leagues above and below the City, and all the breadth of the River, there

was nothing to be ſeen but the heads of the people. As for the *Bramins*, they ſtay aſhore to receive the richer ſort, and thoſe that give moſt; to dry their bodies and to give them dry Linnen to their bellies. Afterwards they cauſe them to ſit down in a Chair, where the moſt liberal of the Idolaters have provided Rice, Pulſe, Milk, Butter, Sugar, Meal, and Wood. Before the Chair the *Bramin* makes a place very clean about five foot ſquare; then with Cow-dung ſteep'd in a kind of yellow Baſon, he rubs all the place, for fear any Emet ſhould come there to be burnt. For indeed they would never make uſe of Wood if they could help it; and when they do, they are very careful that there be no Worms or Inſects in it. In the place which they have thus cleans'd, they draw ſeveral Figures, as Triangles, Ovals, Half-Ovals, &c. Then upon every Figure they lay a little Cows-dung, with two or three ſmall ſticks of Wood, upon every one of which they lay a ſeveral ſort of Grain; after that pouring Butter, and ſetting fire to each; by the ſmoak which riſes, they judg of the plenty of every ſort of Grain that year.

When the Moon is at the full in *March*, they keep a ſolemn Feſtival for their Idol, which is in form of a Serpent. This Feſtival continues nine dayes; and when it comes, they do nothing but make Holiday all the while, as well men as beaſts, which they beautifie by making Circles about their eyes with Vermillion, with which they alſo colour the Horns; and if they have a particular kindneſs for the beaſt, they hang them with Leaves of Guilded Tin. Every morning they worſhip the Idol, and the Maids dance about it for an hour, to the noiſe of Fluits and Drums; after which they eat and drink and are merry till the evening, and then they worſhip and dance about their Idol again.

Though the Idolaters never drink any ſtrong drink at other times, yet at this Feſtival they drink Palm-wine, and ſtrong water, which is made of the ſame in remote Villages; for elſe their *Mahometan* Governour would not ſuffer them to make Wine, nor to ſell any which might be brought out of *Perſia*.

Their ſtrong Water is thus made: They take a great Earthen pot, well glaz'd within, which they call *Martavane*; into one of theſe Veſſels, that holds three hundred *Paris* pints, of *Palma*-wine, they put in fifty or ſixty pound of brown Sugar unrefin'd, which looks like yellow Wax; with about twenty pound of a great thick bark of a Thorn, not much unlike that which our Leather-dreſſers uſe. This bark ſets the *Palma*-wine a bubling and working juſt like our new wines, for five or ſix days together, till it becomes of a ſweet Liquor, as ſowre as our Crabs. Then they diſtill it, and according to the taſte they would give, they either put into a Cauldron full, a little Bag of Mace, or three or four handfuls of Anniſe-ſeed. They can make it alſo as ſtrong as they pleaſe.

Being at *Agra* in the year 1642, an Idolater, whoſe name was *Woldas*, Broaker to the *Hollanders*, about ſeventy years of age, receiving news that the chief *Bramin* at the Pagod of *Matura* was dead, went to the *Hollander* and deſir'd him to even all accounts; for ſaid he, the chief Prieſt being dead, it behoves me to dye, that I may ſerve him in the other world. Thereupon having ended his accounts, he took his Coach, with ſome of his Kindred; but having neither eaten nor drank from the time he receiv'd the news, he dy'd by the way; having famiſh'd himſelf for grief.

The *Indian* Idolaters have a cuſtom, that when any perſon gives a thing, they ſnap their fingers, crying out, *Gi-Narami*, remember *Narami*, who was a great Saint among them, for fear the Evil Spirit, ſhould enter into the body of him that gives.

Being at *Surat* in the year 1653, a *Raſpoute* being demanded Cuſtom for three or four pieces of Calicut, boldly ask'd the Governour, whether a Souldier that had ſerv'd the King all his life-time, ought to pay Cuſtom for two or three pitiful pieces of Calicut, not worth four or five Roupies; telling him it was only to cloath his Wife and Children. The Governour netl'd at his ſawcineſs, call'd him *Bethico*, or Son of a Whore; adding, that if he were Prince he would make him pay his Cuſtoms. Whereupon the Souldier incens'd at the affront, making as if he felt for Money to pay his dues, bearing up to the Governor, ſtab'd him in the belly, ſo that he dy'd immediately. But the Souldier was preſently cut in pieces by the Governors Servants.

Though

Though the Idolaters are in utter darkneſs as to the knowledg of the true God, however the Law of Nature teaches them Morality in many things. When they are married they are ſeldom falſe to their Wives. Adultery is very rare among them. And as for *Sodomy* I never heard it mention'd. They marry their Children between ſeven and eight years old, for fear they ſhould fall into that vice; the Ceremonies whereof are theſe: The day before the Nuptials, the Bridegroom, accompany'd by all his Kindred, goes to the Houſe where the Bride lives, with a great pair of Bracelets, two fingers thick, hollow within, and in two pieces, with a hinge in the middle to open them. According to the quality of the Bride thoſe Bracelets are of more or leſs value, ſometimes of Gold, ſometimes of Silver, Tin, or Latten, the pooreſt ſort of all making uſe of Lead. The next day there is a great Feaſt at the Bridegrooms Houſe, whither all the Kindred on both ſides are invited, and about three a Clock in the afternoon the Bride is brought thither. Then the chief of the *Bramins* that are there, of which there are always ſeveral laying the head of the Bride to the Bridegrooms, pronounces ſeveral words, ſprinkling their heads and bodies all the while with water. Then they bring him upon Plates or Fig-leaves ſeveral ſorts of Meats, Calicuts, and Stuffs; and then the *Bramin* asks the Bridegroom, whether ſo long as God ſhall make him able, he will let his Wife ſhare with him, and whether he will endeavour to maintain her by his labour. If he ſays yes, they all ſet themſelves down to the Feaſt prepar'd for them, where every one eats by himſelf. If the Bride be rich, and be acquainted among the Nobility, their Weddings are very pompous and expenſive. The Bridegroom is mounted upon an Elephant, and the Bride rides in a Chariot; the whole Company carrying Torches in their hands. They alſo borrow of the Governour and the Nobility of the place, as many Elephants and prancing Horſes as they can get. And they walk ſome part of the night with Fire-works, which they throw about the Streets and Piazza's. But the greateſt expence to thoſe that live three or four hundred Leagues from it, is to get the water of *Ganges*; for in regard they account that water ſacred, and drink it out of devotion, it muſt be brought them by the *Bramins*, and in Earthen Veſſels, glaz'd within ſide, which the chief *Bramin* of *Ingrenate* fills himſelf with the pureſt Water of the River, and then ſeals up with his own Seal. They never drink this water till the end of the Feaſt, and then they give their gueſts three or more glaſſes apiece. This water coming ſo far, and the chief *Bramin* demanding a Tribute for every pot, which contains a Pail-full, ſometimes a wedding comes to two or three thouſand Roupies.

The eighth of *April*, being in a City of *Bengala* call'd *Malde*, the Idolaters made a great Feaſt, according to the particular Cuſtom of that place; they all go out of the City, and faſten Iron hooks to the boughs of ſeveral Trees, then come a great number of poor people and hang themſelves, ſome by the ſides, ſome by the brawn of their backs, upon thoſe hooks, till the weight of their body tearing away the fleſh, they fall of themſelves. 'Tis a wonderful thing to ſee that not ſo much as one drop of blood ſhould iſſue, from the wounded fleſh, nor that any of the fleſh ſhould be left upon the hook; beſides, that in two days they are perfectly cur'd by ſuch Plaiſters as their *Bramins* give them. There are others who at that Feaſt will lye upon a bed of nails, with the points upward, the nails entring a good way into the fleſh; however while theſe people are under this Pennance, their Friends come and preſent them with Money and Linnen. When they have undergone their Penance, they take the preſents and diſtribute them to the poor, without making any farther advantage of them. I ask'd one, why they made that Feaſt, and ſuffer'd thoſe ſevere Penances; who anſwer'd me, that it was in remembrance of the firſt man, whom they call'd *Adam*, as we do.

In the year 1666, I ſaw another ſort of Penance, as I croſs'd the *Ganges*; upon the Bank of which River they had prepar'd a clean place, where one of the poor Idolaters was condemn'd to reſt upon the ground, touching it only with his hands and feet; which he was to do ſeveral times a day, and every time to kiſs the earth three times before he roſe up again. He was to riſe up upon his left foot, never touching the ground with his right all the while. And

every

every day for a month together before he either eat or drank he was oblig'd to this posture for fifty times together, and consequently to kiss the ground a hundred and fifty times. He told me that the *Bramins* had enjoin'd him that Penance because he had suffer'd a Cow to dye in his House, and had not lead her to the water to be wash'd before she dy'd.

When an Idolater has lost any piece of Gold or Silver, or summ of Money either by negligence, or as being stoln from him, he is oblig'd to carry as much as he lost to the great *Bramin*; for if he does not, and that the other should come to know of it, he is ignominiously cast out of his Tribe, to make him more careful another time.

On the other side the *Ganges* Northward, toward the Mountains of *Naugracot*, there are two or three *Raja's*, who neither believe God nor the Devil. Their *Bramins* have a book containing their Belief, full of ridiculous absurdities, whereof the Author whose name is *Baudou* gives no reason. These *Raja's* are the Great *Moguls* Vassals, and pay him Tribute.

To conclude, the *Malavares* carefully preserve the nails of their left hands and let their hair grow like women's. These nails, which are half a finger long, serve them instead of Combs; and it is with their left hand that they do all their drudgery, never touching their faces, nor what they eat, but with their right hands.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Kingdom of Boutan *whence comes the Musk, the good Rhubarb, and some Furs.*

THE Kingdom of *Boutan* is of a large extent; but I could never yet come to a perfect knowledg thereof. I have set down all that I could learn at *Patna*, whither the Merchants of *Boutan* come to sell their Musk. The most excellent *Rhubarb* comes also from the Kingdom of *Boutan*. From hence is brought also that Seed which is good against the worms, therefore call'd Wormseed; and good store of Furs. As for the Rhubarb, the Merchants run a great hazard which way soever they bring it; for if they take the Northern Road, toward *Caboul*, the wet spoils it; if the Southern Road, in regard the journey is long, if the Rains happen to fall, there is as much danger that way, so that there is no Commodity requires more care than that.

As for the Musk, during the heats the Merchant loses by it, because it dries and loses its weight. Now in regard this Commodity pays twenty-five in the hundred Custom at *Gorrochepour*, the last Town belonging to the Great *Mogul*, next to the Kingdom of *Boutan*, when the *Indian* Merchants come to that City, they go to the officer at the Custom-House, and tell him that they are going to *Boutan*, to buy Musk or Rhubarb, and how much they intend to lay out; all which the Officer registers, with the name of the Merchant. Then the Merchants instead of twenty-five, agree with him for seven or eight in the hundred, and take a Certificate from the Officer or Cadi, that he may not demand any more at their return. If the Officer refuses a handsom composition, then they go another way, over Deserts and Mountains cover'd with Snow, tedious and troublesome, till they come to *Caboul*, where the Caravans part, some for great *Tartary*, others for *Belch*. Here it is that the Merchants coming from *Boutan* barter their Commodities for Horses, Mules, and Camels; for there is little Money in that Country. Then those *Tartars* transport their Commodities into *Persia*, as far as *Ardevile* and *Tauris*; which is the reason that some *Europeans* have thought that Rhubarb and Wormseed came out of *Tartary*. True it is, that some Rhubarb comes from thence; but not so good as that of *Boutan*, being sooner corrupted; for Rhubarb will eat out its own heart. The *Tartars* carry back out of *Persia* Silks of Small value, which are made in *Tauris* and

and *Ardevile*, and some *English* Cloth brought by the *Armenians* from *Constantinople* and *Smyrna*. Some of the Merchants that come from *Caboul* and *Boutan* go to *Candahar*, and thence to *Ispahan*; whither they carry Coral in Beads, yellow Amber, and *Lapis Lazuli* Beads, if they can meet with it. The other Merchants that come from the Coast of *Multan*, *Lahor*, and *Agra*, bring only Linnons, Indigo, and store of *Cornelian* and Christal Beads. Those that return through *Gorrochepour*, and are agreed with the Officer of the Custom-House, carry from *Patna* and *Daca*, Coral, yellow Amber, Bracelets of Tortoise-shells, and other Shells, with great store of round and square thick pieces of Tortois. When I was at *Patna*, four *Armenians* who had been before at *Boutan*, return'd from *Dantzick*, where they had made certain Figures of yellow Amber, representing the shapes of several Creatures and Monsters, which they were carrying to the King of *Boutan*, who is an Idolater, as are all his people, to set up in his Pagods. For the *Armenians* for Money will sell any thing of Idolatry; and they told me besides, that if they could but have made the Idol which the King of *Boutan* bespoke of them, they should have done their business. Which was to have been a Monsters head, with six horns, four ears, four arms, and six fingers upon every hand, all of yellow Amber; but they could not find pieces big enough.

The Caravan is three months travelling from *Patna*, to the Kingdom of *Boutan*. It sets out from *Patna* about the end of *December*, and eight days after arrives at *Gorrochepour*.

From *Gorrochepour* to the foot of the high Mountains, is eight or nine days journey more, during which the Caravan suffers very much hardship, for the Country is nothing but wild Forrests, full of wild Elephants. So that the Merchants, instead of taking their rests, are forc'd to watch, keep fires, and shoot off their Muskets all the night long. For the Elephant making no noise in treading, would else be upon the Caravan before they were aware; not that he comes to do any mischief to the men, but to get what victuals he can find. You may travel from *Patna* to the foot of those Mountains in Palleki's. But generally they ride upon Oxen, Camels, or Horses, bred in the Countrey. Those Horses are generally so little, that when a man is upon the back of them, his feet touch the Ground; but they will travel twenty Leagues an end, and never bait, or else with a very small one. Some of those Horses cost two hundred Crowns; for indeed when you come to cross, the Mountains, you can make use of no other sort of carriage but them in regard of the narrowness and ruggedness of the Passes; which many times put the Horses very much to it, as strong and as low as they are.

Five or six Leagues beyond *Gorrochepour* you enter into the Territories of the *Raja* of *Nupal*, which extend to the Frontiers of the Kindom of *Boutan*. This *Raja* is a Tributary to the great *Mogul*, and pays him every year an Elephant for his Homage. He resides in the City of *Nupal*, from whence he derives his Title; but there is little either Trade or Money in his Country, which is all Woods and Forrests.

The Caravan being arriv'd at the foot of these Mountains which are call'd at this day by the name of *Naugrocot*, abundance of people come from all parts of the Mountain, the greatest part whereof are women and maids, who agree with the Merchants to carry them, their Goods and provisions cross the Mountains, which is eight days journey more.

The women carry upon each shoulder a woollen Roll, to which is fasten'd a large Cushion, that hangs down upon their backs, upon which the man sits. There are three women to carry one man, relieving one another by turns. And for their luggage and provisions, they lade them upon Goats, that will carry a hundred and fifty pound weight apiece. Those that will ride, are in many places forc'd to have their Horses hoisted up with Cords. They never feed them but morning and evening mixing a pound of meal, half a pound of brown Sugar, and half a pound of Butter together, with water sufficient. In the evening they must be contented only with a few flat Peason, bruis'd, and steep'd half an hour in water. The women that carry the men, get for their ten days travel two Roupies apiece, and as much for every burthen which the Goats carry, and for every Horse which they lead.

After

After you have pass'd the Mountains, you may travel to *Boutan* upon Oxen, Camels, Horses, or Palleki's, which you please. The Country, is good, abounding in Rice, Corn, Pulse, and store of Wine. All the people both men and women are clad in the Summer with a large piece of Fustian, or Hempen-Cloath; in the Winter with a thick Cloath, almost like Felt. Both men and women wear upon their heads a kinde of Bonnet, much like our drinking Cans, which they adorn with Boars teeth, and with round and square pieces of Tortois-Shells. The richer sort intermix Coral and Amber Beads, of which their women make them Neck-Laces. The men as well as the woman wear Bracelets upon their left hands only, from the wrist to the elbow. The woman wear them strait, the men lose. About their necks they wear a silken twist, at the end whereof hangs a Bead of yellow Amber or Coral, or a Boars Tooth, which dangles upon their Breasts. On their left sides, their Girdles are button'd with Beads of the same. Though they be Idolaters, yet they feed upon all sort of food, except the flesh of Cows, which they adore as the common Nurses of all men; they are besides great lovers of strong water. They observe also some Ceremonies of the *Chineses*, burning Amber at the end of their Feasts, though they do not worship fire like the *Chineses*. For which reason the Merchants of *Boutan* will give at *Patna* for a *Serre* of large pieces of yellow Amber, as big as a Nut, bright and clean, thirty-five and forty Roupies. The *Serre* of yellow Amber, Musk, Coral, Ambergrease, Rhubarb, and other Drugs, containing nine Ounces to the pound. Saltpeter, Sugar, Rice, Corn, and other Commodities, are also sold by the *Serre* in *Bengala*; but the *Serre* contains seventy-two of our Pounds, at sixteen Ounces to the Pound; and forty *Serres* make a *Mein*, or 2824 Pounds of *Paris*.

To return to yellow Amber a piece of nine ounces is worth in *Boutan* from 250 to 300 Roupies, according to its colour and beauty. Coral rough, or wrought into Beads, yields profit enough; but they had rather have it rough, to shape it as they please themselves.

The Women and Maids are generally the Artists among them, as to those toys. They also make Beads of Crystal and *Agat*. As for the Men, they make Bracelets of Tortoise-shell, and Sea-shells, and polish those little pieces of Shells which the Northern people wear in their ears, and in their hair. In *Patna* and *Daca* there are above two thousand persons that thus employ themselves, furnishing the Kingdoms of *Boutan*, *Assem*, *Siam*, and other Northern and Eastern parts of the *Mogul*'s Dominions.

As for Wormseed, the Herb grows in the Fields, and must dye before the Seed can be gather'd; but the mischief is, that before the Seed is ripe, the wind scatters the greatest part, which makes it so scearce. When they gather the Seed, they take two little Hampers, and as they go along the Fields, they move their Hampers from the right to the left, and from the left to the right, as if they were mowing the Herb, bowing it at the top, and so all the Seed falls into the Hampers.

Rhubarb is a Root which they cut in pieces, and stringing them by ten or twelve together, hang them up a drying.

Had the Natives of *Boutan* as much art in killing the Martin as the *Muscovite*, they might vend great store of those rich Furs, considering what a number of those Beasts there are in that Countrey. No sooner does that creature peep out of his hole, but the *Muscovites*, who lye upon the watch, have 'em presently, either in the nose or in the eyes; for should they hit 'em in the body, the blood would quite spoyl the skin.

The King of *Boutan* has constantly seven or eight thousand Men for his Guard. Their Weapons are for the most part Bows and Arrows. Some of them carry Battel-axes, and Bucklers. 'Tis a long time ago since they had the first use of Muskets and Cannons: their Gun-Powder being long, but of an extraordinary force. They assur'd me that some of their Cannons had Letters and Figures upon them, that were above five hunder'd years old. They dare not stir out of the Kingdom without the Governor's particular leave; nor dare they carry a Musket along with them, unless their next Kindred will undertake for them that they shall bring it back. Otherwise I had brought one along with me; for by the characters

racters upon the Barrel, it appear'd to have been made above 180 years, It was very thick, the mouth of the bore being like a Tulip, poliſh'd within as bright as a Looking-glaſs. Two thirds of the Barrel were garniſh'd with emboſs'd Wires, with certain Flowers of Gold and Silver inlaid between; and it carri'd a Bullet that weigh'd an ounce. But I could not prevail with the Merchant to ſell it me nor to give me any of his powder.

There are always fifty Elephants kept about the King's Houſe, and twenty-five Camels, with each a Pice of Artillery mounted upon his back, that carries half a pound Ball. Behind the Gun ſits a Cannoneer that manages and levels the Guns as he pleaſes.

There is no King in the World more fear'd and more reſpected by his Subjects then the King of *Boutan*; being in a manner ador'd by them. When he ſits to do Juſtice, or give Audience, all that appear in his preſence hold their hands cloſe together above their forheads: and at a diſtance from the Throne proſtrate themſelves upon the ground, not daring to lift up their heads. In this humble poſture they make their Petitions to the King; and when they retire, they go backwards till they are quite out of his ſight. One thing they told me for truth, that when the King has done the deeds of nature, they dilligently preſerve the ordure, dry it and powder it, like ſneezing-powder: and then putting it into Boxes, they go every Market-day, and preſent it to the chief Merchants, and rich Farmers, who recompence them for their kindneſs: that thoſe people alſo carry it home, as a great rarity, and when they feaſt their Friends, ſtrew it upon their meat. Two *Boutan* Merchants ſhew'd me their Boxes, and the Powder that was in them.

The Natives of *Boutan* are ſtrong and well proportion'd; but their noſes and faces are ſomewhat flat. Their women are ſaid to be bigger and more vigorous than the men; but that they are much more troubled with ſwellings in the throat then the men, few eſcaping that diſeaſe. They know not what war is, having no enemy to fear but the *Mogul*. But from him they are fenc'd with high, ſteep, craggy, and ſnowey Mountains. Northward there are nothing but vaſt Forreſts and Snow. Eaſt and Weſt nothing but bitter water. And as for the *Raja's* near them, they are Princes of little force.

There is certainly ſome Silver Mine in the Kingdom of *Boutan*, for the King coins much Silver, in pieces that are of the value of a Roupy. The pieces are alredy deſcrib'd. However the *Boutan* Merchants could not tell me where the Mine lay. And as for their Gold, that little they have is brought them from the Eaſt, by the Merchants of thoſe Countries.

In the year 1659, the Duke of *Muſcovy's* Embaſſadours paſs'd through this Country to the King of *China*. They were three of the greateſt Noblemen in *Muſcovy*, and were at firſt very well receiv'd; but when they were brought to kiſs the Kings hands, the cuſtom being to proſtrate themſelves three times to the ground, they refus'd to do it, ſaying that they would complement the King after their manner, and as they approach'd their own Emperor, who was as great and as potent as the Emperor of *China*. Thereupon, and for that they continu'd in their reſolution, they were diſmiſs'd with their preſents, not being admitted to ſee the King. But had thoſe Ambaſſadors conform'd to the cuſtom of *China*, without doubt we might have had a beaten rode through *Muſcovy* and the North part of Great *Tartary*, and much more Commerce and knowledge of the Country than now we have.

This mentioning the *Muſcovites*, puts me in mind of a ſtory that ſeveral *Muſcovy* Merchants averr'd to be true, upon the rode between *Tauris* and *Iſpahan*, where I overtook them, of a woman of four ſcore and two years of age, who at thoſe years was brought to bed in one of the Cities of *Muſcovy* of a Male Child, which was carry'd to the Duke, and by him brought up at the Court.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Kingdom of Tipra.

MOst people have been of opinion till now, that the Kingdom of *Pegu*, lies upon the Frontiers of *China*; and I thought so my self, till the Merchants of *Tipra* undeceiv'd me. I met with three, one at *Daca*, and two others at *Patna*. They were men of very few words; whether it were their own particular disposition, or the General habit of the Country. They cast up their accounts with small Stones likes Agats, as big as a mans nail, upon every one of which was a Cypher. They had every one their weights, like a Stelleer; though the Beam were not of Iron, but of a certain Wood as hard as Brazile; nor was the Ring that holds the weight, and is put thorough the Beam to mark the weight, of Iron, but a strong Silk Rope. And thus they weigh'd from a Dram to ten of our Pounds. If all the Natives of the Kingdom of *Tipra*, were like the two Merchants which I met at *Patna*, I dare affirm them to be notable topers; for they never refus'd whatever strong Liquor I gave them, and never left till all was out; and when I told them by my Interpreter that all my Wine was gone, they clapt their hands upon their stomachs and sigh'd. These Merchants travell'd all three through the Kingdom of *Arakan*, which lies to the South and West of *Tipra*, having some part of *Pegu* upon the Winter west. They told me also, that it was about fifteen days journey to cross through their Country; from whence there is no certain conjecture of the extent to be made, by reason of the inequality of the stages. They ride upon Oxen and Horses, which are low, but very hardy. As for the King and the Nobility, they ride in their Pallekies, or upon their Elephants of War. They are no less subject to Wens under their throats, than those of *Boutan*; insomuch that the women have those Wens hanging down to their Nipples; which proceeds from the badness of the waters.

There is nothing in *Tipra* which is fit for strangers. There is a Mine of Gold, but the Gold is very course. And there is a sort of very course Silk, which is all the Revenue the King has. He exacts no Subsidies from his Subjects; but only that they, who are not of the prime Nobility, should work six days in a year in his Mine, or in his Silk-works. He sends his Gold and his Silk into *China*, for which they bring him back Silver, which he coins into pieces to the value of ten Sous. He also makes thin pieces of Gold, like to the *Aspers* of *Turky*; of which he has two sorts, four of the one sort making a Crown, and twelve of the other.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Kingdom of Asem.

IT was never known what the Kingdom of *Asem* was, till *Mirgimola* had setl'd *Aureng-zeb* in the Empire. For he considering that he should be no longer valu'd at Court, after the War was at an end, being then General of *Aureng-zeb*'s Army and powerful in the Kingdom where he had great store of Creatures, to preserve the Authority he had, resolv'd to undertake the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Asem*; where he knew he should find little or no resistance, that Kingdom having been at peace above 500 years before. 'Tis thought these were the people that formerly invented Guns and Powder; which spread it self from *Asem* to *Pegu*, and from *Pegu* to *China*, from whence the invention has been attributed to the *Chineses*. However certain it is, that *Mirgimola* brought from thence several pieces of Canon, which were all Iron Guns, and store of excellent Powder, both made in that Country. The Powder is round and small, like ours, and very strong.

Mirgimola embark'd his Army in one of the mouths of *Ganges*, and sailing up one of the Rivers that comes from the Lake *Chiamay*, to the twenty-ninth or thirtieth Degree, he landed his Army, and came into a Country abounding in all humane necessaries, still finding the less resistance because the people were surpriz'd. Being a *Mahumetan*, he spar'd not the very Pagods, but burn'd and sack'd all where-ever he came to the thirty-fifth Degree. There he understood that the King of *Asem* was in the field with a more powerfull Army than he expected, and that he had several pieces of Canon, and great store of fire-works withall. Thereupon *Mirgimola* thought it not convenient to march any farther; though the chief reason of his return was the drawing on of Winter; which the *Indians* are so sensible of, that it is impossible to make them stir beyond the thirti'th or thirty-fifth Degree, especially to hazard their lives.

Mirgimola therefore turns to the South-west, and besieges a City call'd *Azoo*, which he took in a small time, and found good plunder therein. In this City of *Azoo*, are the Tombs of the Kings of *Asem*, and of all the Royal Family. For though they are Idolaters, they never burn their dead bodies, but bury them. They believe that the dead go into another world, where they that have liv'd well in this, have plenty of all things; but that they who have been ill livers, suffer the want of all things, being in a more especial manner afflicted with hunger and drowth; and that therefore it is good, to bury something with them to serve them in their necessities. This was the reason that *Mirgimola* found so much wealth in the City of *Azoo*. For many ages, together, several King had built them Chappels in the great Pagod to be buried in, and in their life times had stor'd up in the Vaults of their particular Chappels, great sums of Gold and Silver, and other moveables of value. Besides, that when they bury the deceas'd King, they bury with him likewise whatever he esteem'd most precious in his life-time, whether it were an Idol of Gold or Silver, or whatever else, that being needful in this, might be necessary for him in the world to come. But that which favours most of Barbarism is, that when he dies, all his best beloved Wives, and the principal Officers of his House poyson themselves, to be buri'd with him, and to wait upon him in the other world. Besides this, they bury one Elephant, twelve Camels, six Horses, and a good number of Hounds, believing that all those Creatures rise again to serve their King.

The Kingdom of *Asem* is one of the best Countries of all *Asia*, for it produces all things necessary for humane subsistence, without any need of foreign supply. There are in it Mines of Gold, Silver, Steel, Lead, Iron, and great store of Silk, but coarse. There is a sort of Silk that is found under the Trees, which is spun by a Creature like to our Silk-worms, but rounder,

and which lives all the year long under the trees. The Silks which are made of this Silk gliſt'n very much, but they fret preſently. The Country produces alſo great ſtore of Gum-Lake; of which there is two ſorts, one grows under the trees of a red colour, wherewith they paint their Linnen, and Stuffs; and when they have drawn out the red juice, the remaining ſubſtance ſerves to varniſh Cabinets, and to make Wax; being the beſt Lake in *Aſia*, for thoſe uſes. As for their Gold they never ſuffer it to be tranſported out of the Kingdom, nor do they make any Money of it; but they preſerve it all in Ingots, which paſs in trade among the Inhabitants; but as for the Silver, the King coins it into Money, as is already deſcrib'd.

Though the Country be very plentiful of all things, yet there is no fleſh which they eſteem ſo much as Dogs fleſh; which is the greateſt delicacy at all Feaſts; and is ſold every month in every City of the Kingdom upon their Market-days. There are alſo great ſtore of Vines, and very good Grapes, but they never make any Wine; only they dry the Grapes to make *Aqua Vitæ*. As for ſalt they have none but what is artificial, which they make two wayes. Firſt they raiſe great heaps of that green Stuff that Swims at the tops of ſtanding waters, which the Ducks and Frogs eat, This they dry and burn; and the aſhes thereof being boil'd in a Cloth in water, become very good Salt. The other way moſt in uſe is to take the leaves of *Adams* Fig-tree, which they dry and burn; the aſhes whereof make a Salt ſo tart, that it is impoſſible to eat until the tartneſs be tak'n away; which they do by putting the aſhes in water, where they ſtir them ten or twelve hours together; then they ſtrain the ſubſtance through a Linnen Cloth and boil it; as the water boils away, the bottom thick'ns; and when the water is all boil'd away they find at the bottom very good and white Salt.

Of the Aſhes of theſe Fig-leaves they make a Lye, wherewith they waſh their Silk, which makes it as white as Snow; but they have not enough to whiten half the Silk that grows in the Country.

Kenneroof is the name of the City, where the King of *Aſem* keeps his Court; twenty-five or thirty days journey from that which was formerly the Capital City, and bore the ſame name. The King requires no Subſidies of his people; but all the Mines in his Kingdom are his own; where for the eaſe of his Subjects, he has none but ſlaves that work; ſo that all the Natives of *Aſem* live at their eaſe, and every one has his houſe by himſelf, and in the middle of his ground a fountain encompaſs'd with trees and moſt commonly every one an Elephant to carry their Wives; for they have four Wives, and when they marry, they ſay to one, I take the to ſerve me in ſuch a thing; to the other, I appoint the to do ſuch buſineſs; ſo that every one of the wives knows what ſhe has to do in the Houſe. The men and women are generally well complexion'd; only thoſe that live more Southerly are more ſwarthy, and not ſo ſubject to Wens in their throats; neither are they ſo well featur'd, beſides that the women are ſomewhat flat Nos'd. In the Southern parts the people go ſtark naked, only covering their private parts, with a Bonnet like a blew Cap upon their heads, hung about with Swines teeth. They pierce holes in their ears, that you may thruſt your Thumb in where they hang pieces of Gold and Silver. Bracelets alſo of Tortoiſe-ſhells, and Sea-ſhells as long as an egg, which they ſaw into Circles, are in great eſteem among the meaner ſort; as Bracelets of Coral and yellow Amber among thoſe that are rich. When they bury a man, all his Friends and Relations muſt come to the burial; and when they lay the body in the ground, they all take off their Bracelets from their Arms and Legs, and bury them with the Corps.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Kingdom of Siam.

THE greateſt part of the Kingdom of *Siam* lies between the Golf of *Siam*, and the Golf of *Bengala*; bordering upon *Pegu* toward the North, and the *Peninſula* of *Malacca* toward the South. The ſhorteſt and neareſt way for the *Europæans* to go to this Kingdom, is to go to *Iſpahan*, from *Iſpahan*, to *Ormus*, from *Ormus* to *Surat*, from *Surat* to *Golconda*, from *Golconda* to *Maſtipatan*, there to embark for *Denouſerin*, which is one of the Ports belonging to the Kingdom of *Siam*. From *Denouſerin* to the Capital City, which is alſo call'd *Siam*, is thirty-five days journey, part by Water, part by Land, by Waggon, or upon Elephants. The way, whether by Land or Water, is very troubleſome; for by Land you muſt be always upon your guard for fear of Tigers and Lions; by Water, by reaſon of the many falls of the River, they are forc'd to hoiſe up their Boats with Engines.

All the Country of *Siam*, is very plentiful in Rice and Fruits; the chiefeſt whereof are *Mangos*, *Durions*, and *Manguſtans*. The Foreſts are full of Harts, Elephants, Tigers, Rhinocero's, and Apes; where there grow alſo large Bambou's in great abundance. Under the knots of theſe Bambou's are Emets neſts as big as a mans head, where every Emet has his apartment by himſelf; but there is but one hole to enter into the neſt. They make their neſts in theſe Canes to preſerve themſelves from the rains which continue four or five months together.

In the night time the Serpents are very buſie. There are ſome two foot long, with two heads; but one of them has no motion.

There is alſo another creature in *Siam*, like our *Salamander*, with a forked tail, and very venomous.

The Rivers in this Kingdom are very large; and that which runs by *Siam* is equally as large as the reſt. The water is very wholeſome; but it is very full of Crocodiles of a monſtrous bigneſs, that devour men if they be not very careful of themſelves. Theſe Rivers overflow their banks while the Sun is in the Southern Tropick; which makes the fields to be very fertil as far as they flow; and it is obſerv'd, that the Rice grows higher or lower, as the floods do more or leſs increaſe.

Siam, the Capital City of the Kingdom, where the King keeps his Court, is wall'd about, being about three of our Leagues in circuit; it is ſituated in an Iſland, the River running quite round it, and might be eaſily brought into every ſtreet in the Town, if the King would but lay out as much Money upno that deſign, as he ſpends in Temples and Idols.

The *Siamers* have thirty-three Letters in their Alphabet. But they write from the left to the right, as we do, contrary to the cuſtom of *Japon*, *China*, *Cochinchina*, and *Tunquin*, who write from the right to the left.

All the Natives of this Kingdom are ſlaves, either to the King or the great Lords. The women as well as the men cut their hair; neither are they very rich in their habits. Among their Complements, the chiefeſt is, never to go before a perſon that they reſpect, unleſs they firſt ask leave, which they do by holding up both their hands. Thoſe that are rich have ſeveral Wives.

The Money of the Country is already deſcrib'd.

The King of *Siam* is one of the richeſt Monarchs in the Eaſt, and ſtiles himſelf King of Heaven and Earth; though he be Tributary to the King of *China*. He ſeldom ſhews himſelf to his Subjects; and never gives Audience, but to the Principal Favourites of his Court. He truſts to his Miniſters of State, for the management of his affairs, who ſometimes make very bad uſe of their authority. He never ſhews himſelf in publick above twice a year; but then it is with an extraordinary magnificence. The firſt is, when he goes to a certain Pagod within the City, which is guilded round both within and without. There are three Idols between ſix and ſeven foot high, which are all of maſſie Gold;

Gold; which he believes he renders propitious to him, by the great ſtore of Alms that he diſtributes among the poor, and the preſents which he makes to the Prieſts. Then he goes attended by all his Court, and puts to open view the richeſt Ornaments he has. One part of his magnificence conſiſts in his train of two hundred Elephants; among which there is one that is white, which the King ſo highly eſteems, that he ſtiles himſelf King of the *White Elephant*.

The ſecond time the King appears in publick, is when he goes to another Pagod five or ſix Leagues above the Town, up the River. But no perſon muſt enter into this Pagod, unleſs it be the King and his Prieſts. As for the people, ſo ſoon as they ſee the Door op'n, they muſt preſently fall upon their Faces to the Earth. Then the King appears upon the River with two hundred Gallies of a prodigious length; four hundred Rowers belonging to every one of the Gallies; moſt of them being guilded and carv'd very richly. Now in regard this ſecond appearance of the King is in the month of *November*, when the waters begin to abate, the Prieſts make the people believe that none but the King can ſtop the courſe of the waters, by his Prayers and by his Offerings to this Pagod. and they are ſo vain as to think that the King cuts the waters with his *Sabra*, or Skain; thereby commanding it to retire back into the Sea.

The King alſo goes, but *incognito*, to a Pagod in an Iſland where the *Hollanders* have a Factory. There is at the entry thereof an Idol ſitting croſs-leg'd with one hand upon his knee, and the other arm akimbo. It is above ſixty foot high; and round about this Idol are about three hundred others, of ſeveral ſorts and ſizes. All theſe Idols are guilt. And indeed there are a prodigious number of Pagods in this Country; for every rich *Siamer* cauſes one to be built in memory of himſelf. Thoſe Pagods have Steeples and Bells, and the Walls within are painted and guilded; but the Windows are ſo narrow that they give but a very dim light. The two Pagods to which the King goes publickly, are adorn'd with ſeveral tall Pyramids, well guilded. And to that in the *Hollanders* Iſland there belongs a Cloyſter, which is a very neat Structure. In the middle of the Pagod is a fair Chappel, all guilded within ſide; where they find a Lamb, and three Wax Candles continually burning before the Altar, which is all over cover'd with Idols, ſome of Maſſie Gold, others of Copper guilt. In the Pagod in the midſt of the Town, and in one of thoſe to which the King goes once a year, there are above four thouſand Idols; and for that which is ſix Leagues from *Siam*, it is ſurrounded with Pyramids, whoſe beauty makes the induſtry of that Nation to be admir'd.

When the King appears, all the Doors and Windows of the Houſes muſt be ſhut; and all the people proſtrate themſelves upon the ground, not daring to lift up their eyes. And becauſe no perſon is to be in a higher place than the King, they that are within doors, are bound to keep their loweſt Rooms. When he cuts his hair, one of his Wives performs that office, for he will not ſuffer a Barber to come near him.

This Prince has a Paſſionate kindneſs for his Elephants; which he looks upon as his Favourites, and the Ornaments of his Kingdom. If there be any of them that fall ſick, the Lords of the Court are mighty careful to pleaſe their Soveraign; and if they happ'n to dye, they are buried with the ſame Funeral Pomp as the Nobles of the Kingdom; which are thus perform'd: They ſet up a kind of *Mauſoleum*, or Tomb of Reeds, cover'd with Paper; in the midſt whereof they lay as much ſweet wood as the body weighs, and after the Prieſts have mumbl'd certain Orſons, they ſet it a-fire, and burn it to aſhes; which the rich preſerve in Gold or Silver Urns, but the poor ſcatter in the wind. As for offenders, they never burn, but bury them.

'Tis thought that in this Kingdom there are above two hundred Prieſts, which they call *Bonzes*, which are highly reverenc'd as well at Court as among the people. The King himſelf has ſuch a value for ſome of them, as to humble himſelf before them. This extraordinary reſpect makes them ſo proud, that ſome of them have aſpir'd to the Throne. But when the King diſcovers any

any ſuch deſign, he puts them to death. And one of them had his head lately ſtruck off for his Ambition.

Theſe *Bonzes* wear yellow, with a little red Cloth about their Waſts; like a Girdle. Outwardly they are very modeſt, and are never ſeen to be angry. About four in the morning, upon the tolling of their Bells, they riſe to their prayers, which they repeat again toward evening. There are ſome days in the year when they retire from all converſe, with men. Some of them live by Alms; others have Houſes with good Revenues. While they wear the Habit of *Bonzes*, they muſt not marry; for if they do, they muſt lay their Habit aſide. They are generally very ignorant, not knowing what they believe. Yet they hold the tranſmigration of Souls into ſeveral Bodies. They are forbid to kill any Creature; yet they will make no ſcruple to eat what others kill, or that which dies of it ſelf. They ſay that the God of the Chriſtians and theirs were Brothers; but that theirs was the eldeſt. If you ask them where their God is, they ſay, he vaniſh'd away, and they know not where he is.

The chief ſtrength of the Kingdom is their Infantry, which is indifferent good; the Soldiers are us'd to hardſhip, going all quite naked, except their private parts; all the reſt of their body, looking as if it had been cupt, is carv'd into ſeveral ſhapes of beaſts and flowers. When they have cut their skins, and ſtanch'd the blood, they rub the cut-work with ſuch colours as they think moſt proper. So that afar off you would think they were clad in ſome kind of flower'd Satin or other; for the colours never rub out. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, Pike and Musket, and an *Azagaya*, or Staff between five and ſix foot long, with a long Iron Spike at the end, which they very dextrouſly dart at the Enemy.

In the year 1665, there was at *Siam* a *Neapolitan Jeſuite* who was call'd Father *Thomas*; he caus'd the Town and the Kings Palace to be fortifi'd with very good Bulwarks, according to Art; for which reaſon the King gave him leave to live in the City, where he has a Houſe and a little Church.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Kingdom of Macaſſar; *and the Embaſſadors which the* Hollanders *ſent into* China.

THE Kingdom of *Macaſſar*, otherwiſe call'd the *Iſle of Celebes*, begins at the fifteenth Degree of Southern Latitude. The heats are exceſſive all the day; but the nights are temperate enough. And for the Soil, it is very fertile; but the people have not the art of building. The Capital City bears the name of the Kingdom, and is ſituated upon the Sea. The Port is free; for the Veſſels that bring great quantities of goods from the Adjacent Iſlands, pay no Cuſtoms. The Iſlanders have a cuſtom to poyſon their Arrows; and the moſt dangerous poyſon which they uſe, is the juice of certain Trees in the Iſland of *Borneo*; which they will temper ſo as to work ſwift or ſlow, as they pleaſe. They hold that the King has only the ſecret Receit to take away the force of it; who boaſts that he has the moſt effectual poyſon in the world, which there is no remedy can prevent.

One day an *Engliſh* man in heat of blood had kill'd one of the Kings of *Macaſſars* Subjects; and though the King had pardon'd him, yet both *Engliſh*, *Hollanders*, and *Portugals* fearing if the *Engliſh* man ſhould go unpuniſh'd, leſt the Iſlanders ſhould revenge themſelves upon ſome of them, beſought the King to put him to death; which with much ado being conſented to, the King unwilling to put him to a lingring death, and deſirous to ſhew the effect of his poyſon, reſolv'd to ſhoot the Criminal himſelf; whereupon he took a long Trunk, and ſhot him exactly into the great Toe of the right foot, the place particularly aim'd at. Two Chirurgeons, one an *Engliſh* man, and the other a *Hollander*, pro-

provided on purpoſe, immediately cut off the member; but for all that, the poyſon had diſpers'd it ſelf ſo ſpeedily, that the *Engliſh* man dy'd at the ſame time. All the Kings and Princes of the Eaſt are very diligent in their enquiry after ſtrong Poyſons. And I remember that the chief of the *Dutch* Factory and I try'd ſeveral poyſon'd Arrows, with which the King of *Achen* had preſented him, by ſhooting at Squirrels, who fell down dead, as ſoon as ever they were touch'd.

The King of *Macaſſar* is a *Mahometan*, and will not ſuffer his Subjects to embrace Chriſtianity. Yet in the year 1656, the Chriſtians found a way to get leave to build a fair Church in *Macaſſar*. But the next year the King caus'd it to be pull'd down, as alſo that of the *Dominican* Friars, which the *Portugals* made uſe of. The Pariſh Church, which was under the Government of the ſecular Prieſts, ſtood ſtill, till the *Hollanders* attack'd *Macaſſar*, and compell'd him to turn all the *Portugals* out of his Dominions. The ill conduct of that Prince was in part the occaſion of that war: to which the *Hollanders* were mov'd, to revenge themſelves upon the *Portugal Jeſuits*, who had croſs'd their Embaſſy to *China*. Beſides, that they offer'd great affronts to the *Hollanders* at *Macaſſar*, eſpecially when they trod under foot the Hat of one of the *Dutch* Envoys, who was ſent to treat with the King in behalf of the Company. Thereupon the *Hollanders* reſolv'd to unite their forces with the *Bouguiſes*, that were in rebellion againſt their Soveraign, and to revenge themſelves at any rate.

Now as to the buſineſs of *China*, it happen'd thus: Toward the end of the year 1658, the General of *Batavia* and his Council, ſent one of the chief of the *Holland* Company, with Preſents to the King of *China*; who arriving at Court, labour'd to gain the friendſhip of the *Mandarins*, who are the Nobility of the Kingdom. But the *Jeſuits*, who by reaſon of their long abode in the Country, underſtood the language, and were acquainted with the Lords of the Court, leſt the *Holland* Company ſhould get footing to the prejudice of the *Portugals*, repreſented ſeveral things to the Kings Council to the prejudice of the *Hollanders*; more eſpecially charging them with breach of Faith in all the places where they came. Upon this the *Holland* Agent was diſmiſs'd, and departed out of *China*, without doing any feats. Afterwards coming to underſtand what a trick the *Portugal Jeſuits* had put upon him, he made report thereof to the General and his Council at *Batavia*; which ſo incens'd them, that they reſolv'd to be reveng'd. For by the Deputies accounts, the Embaſſy had coſt them above fifty thouſand Crowns; for which they conſulted how to make the *Portugals* pay double. Underſtanding therefore the trade which the *Jeſuits* drove in the Iſland of *Macao*, and to the Kingdom of *Macaſſar*, whither upon their own account they ſent ſeven Veſſels, laden with all ſorts of Commodities, as well of *India* as *China*; they took their opportunity, and the ſeventh of *June* 1660, appear'd with a Fleet of thirty Sail before the Port of *Macaſſar*. The King thinking himſelf oblig'd to make defence againſt ſo Potent an Enemy, endeavour'd to ſuſtain the brunt of the *Hollander* with the *Portugal* Ships in the Road; but the *Hollander* dividing their Fleet, part of them fought the *Portugal*, the other half batter'd the Royal Fortreſs ſo furiouſly, that they carry'd it in a ſhort time. Which ſo terrifi'd the King that he commanded the *Portugals* not to fire any more for fear of farther provoking his Enemies. The Prince *Patinſaloa*, was ſlain in the fight, which was a great loſs to the King of *Macaſſar*, who was become formidable to his neighbours by the good Conduct of that Miniſter. As for the *Hollanders*, they took, burnt, and ſunk all the *Portugal* Veſſels, and ſufficiently re-imburs'd themſelves for their *China* Expences.

The thirteenth of *June* the King of *Macaſſar*, whoſe name was *Sumbaco*, hung out a white Flag from another Tower, whence he beheld the fight environ'd by his Wives. During the truce, he ſent one of the Grandees of his Court to the *Dutch* Admiral, to deſire peace, which was granted, upon condition he ſhould ſend an Embaſſador to *Batavia*, expel the *Portugals* out of the Iſland, and not permit his Subjects to have any more to do with them.

Thereupon the King of *Macaſſar*, ſent eleven of the greateſt Lords of his Court, with a train of ſeven hundred men; the Chief of the Embaſſy being the

the Prince of *Patinſaloa*. The firſt thing they did, was to pay two hundred Loaves of Gold to redeem the Royal Fortreſs again; and then ſubmitting to the Conditions which the *Dutch* Admiral had propos'd, the General of *Batavia* ſign'd the Articles, which are punctually obſerv'd. For the *Portugals* had in all quitted the Country, ſome departing for *Siam* and *Camboya*, others for *Macoa* and *Goa*. *Macoa*, formerly one of the moſt famous and richeſt Cities of the Orient, was the principal motive that enclin'd the *Hollanders* to ſend an Embaſſadour into *China*; for being the beſt ſtation which the *Portugals* had in all thoſe parts, the *Dutch* had a deſign to win it wholly. Now, this City, lying in twenty-two Degrees of Northern Latitude, in a ſmall Iſland next to the Province of *Kamon*, which is a part of *China*, has very much loſt its former luſter.

But this was not all which the *Jeſuits* and the *Portugal* Merchants ſuffer'd. The Chief of the *Dutch* Factory at *Mingrela*, which is but eight Leagues from this City, underſtanding the bad ſucceſs of the *Dutch* in *China*, had a contrivance by himſelf to be reveng'd. He knew that the *Jeſuites* of *Goa* and other places, drove a great trade in rough Diamonds, which they ſent into *Europe*, or elſe carry'd along with them when they return'd; and that for the more private carrying on of their trade, they were wont to ſend one or two of their Order, that knew the language, in the habit of a *Faquir*, which conſiſts of a Tygers Skin to cover their back-parts, and a Goats Skin to cover the breaſt, reaching down to the knees. Thereupon the Chief of the Factory of *Mingrela* taking his opportunity, and having notice that two of the ſuppos'd *Faquirs* were gone to the Mines, to lay out 400000 Pardo's in Diamonds, gave order to two men, which he had fee'd for the purpoſe, that as ſoon as the Fathers had made their purchaſe, he ſhould give notice to the Officer of the Cuſtom-Houſe at *Bicholi*.

Bicholi is a great Town upon the Frontiers of thoſe Lands that part the Kingdom of *Viſapour* from the Territories of the *Portugals*; there being no other way to paſs the River, which encompaſſes the Iſland where the City of *Goa* is built.

The Fathers believing that the Cuſtomer knew nothing of their purchaſe, went into the Boat to go over the River; but as ſoon as they were in, they were ſtrictly ſearch'd, and all their Diamonds confiſcated.

To return to the King of *Macaſſar*; you muſt know, that the *Jeſuits* once endeavour'd to convert him; and perhaps they might have brought it to paſs, had they not neglected one propoſal which he made them. For at the ſame time that the *Jeſuits* labour'd to bring him to Chriſtianity, the *Mahumetans* us'd all their endeavours to oblige him to ſtick to their Law. The King willing to leave his Idolatry, yet not knowing which part to take, commanded the *Mahumetans* to ſend for two or three of their moſt able *Moulla's*, or Doctors from *Mecca*; and the *Jeſuits* he order'd to ſend him as many of the moſt learn'd among them, that he might be inſtructed in both Religions; which they both promis'd to do. But the *Mahometans* were more diligent than the Chriſtians, for in eight months they fetch'd from *Mecca* two learned *Moulla's*; whereupon the King ſeeing that the *Jeſuits* ſent no body to him, embrac'd the *Mahumetan* Law. True it is, that three years after there came two *Portugal Jeſuits*, but then it was too late.

The King of *Macaſſar* being thus become a *Mahumetan*, the Prince his Brother was ſo mad at it, that when the *Moſquee*, which the King had caus'd to be built, was finiſh'd, he got into it one night, and cauſing the throats of two Pigs to be cut, he all beſmear'd the Walls of the new *Moſquee*, and the place which was appointed for the *Moulla* to perform Divine Service with the blood; ſo that the King was forc'd to pull down that, and build Another. After which the Prince with ſome Idolatrous Lords ſtole out of the Iſland, and never ſince appear'd at Court.

CHAP. XX.

The Author purſues his Travels into the Eaſt, and embarks at Mingrela *for* Batavia. *The danger he was in upon the Sea; and his arrival in the Iſland of* Ceylan.

I Departed from *Mingrela*, a great Town in the Kingdom of *Viſapour*, eight Leagues from *Goa*, the fourteenth of *April*, 1648, and embark'd in a *Dutch* Veſſel bound for *Batavia*. The Ship had orders to touch at *Bokanour*, to take in Rice. Whereupon I went aſhore with the Captain, to obtain leave of the King to buy Rice. We found him upon the ſhore, where he had about a dozen Huts ſet up, which were cover'd with Palm-leaves. In his own Hut there was a piece of *Perſian* Tapeſtry ſpread under him, and there we ſaw five or ſix women, ſome fanning him with Peacocks Feathers, others giving him *Betlé*, others filling him his Pipe of Tobacco. The moſt conſiderable perſons of the Country were in the other Huts; and we counted about two hundred men that were upon the Guard, arm'd only with Bows and Arrows. They had alſo two Elephants among 'em. 'Tis very probable, that his Palace was not far off, and that he only came thither to take the freſh air. There we were preſented with *Tari* or Palm-wine; but being new, and not boil'd, it caus'd the head-ach in all that drank it, inſomuch that we were two days before we could recover it. I ask'd the reaſon, how the Wine came to do us ſo much prejudice; to which they anſwer'd me, that it was the Planting of Pepper about the Palm-trees, that gave ſuch a ſtrength to the Wine.

We were no ſooner got aboard, but a mighty tempeſt aroſe, wherein the Ship, men, and goods had all like to have been caſt away, being near the ſhore; but at length, the wind changing, we found our ſelves by break of day three or four Leagues at Sea, having loſt all our Anchors; and at length came ſafe to Port in the Haven of *Ponté de Galle*, the twelfth of *May*.

I found nothing remarkable in that City; there being nothing but the ruins made by the underminings and Cannon-ſhot, when the *Hollanders* beſieg'd it, and chas'd the *Portugals* from thence. The Company allow'd ground to build upon, to them that would inhabit there, and land to till; and had then rais'd two Bulwarks which commanded the Port. If they have finiſh'd the deſign which they undertook, the place cannot but be very conſiderable.

The *Hollanders*, before they took all the places which the *Portugals* had in the Iſland of *Ceylan*, did believe that the trade of this Iſland would have brought them in vaſts ſums, could they but be ſole Maſters of it; and perhaps their Conjectures might have been true, had they not broken their words with the King of *Candy*, who is the King of the Country; but breaking faith with him, they loſt themſelves in all other places thereabouts.

The *Hollanders* had made an agreement with the King of *Candy*, that he ſhould be always ready with twenty thouſand men, to keep the paſſages that hinder the *Portugals* from bringing any ſuccours from *Colombo*, *Negombe*, *Manar*, or any other places which they poſſeſſed upon the Coaſt. In conſideration whereof the *Hollanders*, when they had taken *Ponte Galle*, were to reſtore it to the King of *Candy*; which they not performing, the King ſent to know why they did not give him poſſeſſion of the Town; to which they return'd anſwer, that they were ready to do it, provided he would defray the expences of the war. But they knew, that if he had had three Kingdoms more, ſuch as his own, he could never have pay'd ſo great a ſum. I muſt confeſs indeed the Country is very poor, for I do not believe that the King ever ſaw fifty thouſand Crowns together in his life; his Trade being all in Cinnamon and Elephants. As for his Cinnamon, he has no profit of it ſince the *Portugals* coming into the Eaſt *Indies*. And for his Elephants, he makes but little of them; for they take not above five or ſix in a year; but they are more eſteem'd than any other Country Elephants, as being the moſt couragious in war. One thing I will

will tell you hardly to be believ'd, but that which is a certain truth, which is, that when any other King or *Raja* has one of these Elephants of *Ceylan*, if they bring him among any other breed in any other place whatsoever, so soon as the other Elephants behold the *Ceylan* Elephants, by an instinct of nature they do him reverence, laying their trunks upon the Ground, and raising them up again.

The King of *Achen*, with whom the *Hollanders* also broke their word, had more opportunity to be reveng'd upon them then the King of *Candy*. For he deni'd them the transportation of Pepper out of his Country, without which their trade was worth little. His Pepper being that which is most coveted by the East. So that they were forc'd to make a composition with him. The King of *Achens* Embassadour coming to *Batavia*, was strangely surpriz'd to see women sitting at the Table; but much more, when after a health drank to the Queen of *Achen*, the General of *Batavia* commanded his Wife to go and kiss the Embassadour. Nor was the King behind hand with the *Dutch* Embassadour another way; whom the King beholding in a languishing distemper, ask'd him whether he had never any familiarity with any of the Natives. Yes, replied the Embassadour; however I left her to marry in my own Country. Upon that the King commanded three of his Physicians to cure him in fifteen days, upon the forfeiture of their lives. Thereupon they gave him a certain potion every morning, and a little Pill at night; and at the end of nine days he took a great Vomit. Every body thought he would have dy'd with the working of it; but at length brought up a stopple of course hair, as big as a nut; after which he presently recover'd. At his departure the King gave him a Flint about the bigness of a Goose Egg, with veins of Gold in it, like the veins of a mans hand, as the Gold grows in that Country.

CHAP. XXI.

The Authors departure from Ceylan, *and his arrival at* Batavia.

THE twenty-fifth of *May* we set sail from *Ponte Galle*. The second of *June* we pass'd the Line. The sixth we saw the Island call'd *Nazaco's*. The seventeenth we discover'd the Coast of *Sumatra*, the eighteenth the Island of *Ingamina*, and the nineteenth the Island of *Fortune*. The twentieth we were in ken of certain little Islands, and the Coast of *Java*; among which Islands there are three call'd the Islands of the Prince. The one and twentieth we discover'd *Bantam*, and the two and twentieth we anchor'd in the Road of *Batavia*.

There are two Councils in *Batavia*, the Council of the Fort, where the General presides, and where all the affairs of the Company are manag'd. The other which is held in a House in the City, and relates to the Civil Government, and decides the petty differences among the Citizens.

All the kindness I had shew'n me here, was to be prosecuted by the City Council, for being suspected to have bought a parcel of Diamonds for Monsieur *Constant*, my very good Friend, and President of the *Dutch* Factory at *Gomron*; but when they could make nothing of it, they ceas'd their suit, asham'd of what they had done.

CHAP. XXII.

The Author goes to visit the King of Bantam, *and relates several Adventures upon that occasion.*

BEing so ill treated in *Batavia*, I resolv'd to visit the King of *Bantam*; to which purpose I took my own Brother along with me, because he spoke the Language call'd *Malaye*; which in the East is as universal as *Latin* among us. Being arriv'd at *Bantam* in a small Bark, which we hir'd for our selves; we went first and visited the *English* President, who kindly entertain'd and lodg'd us.

The next day I sent my Brother to the Palace, to know when it would be seasonable for me to come and kiss the King's Hand. When the King saw him (for he was well known to him) he would not suffer him to return, but sent others to fetch me, and to tell me withall, that if I had any rare Jewels, I should do him a kindness to bring them along with me.

When I saw my Brother return'd not with the persons which the King sent, I was almost in the mind not to have gone; remembring how the King of *Achen* had serv'd the Sieur *Renaud*. For the *French* having set up an East *India* Company, sent away four Vessels, three great ones, and one of eight Guns, for the service of the Country. Their Voyage was the shortest that ever was heard of; arriving at *Bantam* in less than four months. The King also courteously receiv'd them, and let them have as much Pepper as they desir'd, and cheaper by twenty in the hundred then he sold it to the *Hollanders*. But the *French* not coming only for Pepper, sent away their small Ship with the greatest part of their Money to *Macassar*, to try the Market for Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace.

The *French* being so soon dispatch'd at *Bantam*, had not patience to stay till the return of the small Vessel which they had sent to *Macassar*; but to pass the time, must needs run over to *Batavia*, being not above fourteen Leagues off; so that you may be at *Batavia* from *Bantam* in a tide with a good wind. When they came to an Anchor, the General of the *French* Fleet sent to Complement the General of *Batavia*, who fail'd not to answer his civility, and invited the Admiral ashore. Moreover he sent to those that stay'd aboard, great store of excellent cheat, and a good quantity of *Spanish* and *Rhenish* Wine, with particular order to them that carry'd it, to make the *French* drunk. His order was so well follow'd, that 'twas easie to set the Ships on fire, according to the private Instructions which they had. So soon as the flame was discover'd from the Generals window, which overlook'd all the Road, there was a wonderful pretended astonishment among the *Dutch*. But the *French* Admiral too truly conjecturing the ground and Authors of the treachery, beholding the company with an undaunted courage; Come, come, cry'd he, lets drink on; they that set the Ships a-fire shall pay for 'em. However the *French* Ships were all burnt, though the men were all sav'd in Boats which were forthwith sent to their relief. After that, the General of *Batavia* made them great offers, which they refus'd, and return'd to *Batavia*, in expectation of their small Vessel. When it return'd, they could find out no better way then to sell Ship and goods, and all to the *English*, and to share the Money among themselves, every one according to their condition.

But the trick which they put upon the *English* was far more bloody. The *English* were the first that found out the danger of sailing from *Surat*, *Masulipatan*, or any other distant parts, to *Japon* without touching by the way. Whereupon they thought it convenient to build a Fort in the Island of *Formosa*, which not only sav'd the loss of several Vessels, but also brought them in great gain. The *Hollanders* mad that the *English* were possess'd of such an advantageous scituation, being the only place in all the Island where Vessels could ride in safety; and finding they could not carry it by force, bethought them-

themſelves of a Stratagem; to which purpoſe they ſent away two Ships, wherein they ſtor'd the beſt of their Souldiers, who pretending they had been in a ſtorm in Sea, put into the Harbour of *Formoſa*, with ſome of their Maſts by the board, their Sails ſcatter'd, and their Seamen ſeemingly ſick. The *Engliſh* compaſſionating their miſeries, which was only in outward appearance, invited the chief of them to come aſhore to refreſh themſelves; which they were very ready to do, carrying as many men with them as poſſibly they could under pretence of ſickneſs. While the chief of them were at Dinner with the chief of the *Engliſh*, they all ply'd their Cups; and when the *Dutch* ſaw the *Engliſh* had drunk hard enough, taking their opportunity, they pickt a quarrel with the Commander of the Fort, and drawing their Swords, which they had hidden under their Coats for that purpoſe, they eaſily ſurpriz'd and cut all the throats of the Soldiers in the Garriſon; and being thus Maſters of the Fort, they kept it from that time till they were routed out by the *Chineſes*.

Now for the trick that the King of *Achen* ſerv'd the Sieur *Renaud*; he having got a good Eſtate by Jewels, arriv'd at length at *Achen*, and as it is the cuſtom for the Merchants to ſhew the King what Jewels they have, the King had no ſooner caſt his eye upon four Rings which the Sieur *Renaud* ſhew'd him, but he bid him fifteen thouſand Crowns for them; but *Renaud* would not bate of eighteen thouſand. Now becauſe they could not agree, the Sieur *Renaud* carry'd them away with him, which very much diſpleas'd the King; however he ſent for him the next day. Whereupon *Renaud* returning to him, the King paid him his eighteen thouſand Crowns; but he was never ſeen after that, and it is thought he was ſecretly murther'd in the Palace.

This ſtory came to my remembrance, when I found my Brother did not come along with thoſe that were ſent to fetch me. However I reſolv'd to go, taking with me 12 or 13000 Roupies worth of Jewels; the greateſt part being in Roſe Diamond Rings, ſome conſiſting of ſeven, ſome of nine, and ſome of eleven Stones; with ſome ſmall Bracelets of Diamonds and Rubies. I found the King with three of his Captains and my Brother ſitting together, after the manner of the Eaſt, with five great Plates of Rice before them of divers colours. For their drink they had *Spaniſh* Wine, ſtrong waters, and ſeveral ſorts of *Sherbets*. After I had complemented the King, and preſented him with a Diamond Ring, a blew Saphir Ring, and a little Bracelet of Diamonds, Rubies,, and blew Saphirs, he commanded me to ſit down, and order'd me a glaſs of ſtrong Water to whet my appetite. The glaſs held a quarter of a pint, and therefore I refus'd it, which the King very much wonder'd at; but being told by my Brother, that I never drank any ſtrong Water, he order'd me preſently a glaſs of Sack.

After that he roſe up, and ſeated himſelf in a Chair, the Elbows whereof were gilded. His feet and legs were bare, having a *Perſian* Carpet of Gold and Silk to tread upon. He was clad with a piece of Calicut, part whereof cover'd his body from his waſte to his knees, the reſt being wound about his back and ſhoulders like a Scarf. Inſtead of Shoes he had a pair of Sandals, that ſtood by the Chair ſide, the ſtraps whereof was embroider'd with Gold and ſmall Pearl. About his head he had a thing like a Handkerchief, with three Corners, bound about his head like a Fillet. His hair alſo, which was very long, was twiſted and ty'd together over his head. Two perſons ſtood behind him with great Fans of long Peacock Feathers, the handles whereof were five or ſix foot in length. Upon his right hand ſtood an old black women, holding in her hand a little Mortar and Peſtle of Gold, to beat his *Betlé*, in; wherewith he mix'd the Kernel of the Nut of *Araqué*, and Seed Pearl diſſolv'd. When it was all beaten together, the old woman gave it the King over his Shoulders, who opening his mouth, the old woman fed him as our women feed their Children. For the King had chaw'd ſo much *Betlé*, and taken ſo much Tobacco, that his teeth were all fall'n out of his head.

The King of *Bantam*'s Palace was never built by any curious Architect. It is a ſquare place, encompaſs'd with a great many Pillars, varniſh'd over with ſeveral ſorts of colours, againſt which the King leans when he ſits down. At the four Corners there are four great Pillars ſet in the earth, at forty foot diſtance

the

the one from the other, lin'd with a Mat made of the Rhind of a certain Tree, so thin that it looks like a piece of Linnen, which neither Fleas nor Punies will come near. The roof was cover'd with Coco-Branches. Not far off, under another Roof supported with four great Pillars, he had sixteen Elephants, the noblest of all those that are in the Kings service: for he has a far greater number train'd up for war, that are not afraid of wild-fire. For his guard he might have about two thousand men, that were drawn up in Companies under the shade of the next Trees. They are good Soldiers as well by Sea as by Land; great *Mahometans*, and stand not at all in fear of death. His *Haram*, or the Womens Apartment, was certainly a very small Place. For when he had view'd what I brought him, he sent for two old women, to whom he gave some of the Jewels, to go and shew them to his Wives. The two women return'd back through a little pitiful door; the enclosure being nothing but a kind of Wall made up of Earth and Cow-dung mix'd together. Whatever he sent to the Women, they never return'd any thing again. Which made me believe they would bear a good price; and indeed whatever I sold to him, I sold to good profit, and had my Money well paid me. After this we took our leaves; but the King oblig'd us to come next day in the evening, because he had a desire to shew us a *Turky* Dagger, the Haft whereof, being thin of Diamonds, he had a mind to enrich with more Stones. Coming to the *English* House with our Money, they wonder'd that the King had laid out twenty thousand Roupies, telling me, they believ'd it was the best part of his treasure.

The next day my brother and I went to wait upon him at the appointed hour, and we found him sitting in the same place where he sate before. There was a *Moulla* then read to him, who seem'd to interpret to him something of the *Alcoran* in the *Arabick* Language. The Lecture being ended, they both rose and went to prayers; which being concluded, the King sent for the Dagger and the Haft which was of Gold. The top of the Handle was already set with Diamonds, and upon the upper part of the cross Bar was cut in Facets, which could not be less worth than fifteen or sixteen thousand Crowns. The King told me, it was presented to him by the Queen of *Borneo*, and that it was cut at *Goa*; but that he put a far higher value upon it than I esteem'd it to be worth. The Dagger, as well as the Sheath was full of Beazils, or Collets, in very good order; but the King had neither Diamond, Ruby, nor any other Stone to set in the Collets; and therefore desir'd me to help him to some that might come at an easie rate. I told him it was impossible to find Stones that would fit the Beazils; and therefore that it was better, when he had got Stones enough, to fix other Beazils according to the proportion of the Stones. To which purpose he was first to range all his Stones in Wax; which I shew'd him how to do at the same time; but that was above his skill. And therefore do what I could to excuse my self to the contrary, he would needs oblige me to carry the Dagger to *Batavia*; whereupon I took my leave of the King, and departed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Authors return to Batavia. *His re-visiting the King of* Bantam. *And a relation of several Extravagancies of certain* Faquirs *in their return from* Mecca.

ABout elev'n a Clock at night, we embark'd for *Batavia*; for the night winds blowing from the Land, are the only winds to serve our turn; so that we were at *Batavia* between ten and elev'n the next morning. There I stay'd twenty days for the King of *Bantam*'s sake, to make him belive I had sought for that which I knew was impossible to be found. I had nothing to do all the while, for in *Batavia* there is no other recreation than gaming and drinking, which was none of my business. At that time the Sieur *Cant* dy'd, one of the *Indian* Counsellors, who was sumptuously buri'd for his good services done to the Company; but the people complain'd heavily of the injustice which he had done as well to the Souldiers as Mariners.

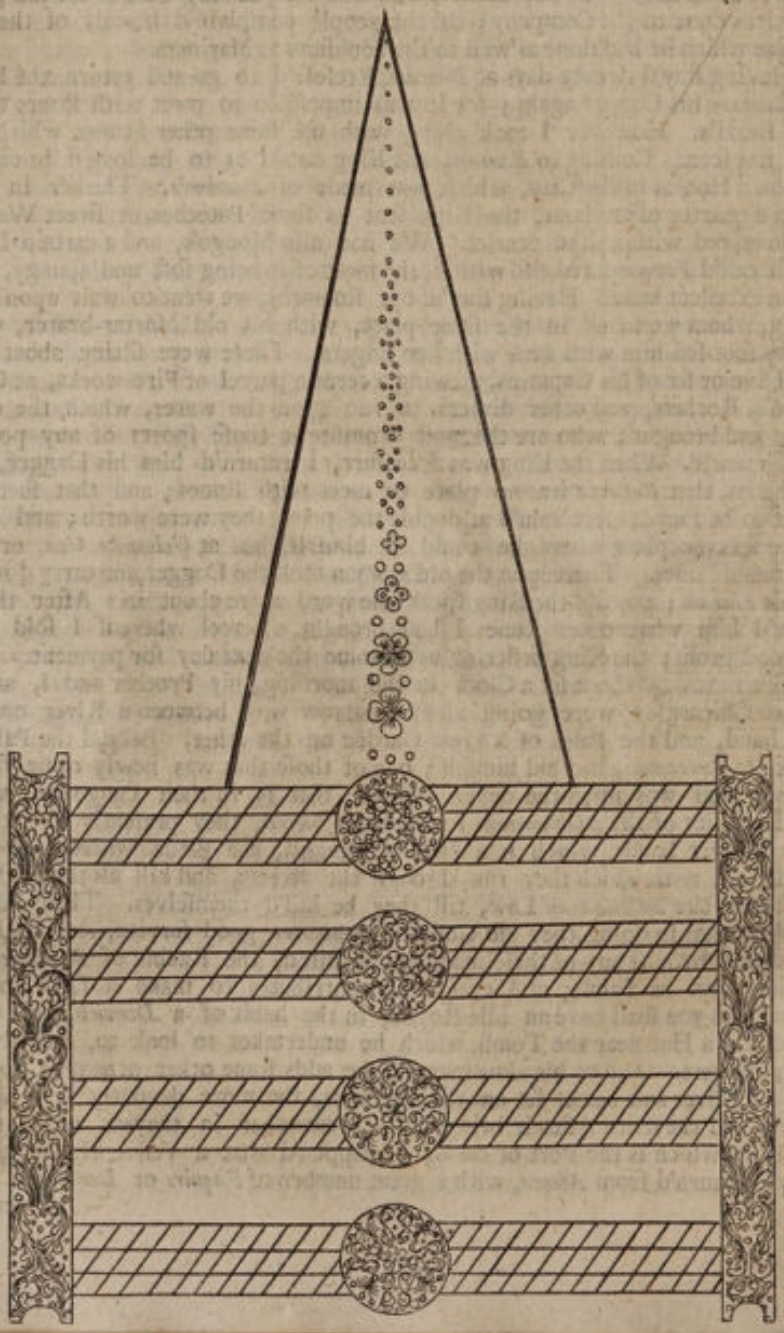
Having stay'd twenty days at *Bantam*, I resolv'd to go and return the King of *Bantam* his Dagger again; for it was impossible to meet with stones to fit his Beazils. However I took along with me some other Stones which he had not seen. Coming to *Bantam*, the King caus'd us to be lodg'd in one of his own Houses in the City, which was made of *Bamboo's*. Thither in less then a quarter of an hour, the King sent us some Pateches, or sweet Water-Melons, red within like Scarlet. We had also Mongo's, and a certain large Fruit call'd *Pompone*, red also within, the meat of it being soft and spungy, but of an excellent taste. Having stay'd our stomachs, we went to wait upon the King, whom we found in the same place, with his old Mortar-bearer, who every foot fed him with *Betle* with her fingers. There were sitting about the Hall five or six of his Captains, viewing a certain parcel of Fire-works, as Granado's, Rochets, and other divices to run upon the water, which the *Chineses* had brought; who are the most exquisite at those sports of any people in the world. When the King was at leasure, I return'd him his Dagger, telling him, that *Batavia* was no place to meet with stones; and that such as were to be found, were valu'd at double the price they were worth; and that there was no place where he could fit himself, but at *Golconda*, *Goa*, or the Diamond Mines. Thereupon the old woman took the Dagger, and carry'd it into his *Haram*; nor did the King speak one word more about it. After that I shew'd him what other stones I had brought, a percel whereof I sold him to good profit; the King ordering us to come the next day for payment.

The next day about six a Clock in the morning, my Brother and I, and a *Dutch* Chirurgion, were going along a narrow way, between a River on the one hand, and the Pales of a great Garden on the other. Behind the Pales a Rascally *Bantamois*, had hid himself; one of those that was newly come from *Mecca*, and was upon the design *Moqua*; that is, in their Language, when the Rascality of the *Mahumetans* return from *Mecca*, they presently take their *Cric* in their hands, which is a kind of Poniard, the Blade whereof is half poyson'd; with which they run through the streets, and kill all those which are not of the *Mahumetan* Law, till they be kill'd themselves. These Furies think that in so doing they do God and *Mahomet* good service, and shall be sav'd thereby. If any of these madmen be kill'd, the Rabble of *Mahumetans* buries them as Saints, and every one contributes to make a fair Tomb. Sometimes you shall have an idle Rogue, in the habit of a *Dervich*, that will build him a Hut near the Tomb, which he undertakes to look to, and strew with Flowers. And as his alms increase, he adds some other ornament to it. For the Fairer and better set out the Tomb is, the more devoutly it is worship'd, and the more Alms it brings in. I remember in the year 1642, that at *Souali*, which is the Port of *Surat*, it happen'd that a Vessel of the great *Moguls* return'd from *Mecca*, with a great number of *Faquirs* or *Dervishes*. For

every

every year the King ſends two Veſſels to carry and bring back the Pilgrims, who have their paſſage free. And when theſe Veſſels are to go, the *Faquirs* come from all parts of *India* to embark. Theſe Veſſels are lad'n with very good Commodities, which are ſold at *Mecca*, and the profit is diſtributed among the poor Pilgrims. But the principal is brought back for the next year, amounting to ſix hundred thouſand Roupies at leaſt. 'Tis an ill Market when they do not gain 30 or 40 *per Cent.* by their Commodities; nay there are ſome that produce *Cent. per Cent.* beſides, that the principal perſons of the *Moguls Haram*, and other particular perſons, ſend very large gifts to *Mecca*.

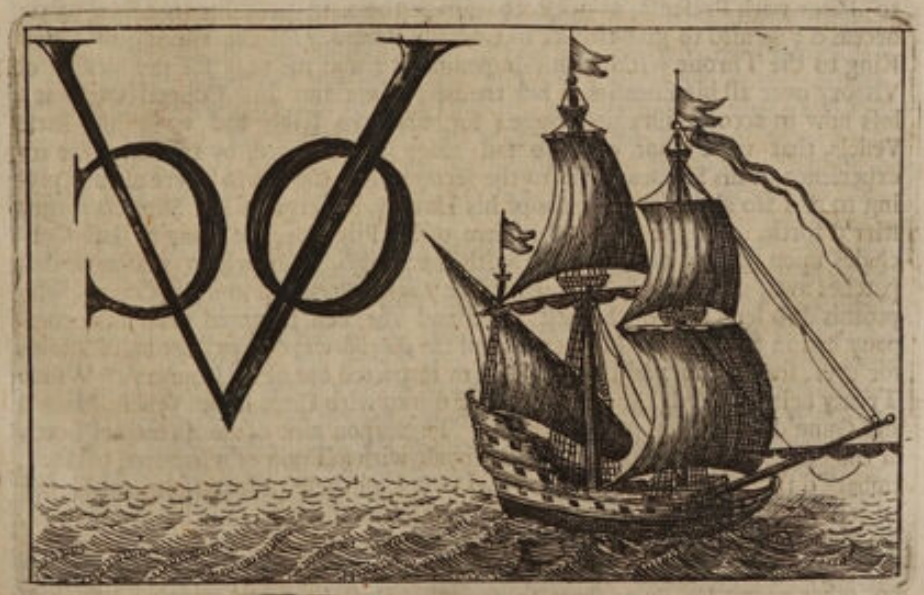
One of theſe *Faquirs* returning from *Mecca* in the year 1642, and being landed at *Souali*, had no ſooner ſaid his prayers, but he took his Dagger, and ran among ſeveral *Dutch* Mariners that were unlading goods upon the ſhore, and before they were aware this mad *Faquir* had wounded ſeventeen of them, of which thirteen dy'd. The *Canjare* which he had in his hand, was a kind of Dagger, the Blade whereof toward the Handle was three fingers broad; and becauſe it is a very dangerous weapon, I have here given you the Figure of it.



At length the Sentinel that ſtood at the entry of the Tent where the Governour and Merchants were, ſhot him through the body, ſo that he fell down dead. Immediately all the other *Faquirs* and *Mahumetans* that were upon the place took up the body and buried it: and at the end of fifteen days they put him up a fair Monument. Every year the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* pull it down; but when they are gone, the *Faquirs* ſet it up again, and plant Banners over it; nay ſome there are that perform their devotions to it.

But to return to the *Bantam Faquir*. That Villain lying, as I ſaid, behind the Pales, as my Brother and I, and the *Dutch* Chirurgion came toward him, all three a-breaſt, thruſt his Pike between the Pales, thinking to have ſtabb'd it into one of our breaſts. The *Dutch* man being next the River, and ſomewhat before the reſt, the head of his Pike ran into his Breeches; whereupon we both laid hold of the Staff. But my Brother being next the Pales, preſently leap'd over, and ran the *Faquir* thorough. Whereupon ſeveral *Chineſes*, and other Idolaters, came and gave my Brother thanks for killing him. After that we waited upon the King, and told him what my Brother had done; who was ſo far from being diſpleas'd, that he gave my Brother a Girdle. For the King and his Governours are glad when thoſe Rogues are ſlain, knowing them to be Deſperado's, not fit to live.

The next day, coming to take my leave of the *Engliſh* Preſident, he ſhew'd me two ſtrings of Diamonds, and two Services of Silver, which came from *England*. He would have ſold them all, but I only bought one one of the ſtrings of Diamonds, the other being foul; and for the Silver, I would have bought it, had they coin'd Silver in *Batavia*, as they were wont to do. Formerly the *Hollanders* coin'd Reals, Half-Reals, and Quarter-Reals, bearing on the one ſide the ſtamp of a Ship, on the other V, O, C, like a Character, as in the Figure, ſignifying in *Dutch*, *Vor Oft Indian*, *Compagnie*, for the Eaſt *Indian* Company. Which they did for the Sake of the *Chineſes*, who loving Silver better than Gold, carri'd away all the Silver that was coin'd at *Batavia*, at good rates. But at length they left it off, finding ſo few people that made uſe of Silver.



CHAP. XXIV.

Of the War of the Hollanders *with the Emperor of* Java.

HAving taken my leave of the *Engliſh* Preſident, I return'd to *Batavia*; where having little to do, I reſolv'd to give a viſit to the King of *Japar*, otherwiſe call'd the Emperor of *Java*. This King was formerly King of all the Iſland, till the King of *Bantam*, who was only Governour of a Province, rebell'd againſt him; the *Hollanders* being made by the diviſions of thoſe two Princes. For when the King of *Japar* beſieg'd *Batavia*, the King of *Bantam* reliev'd the *Hollanders*; and when they were attack'd by the King of *Bantam*, the King of *Japar* came to their aſſiſtance. And when thoſe two Kings were together by the ears, the *Hollanders* always aided the weakeſt.

The King of *Japar* keeps his Court in a City of the ſame name, diſtant from *Batavia* ſome thirty Leagues. You may coſt along the ſhore to it by Sea; but the City ſtands above eight Leagues up in the Land. From the City there is a fine Walk to the Sea, where there is a handſom Port, and fairer Houſes than any in the City. And the King would live there if he thought it ſafe.

The day before I departed, I went to take my leave of one of the *Indian* Counſellors, and telling him that I was going to wait upon the King of *Japar*, he ſtood amaz'd, in regard the King and the *Hollanders* were mortal Enemies; of which he gave me this account: The deceas'd King, Father to the King that now reigns, ſince the *Hollanders* built their Fort of *Batavia* would never have any peace with them. And though that during the war the *Hollanders* took ten of his Subjects, for one of theirs, and offer'd ten for one in exchange, yet he would never exchange one upon any condition whatſoever, and charg'd, his Son upon his death-bed never to releaſe one. This obſtinacy very much troubl'd the *Dutch* General, and all the reſt in *Batavia*, and oblig'd them to conſult upon ways how to right themſelves. Now it is the cuſtom when a *Mahometan* King dyes, that his ſucceſſor ſends certain great Lords of his Court to *Mecca* with Preſents, as well to engage them to pray for the Soul of the deceas'd; as alſo to give thanks to God and *Mahomet* for the coming of a new King to the Throne without any Impediment; and to pray for the bleſſing of Victory over all his Enemies. But the new King and his Council were at a loſs how to accompliſh this Voyage; for firſt the King had none but little Veſſels, that were wont only to ſail along by the ſhore, by reaſon of the inexperience of his Seamen; and in the ſecond place the *Dutch* were always plying to and fro about the mouths of his Havens, to ſurprize his Subjects if they ſtirr'd forth. For the ſafety therefore of his Pilgrims, the King at laſt Concludes upon making an agreement with the *Engliſh*. For which reaſon he diſpatches away an Envoy to *Bantam*, to the *Engliſh* Preſident and his Council, who promis'd to lend him the biggeſt Veſſel and the beſt mounted which the company had in the *Indies*. In lieu whereof the *Engliſh* were to pay but half Cuſtoms for ever, for all Commodities exported or imported out of his Country. Which Treaty being ratifi'd, the *Engliſh* furniſh'd him with three ſtout Veſſels, Mann'd and Gunn'd beyond an ordinary rate. Thereupon nine of the principal Lords of the Court, and moſt of the Blood Royal, with a Train of a hundred perſons, embark'd themſelves in the great Veſſel. But all theſe preparations could not be carri'd ſo privately, but that the *Dutch* had intelligence of it by their Spies. Thereupon the General of the *Dutch* makes ready three Ships, and lying juſt in the ſtreight of *Bantams* mouth; ſo ſoon as the *Engliſh* came up, (for they had no other way) let fly at them ſo roundly, that the *Engliſh* fearing leſt their Veſſels would be ſunk, ſtruck Sail; which the *Java* Lords ſeeing, call'd the *Engliſh* Traytors, and drawing their poyſon'd Daggers, cry'd *a Mocca* upon the *Engliſh*, killing a great number of them before they had time to put themſelves into a poſture of defence. And perhaps there would not one of them have eſcap'd, had not the *Hollanders* come aboard as they did. Some of the *Java* Lords, and about

twenty

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I had ſent them in order to my paſſage home; in regard that the *Engliſh* Preſident had offer'd me a convenience to go along with him. The Council anſwer'd me, that the *Dutch* Ships were as good as the *Engliſh*, and very courteouſly aſſur'd me, they would give order for a Cabin to my ſelf in the Vice-Admiral. But withall they told me, I muſt deliver up my Debentures before I ſtirr'd; aſſuring me, that they would give me a Bill to be re-imburs'd my Money by the Company in *Holland*. I thought it very hard, for I knew not how to truſt 'em; but ſeeing the Merchants, Commanders, and all other perſons clapt up, and their Papers taken from them by force, that had bought Debentures; I thought it the beſt way to deliver mine, and ſtand to their courteſie. I often preſs'd the General and the Council for my Bill, but after many delays the General aſcertain'd me, that my Bill ſhould be in *Holland* as ſoon as I. Thereupon deſiring the Vice-Admiral and ſome others to be my witneſſes of what the General promis'd, I took my leave of him, very much repenting my going to *Batavia*.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Author embarks in a Dutch *Veſſel, to return into* Europe.

THE next day I went aboard the Vice admiral, and the third day after we ſet ſail, and as ſoon as we were out of the Streight, we diſcover'd the Iſlands of the Prince. From thence being in the Altitude of the *Coco* Iſlands, we beat about two days to diſcover them; but all to no purpoſe, thereupon we made directly for the *Cape of good Hope*.

The forty-fifth day after our departure from *Batavia*, our Vice-Admiral neglected to put out his Lights; believing all the Fleet had been before at the *Cape*; ſo that it happen'd that one of the Fleet being behind, and not carrying any Lights out neither, it being a dark night, fell foul upon us, which put every man to his prayers, all people believing the Veſſel had been loſt; and indeed had ſhe not been a ſound ſtanch Ship (for the *Provinces* were ſo accounted) ſhe ſhould never have endur'd ſo terrible a ſhock. At length we clear'd our ſelves, by cutting of the Yards of the *Maeſtricht*, that hung in our Cordage.

The fifty-fifth we came within view of the *Cape of good Hope*; but were forc'd to keep the Sea, becauſe the waves roll'd ſo that we were not able to come to an Anchor; not that the Wind was extream high, but becauſe the South-wind had blown ſo long that it had forc'd the Water to that part. When the Sea grew calm, we came to an Anchor.

But of all the people that ever I ſaw in all my travels I never ſaw any ſo hideous nor ſo bruitſh as the *Comoukes*, of which I had ſpoken in my *Perſian* Travels; and thoſe of the *Cape of good Hope*, whom they call *Cafres*, or *Hoſſentores*. When they ſpeak, they make anoiſe with their tongues, like the breaking of wind backward; and though they hardly ſpeak articulately, yet they eaſily underſtand one another. They cover themſelves with the Skins of wild Beaſts, which they kill in the Woods; in Winter wearing the hairy part innermoſt, and in Summer outermoſt. But there are none but the beſt ſort among them who are thus clad, the reſt wear nothing but a naſty rag about their privy parts. The men and the women are lean and ſhort; and when they bring forth a Male-child, the Mothers cut out his right Stone; and preſently give him Water to drink, and Tobacco to eat. They cut out the right Teſticle, becauſe, ſay they, it makes them ſwifter to run. There are ſome of them that will catch a Roe-Buck runnig. They neither know what belongs to Gold nor Silver; and for Religion, they have none among them.

So ſoon as we caſt Anchor, four women came aboard us, and brought us four young Oſtriches; which were boil'd for ſome ſick people that we had aboard.

board. After that they brought great ſtore of Tortoiſe-Shells, and Oſtriches Eggs, and other Eggs as big as Gooſe Eggs; which though they had no Yolk, taſted wery well. The Birds that lay theſe Eggs are a ſort of Geeſe, and ſo fat that they are hardly to be eaten, taſting rather like Fiſh than Fleſh. The women ſeeing our Cook throw away the Guts of two or three Fowl which he was dreſſing, took them up, and ſqueezing out the Ordure, eat them as they were; being hugely pleas'd with the *Aqua Vitæ* which the Captain gave them. Neither men nor women are aſham'd to ſhew their nakedneſs, for indeed they are but a ſort of human Beaſts.

So ſoon as the Ship arrives, they bring their Beeves to the ſhore, with what other Commodities they have, to barter for ſtrong Water and Tobacco, Cryſtal or Agat Beads; or any ſort of old Iron work. If they are not ſatisfi'd with what you offer them, away they fly; and then giving a whiſtle all their Cattel follow 'em; nor ſhall you ever ſee 'em again. Some, when they ſaw 'em fly, would ſhoot and kill their Cattel; but after that for ſome years they would never bring any more. 'Tis a very great convenience for the Veſſels that touch there, to take in freſh Victals; and the *Hollanders* did well to build a Fort there. It is now a good handſom Town, inhabited by all ſorts, that live with the *Hollanders*; and all ſorts of Grain, which are brought out of *Europe* or *Aſia* and ſow'd there, come to better perfection there then in other parts. The Country lies in thirty-five Degrees, and ſome few Minutes over, ſo that it cannot be ſaid that either the heat or ſcituation of the Climate makes theſe *Cafres* ſo black. Being deſirous to know the reaſon, and why they ſtunk ſo terribly, I learnt it from a Girl that was bred up in the Fort, who was tak'n from her Mother, as ſoon as ſhe was born, and was white like our women in *Europe*; ſhe told me, that the reaſon why the *Cafres* are ſo black is, becauſe they rub themſelves with a Greaſe or Ointment compos'd of ſeveral ſorts of Drugs; wherewith ſhould they not anoint themſelves very often, and as ſoon as they were born, they ſhould become Hydropſical, as the Blacks of *Africa*, and the *Abyſſins* are; or like the people of *Saba*, that never live above forty years, and are always troubl'd with one Leg twice as big as the other. Theſe *Cafres*, as bruitiſh as they are, have yet ſome knowledge of Simples, which they know to apply to ſeveral Diſeaſes; which the *Hollanders* have ſeveral times experienc'd. Of nineteen ſick perſons that we had in our Ship, fifteen were committed to the care of theſe *Cafres*, being troubl'd with Ulcers in their Legs, and old wounds which they had receiv'd in the wars; and in leſs then fifteen days they were all perfectly cur'd. Every one of theſe had two *Cafres* to look after him; and according to the condition of the wound or Ulcer, they went and fetch'd Simples, which they bruis'd between two Stones, and apply'd to the ſore. As for the other four, they were ſo far gone with the Pox, that they would not truſt the *Cafres* with them, having been given over at *Batavia*, and ſo they all dy'd, between the *Cape* and St. *Helens*.

In the year 1661, a Gentleman of *Britanny* being at *Batavia*, was ſo bit by the Gnats in the night, that his Leg exulcerated preſently in ſuch a manner, as to puzzle all the art and skill of the Chirurgeons in that Town. When he came to the *Cape of good Hope*, the Captain of the Ship ſending him a ſhore, the *Cafres* came about him, and after they had beheld him, they told him if he would truſt to them they would cure him. The Captain thereupon committed him to their care, who cur'd him and made him a ſound man in leſs then fifteen days.

When a Ship comes to an Anchor in the *Cape*, it is the faſhion for him that commands the Ship, to give leave to ſome part of the Mariners and Souldiers to go aſhore to refreſh themſelves. The ſickly have firſt leave by turns, and go to the Town, where they are dyeted and lodg'd for ſeven or eight Sous a day, and are very well us'd.

It is the cuſtom of the *Hollanders*, when they ſtay here, to ſend our parties of Souldiers upon the diſcovery of the up-land Country, and they that go fartheſt are beſt rewaaded. With this deſign a party of Souldiers, under the Command of a Serjant, far advanc'd in the Country; and night coming on, they made a great fire, as well to keep themſelves from the Lions, as to warm themſelves, and ſo lay down to ſleep round about it. Being aſleep, a Lion came and ſeiz'd

one

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monthly cuſtoms are upon 'em, they happen to make water, and that *European* chances to ſet his feet upon it, it cauſes an immediate Head-ach and Feaver, which many times turns to the Plague.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Holland *Fleet arrives at St.* Helens. *The diſcription of the Iſland.*

HAving ſtaid two and twenty dayes at the *Cape of good Hope*, ſeeing that the Wind was favourable, we weigh'd, and ſteer'd for St. *Helens*. When we were under Sail, the Mariners cry'd out, they would ſleep till they came into St. *Helens* Road. For the wind is very conſtant, and carries you in ſixteen or eighteen days to the Road of the Iſland. All the trouble that our Mariners had, was that fourteen days after our departure from the *Cape*, they were often forc'd to the Top-Maſt head, upon diſcovery of the Iſland; for as ſoon as you diſcover the Iſland, the Pilot muſt take care to ſteer to the Noth-ſide of the Iſland, becauſe there is no caſting Anchor but on that ſide, and that very near the ſhore too; by reaſon of the deepneſs of the water; for if the Anchors come not to take hold, the current of the water and the wind carries the Ship quite out of the Road, which there is no recovering again, becauſe the wind never changes.

So ſoon as the Ships came to an Anchor, part of the Seamen were ſent aſhore to get wild Hogs, of which there are great plenty; and to gather Sorrel, which grows in great abundance; and indeed they not only ſend the Seamen, but all the Pigs, Sheep, Geeſe, Ducks, and Pullets aboard, to feed upon that Sorrel, which purges them in ſuch a manner, that in a few days they became ſo fat, that by that time we came to *Holland* they were hardly to be eaten. That Sorrel has the ſame operation upon the men, who boiling their wild Swines fleſh, Rice, and Sorrel together, make thereof a kind of Potage ſo excellent, that it keeps their bodies open by an inſenſible purgation.

There are two places upon the Coaſt of St. *Helens* where Ships may come to an Anchor. But the beſt is that where we lay, by reaſon that ground is very good, and for that the water that falls from the Mountain is the beſt in the Iſland. In this part of the Iſland there is no plain, for the Mountain deſcends to the very ſhore of the Sea.

It is not ſo good anchoring in the other Road; but there is a very handſome plain, where you may ſow or plant whatever you pleaſe. There are great ſtore of Citrons, and ſome Oranges, which the *Portugals* had formerly planted there. For that Nation has that vertue, that wherever they come, they make the place the better for thoſe that come after them; whereas the *Hollanders* endeavour to deſtroy all things wherever they ſet footing. I confeſs the Commanders are not of that humour, but the Sea-men and Souldiers, who cry one to another, we ſhall never come hither any more, and out of greedineſs will cut down a whole tree inſtead of gathering the fruit.

Some days after there arriv'd a *Portugueze* Veſſel from *Guiny*, full of Slaves, which were bound for the Mines of *Peru*. Some of the *Hollanders* that underſtood the language of the *Negro's*, tol'd 'em how miſerably they would be us'd, and thereupon the next night two hundred and fifty of them threw themſelves into the Sea. And indeed it is a miſerable ſlavery; for ſometimes after they have min'd in ſome places for ſome days together, the Earth being looſe, falls down and kills four or five hunder'd at a time. Beſides, that after they had been mining awhile, their Faces, their Eyes, and their Skins change colour; which proceeds from the vapours that ariſe from thoſe concavities; nor could they ſubſiſt in thoſe places, but for the quantity of ſtrong Water which they give both to the men and women. There are ſome that are made free by their Maſters, who labour however for their living; but between Saturday night and Munday morning they ſpend all their weeks wages in ſtrong Water, which is very dear; ſo that they always live miſerably.

Being ready to depart the Iſland of St. *Helens*, the Admiral call'd a Council, to advize which way to ſteer. The greateſt part were for ſteering more to the Weſt, then

then to the South; because the season for sailing was far spent; and for that if we steer'd for the West *Indies*, we should find the wind more proper to carry us into *Holland*. But we had no sooner cross'd the Line, but we found the wind quite contrary to what the Mariners expected; so that we were forc'd to steer to the sixty-forth Degree of Altitude with the Island, and so return by the North into *Holland*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Holland *Fleet sets Sail from St.* Helens, *and prosperously arrives in* Holland.

THE next day after the Admiral had call'd a Council, we weigh'd and set Sail about ten a Clock at night. Three days after our departure from St. *Helens*, the Seamen were call'd very dully to prayers morning and evening; though all the time we staid in the rode, they never minded any such matter; which made me wonder, to find they should be more devout when they were out of danger, than when they were in jeopardy.

After several other days sailing, we discover'd the Coast of *Island*, and then the Island of *Ferella*, where we join'd with the *Holland* Fleet that stay'd for us. Here it is that the Commander in chief calls to account all the Mariners for their misdemeanours during the whole Voyage.

Our Ship was bound for *Zealand*; but we were forc'd to lye out at Sea seven days before we could get into *Flushing*, because the Sand had chang'd its place. Coming to an Anchor before *Flushing*, two of the Company came aboard to welcome us home, and to advise us to lock our Chests, and put our marks upon them; for all Chests are carry'd into the East *India* House, where when the owners come for them, they are order'd to op'n them, lest they should have any counterband goods therein. Thereupon I set a mark upon my Chests, and went ashore, after I had giv'n a good character of the Captain, and his civility to me all the Voyage, and thence proceed by Land to *Middleburgh*.

Four days after I came to *Middleburgh*, I went to fetch my Chests; and finding the two Directors there, one a *Zealander*, the other of *Horn*, who came first aboard us; I produc'd my Keys, and offer'd my Chests to be open'd. But the *Zealander* more civil than the *Horner*, deliver'd me my Keys again, and taking my word, told me I was free to take away my goods. And indeed I have always observ'd, that the Northern people are always more rude and ungentile than the Southern.

As for the 17500 Florins which the General of *Batavia* promis'd should be paid me upon my arrival in *Holland*, I receiv'd so many delays and put off's, that I was at length forc'd to commenced a Suit that lasted above two years; nor could I get a publick Notary either at *Amsterdam* or the *Hague*, that would make me out a protest, every one fearing the Directors, who were both Judges and Parties. At length after five years wrangling and jangling, the Director wrote to my Brother at *Batavia* (for I was then return'd again to the *Indies*) that if I would accept of 10000 Livres, he might receive it for me; which he did, and was forc'd to give them an acquittance form the whole.

This is the return which I made from the *Indies* in the year 1649, and the only time that ever I return'd by Sea; having perform'd all the rest of my Travels by Land, not counting my short Voyages through the *Mediterranean* for any thing. And as for my first Travels, perform'd them all by Land, from *Paris* through *Germany* and *Hungary*, as far as *Constantinople*; whither I return'd again in the year 1669. From *Constantinople* I went to *Smyrna*, thence I sail'd for *Ligorn*; from *Ligorn* I travel'd by Land to *Genoa*, thence to *Turin*, and so to *Paris*.

The End.

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greedineſs of the Curious, who prefer their ſatisfaction to his quiet, and do already perſecute him to have the ſequel of this Hiſtory. Neither ſhall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the Neighbourhood of *Mecca*; nor of his prudent Conduct, which made him merit the eſteem of his Generous *Fazelcan*, who ſince is become the firſt Miniſter of that Great Empire, whom he taught the principal Languages of *Europe*, after he had Tranſlated for him the whole Philoſophy of *Gaſſendi* in *Latin*, and whoſe leave he could not obtain to go home, till he had got for him a ſelect number of our beſt *European* Books, thereby to ſupply the loſs he ſhould ſuffer of his Perſon. This, at leaſt, I can aſſure you of, *that* never a Traveller went from home more capable to obſerve, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity; *that* I knew him at *Conſtantinople*, and in ſome Towns of *Greece*, of ſo excellent a Conduct, that I propoſed him to my ſelf for a Pattern in the Deſign I then had, to carry my Curioſity as far as the place where the Sun riſeth; *that* I have often drowned in the ſweetneſs of his entertainment the bitterneſſes, which elſe I muſt have ſwallowed all alone, in ſuch irkſome and unpleaſant paſſages, as are thoſe of *Aſia*.

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

Paris, July 16. 1670. *De* MONCEAUX.

THE

The HEADS of the Principal Contents of this HISTORY.

Added by the *Engliſh* Interpreter.

1. WHat depth of Policy and Craft was uſed by Aureng-Zebe, the Heros in this Hiſtory, and the Third of the Four Sons of Chah-Jehan the Great Mogol, to ſupplant all his Brothers, and to ſettle himſelf in the Throne: And how the firſt Foundation thereof was laid by the Viſier of the King of Golconda, and the ſickneſs of Chah-Jehan the Father of Aureng-Zebe.

2. A mixture of Love-Intrigues, practiſed by the Princeſs Begum-Saheb, one of the two Daughters of the Great Mogol, Chah-Jehan.

3. How Aureng-Zebe having overcome all his Brothers, did ſecure his Father and others, whom he had cauſe to be jealous of.

4. How the Neighbours of the Empire of Mogol demeaned themſelves towards the new Emperour, Aureng-Zebe; and what Embaſſies were diſpatched to him, firſt by the Usbec-Tartars (where a deſcription of that Country and People;) then the Dutch of Suratte; as alſo from Mecca, from Arabia Felix, from Ethiopia and Perſia; together with an Account of their reſpective Inſtructions, Receptions, Entertainments and Diſmiſſions; particularly of that of the Hollanders, ſecuring and improving their Trade by this their Embaſſie.

5. Aureng-Zebe's ſingular prudence, and indefatigable pains, in managing the Government himſelf; and how he treated him that endeavoured to perſwade him to take his eaſe and pleaſure, now he was eſtabliſhed.

6. Aureng-Zebe's diſtaſte againſt his Favourite-Siſter, Rauchenara-Begum, occaſioned by ſome Love-Cabals.

7. His great Care in appointing a Governour and Tutor to his Third Son Sultan Ekbar.

8. With what wiſdom and ſeverity Aureng-Zebe received and treated his Pedantick Tutor, who expected to be made a great Lord for his former ſervice; together with a Model for the ſutable Education of a Great Prince, preſcribed by Aureng-Zebe on this occaſion.

9. In what credit Judiciary Aſtrology is over all Aſia.

10. How the Kings of India make themſelves Heirs of all the Eſtate of thoſe that dye in their ſervice.

11. Of the Reciprocal Appearance of Kindneſſes between Aureng-Zebe and his Impriſon'd Father and Siſter.

12. What paſs'd between Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla, who had laid the firſt Ground work to Aureng-Zebe's Greatneſs.

13. What in theſe Revolutions was tranſacted about the Bay of Bengale and the Heathen Kingdom of Rakan.

14. How Aureng-Zebe carried himſelf towards his two Eldeſt Sons, Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Mahum: And how, for a Trial of the Obedience and Courage of the latter, he commanded him to kill a certain Lion, that did great miſchief in the Country; together with the ſucceſs thereof.

5. Divers Particulars, ſhewing the Intereſt between Indoſtan and Perſia, ſuppoſed by this Author to be unknown, or at leaſt not well known hitherto.

6. How generouſly Aureng-Zebe recompenſed thoſe that had faithfully ſerved him in theſe Revolutions.

17. Some

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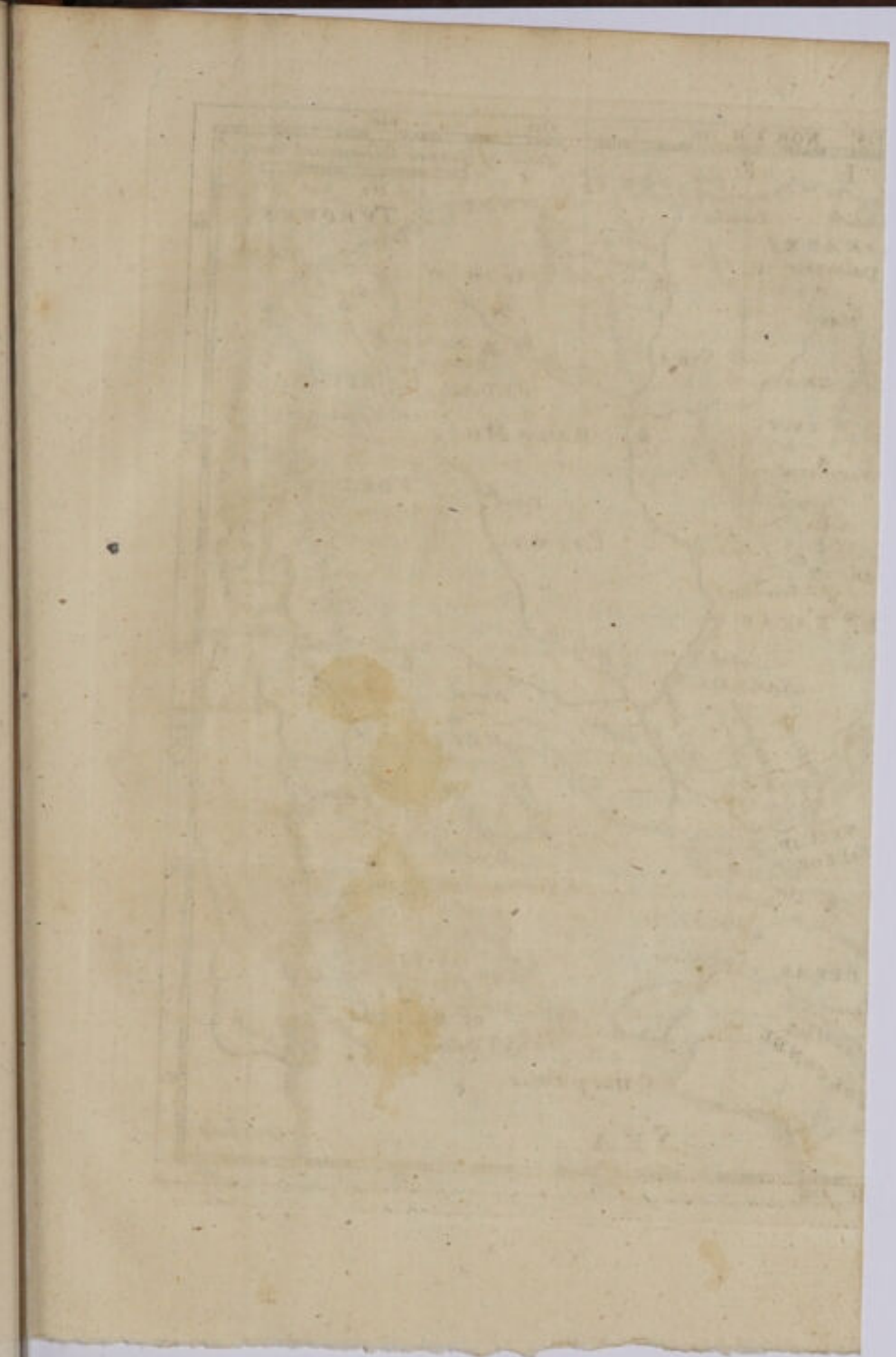
THE



The EMPIRE of the Great MOGOL
TARTARIE
NORTH
SOUTH
Scale of 300000 Geometrical Paces.
60 120 180 240 300
ZAGATHAY
KAKARES
Dalanguer M.
TVRQVES-TAN
GOR
CABVL
KACHMIRE
Kachmire
NAVGRACVT.
SIBA
PITAN KANDVANA
Rama Mugg
Karakatanka
Naugracut
Strengher
PENGAB
MVLTAN
Multan
Lahor
Putans
Patanes
CANDAHAR
Candahar
Aguvanes
HAIA-Bulloques
PERSIA
IENVPAR
IAMBA
PATNA
SA
VDES-
Patna
Amuy
Lak of Chimay
MAVG
Mokhispaur
Bicanir
BAKAR
HEDOWNS
CAN
Rauree
Hendowne
Mearto
Bando
Gistemere
Toury
BANDO
Moulto
Measto
Asdere
IESSELMERE
Godach
Padder R.
Scanderbad
Sambal
SAMBALL.
Persely R.
Ieknac
Totya
Mirlinsey
Caor
Bazan
Narval
MEVAT
Delli
Matura
Agra
Kadium
Elabas
Binares
Comolay
Sirote
Tipperey
Rage-mehale
Moghiers
Patna
Kasem-bazar
Gur chitto
NERVAP
GOVALEOR
Chembal
Bilmal
Chitor
CHITOR
Carrya
Cassumpato
GVZVRAT
Golfe of Indus
Reshutes
Iaquete
Ahmedavad
Cambaya
Coranj
Colles
Chitpar
Melichberit
Campamarin
Brampore
BERAR
Pipli
Golfe
of Bengala
I Galles
I Sundiva
Balasor
Ogouli
Dacca
Chabigam
Arracan
Golfe of Cambaye
Chempanel
CANDIS
Shapor
Pala
Hassere
Brampore
Baroche
Surate
Daman
Tapta R.
Orixa
GOLCONDE
Golconda
Doltabad
Andanger
DECAN
Bacara
CDaspalmas
SEA
THE INDIAN
Cross sculp:

THE HISTORY OF THE Late Revolution OF THE DOMINIONS OF THE GREAT MOGOL.

THE desire of seeing the World having made me Travel into *Palestina* and *Egypt*, would not let me stop there; it put me upon a resolution to see the *Red Sea* from one end to the other. I went from *Grand Cairo*, after I had staid there above a year; and in two and thirty hours, going the *Caravan*-pace, I arrived at *Sucz*, where I Embarked in a Gally, which in seventeen days carry'd me, always in sight of Land, to the Port of *Gidda*, which is half a days Journey from *Mecca*. There I was constrained (contrary to my hopes, and the promise which the *Beig* of the *Red Sea* had made me) to go ashore on that pretended Holy Land of *Mahomet*, where a Christian, that is not a Slave, dares not set his foot. I staid there four and thirty days; and then I Embarked in a small Vessel, which in fifteen days carried me along the Coast of *Arabia the Happy* to *Moka*, near the Streight of *Babel-mandel*. I resolved to pass thence to the Isle of *Massowa* and *Arkiko*, to get as far as *Gouder*, the Capital Town of the Countrey of *Alcbech*, or the Kingdom of *Æthiopia*; but I received certain information, that, since the *Portugueses* had been killed there by the intrigue of the Queen-Mother, or expelled, together with the Jesuit Patriarch, whom they had brought thither from *Goa*, the *Roman* Catholicks were not safe there; a poor Capuchin having lost his head at *Suaken*, for having attempted to enter into that Kingdom: That indeed, by going under the name of a *Greek*, or an *Armenian*, I did not run so great hazard, and that even the King himself, when he should know, that I could do him service, would give me Land to Till by Slaves, which I might buy if I had money; but that undoubtedly they would forthwith oblige me to Marry, as they had lately done a certain Frier, who had passed there under the name of a *Greek* Physitian; and that they would never suffer me to come away again.

These considerations, among others, induced me to change my resolution. I went aboard of an *Indian* Vessel; I passed those Streights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at *Suratte* in *Indostan*, the Empire of the *Great Mogol*, in the Year 1655. There I found, that he who then Reigned there, was call'd *Chah-Jehan*, that is to say, King of the World; who, according to the History of that Countrey, was Son of *Jehan-Guyre*, which signifieth Conqueror of the World, Grandchild of *Ekbar*, which is Great, and that thus ascending by *Houmayons*, or the Fortunate, Father of *Ekbar*, and his other Predecessors, he was the *Tenth* of those that were descended from that *Timur-Lenguc*, which signifieth the *Lame Prince*, commonly and corruptly call'd *Tamerlan*, so renowned for his Conquests; who married his near Kinswoman, the only Daughter of the Prince of

the Nations of *Great Tartary*, call'd *Mogols*, who have left and communicated their Name to the Strangers, that now govern *Indostan*, the Countrey of the *Indians*, though those that are employ'd in publick Charges and Offices, and even those that are listed in the *Militia*, be not all of the Race of the *Mogols*, but Strangers, and Nations gather'd out of all Countries, most of them *Persians*, some *Arabians*, and some *Turks*. For, to be esteem'd a *Mogol*, 'tis enough to be a Stranger white of Face, and a *Mahumetan*; in distinction as well to the *Indians*, who are brown, and *Pagans*, as to the *Christians* of *Europe*, who are call'd *Franguis*.

I found also at my arrival, *that* this King of the World, *Chah-Jehan*, of above seventy years of Age, had four Sons and two Daughters; *that*, some years since, he had made these four Sons Vice-Kings or Governors of four of his most considerable Provinces or Kingdoms; *that* it was almost a year that he was fallen into a great sickness, whence it was believed he would never recover: Which had occasioned a great division among these four Brothers (all laying claim to the Empire) and had kindled among them a War which lasted about five years, and which I design here to describe, having been present at some of the most considerable Actions, and entertained for the space of eight years at that Court, where Fortune and the small stock of Money (left me after divers Encounters with Robbers, and the Expences of a Voyage of six and forty days from *Suratte* to *Agra* and *Debli*, the Capital Towns of that Empire) obliged me to take a Salary from the *Grand Mogol* in the quality of a Physitian, and a little after from *Danechmend-Kan*, the most knowing Man of *Asia*, who had been *Bakchi*, or Great Master of the Horse, and was one of the most powerful and the most considerable *Omrahs* or Lords of that Court.

The *Eldest* of these four Sons of *Chah-Jehan* was call'd *Dara*, that is *Darius*. The *Second* was call'd *Sultan-Sujah*, that is, the Valiant Prince. The name of the *Third* was *Aurenge-Zebe*, which signifies the Ornament of the Throne. That of the *Fourth* was *Morad-Bakche*, as if you should say, Desire accomplished. Of the two Daughters, the eldest was call'd *Begum-Sabeb*, that is, the Mistress Princess; and the youngest *Rauchenara-Begum*, which is as much as Bright Princess, or the Splendor of Princesses.

'Tis the Custom of the Countrey, to give such Names to their Princes and Princesses. Thus the Wife of *Chah-Jehan*, so renown'd for her Beauty, and for having a Tomb, which much more deserved to be reckon'd among the Wonders of the World, than those unshapen Masses, and those heaps of Stones in *Egypt*, was called *Tage-Mehalle*, that is to say, the Crown of the *Seraglio*; and the Wife of *Jehan-Guyre*, who hath so long govern'd the State, whilst her Husband minded nothing but Drinking and Divertisements, was first called *Nour-Mehalle*, and afterwards, *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, the Light of the *Seraglio*, the Light of the *World*. The reason, why they give such kind of Names to the Great Ones, and not Names from their Land or Dominion (as is usual in *Europe*) is, because all the Land being the Kings, there are no Marquisates, Earldoms and Dutchies, of which the Grandees might bear their Names; all consists in Pensions either of Land or ready Money, which the King giveth, increaseth, retrencheth, and takes away, as seems good unto him: And 'tis even for this reason, that the *Omrahs* have also no other but such Names; one (*for example*) being called *Raz-Audaze-Kan*, *i. e.* a Thunderer; another, *Safe Cheken-Kan*, a Breaker of Ranks; a third, *Bare-Audaze-Kan*, a Man of Lightening; others, *Dianet-Kan*, or *Danechmend-Kan*, or *Fazel-Kan*, *i. e.* the Faithful Lord, the Intelligent, the Perfect, and the like.

Dara, the Eldest Son, wanted not good Qualities. He was Gallant in Conversation, Witty in Repartees, exceeding Civil and Liberal, but entertained too good an Opinion of his person, esteeming himself alone capable of all, and thinking it scarce possible that any Body was able to give him counsel; insomuch, that he would give reproachful Names to those who pretended to advise him in any thing; whereby it came to pass, that even those, who were most affectionate to him, were shie to discover to him the most secret Intrigues of his Brothers. Besides, he was apt to be transported with passion, to menace, to injure, to affront, even the greatest *Omrahs* or Lords; but all passed over like a flash of light. Though he was a *Mahumetan*, and publickly expressed in the ordinary Exercises of Religion to be so, yet, in private, he was Heathen with the Heathen, and Christian with the Christians. He had constantly about him of those Heathen Doctors, to whom he gave very considerable Pensions, and who (as was said) had instilled into him Opinions contrary to the Religion of the Land; of which I may touch something hereafter, when I shall come to speak of the Religion of the *Indians*

or

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great Wit, passionately beloved of her Father. It was even rumoured, that he loved her to that degree as is hardly to be imagined, and that he alledged for his excuse, that, according to the determination of his *Mullahs*, or Doctors of his Law, it was permitted a Man to eat of the fruit of the Tree he had planted. He had so great a confidence in her, that he had given her charge to watch over his safety, and to have an eye to all what came to his Table: And she knew perfectly to manage his humor, and even in the most weighty Affairs to bend him as she pleased. She was exceedingly enriched by great Pensions, and by costly Presents, which she received from all Parts, for such Negotiations as she employed her self in about her Father: And she made also great Expences, being of a very liberal and generous disposition. She stuck entirely to *Dara*, her eldest Brother, espoused cordially his part, and declared openly for him; which contributed not a little to make the Affairs of *Dara* prosper, and to keep him in the affection of his Father; for she supported him in all things, and advertised him of all occurrences: Yet that was not so much, because he was the eldest Son, and she the eldest Daughter (as the People believed) as because he had promised her, that as soon as he should come to the Crown, he would marry her; which is altogether extraordinary, and almost never practised in *Indostan*.

I shall not scruple to relate here some of the *Amours* of this Princess, although shut up in a *Seraglio*, and well kept, like other Women. Neither shall I apprehend, that I may be thought to prepare matter for a Romancer; for they are not *Amours* like ours, followed by Gallant and *Comical* Adventures, but attended with Events dreadful and *Tragical*.

Now 'tis reported, that this Princess found means to let a young Gallant enter the *Seraglio*, who was of no great Quality, but proper, and of a good Meen. But among such a number of jealous and envious persons, she could not carry on her business so privily, but she was discover'd. *Chah-Jehan*, her Father, was soon advertised of it, and resolved to surprize her, under the pretence of giving her a Visit, as he used to do. The Princess seeing him come unexpected, had no more time than to hide this unfortunate Lover in one of the great Chaudrons made to Bath in; which yet could not be so done, but that *Chah-Jehan* suspected it. Mean time he quarrelled not with his Daughter, but entertained her a pretty while, as he was wont to do; and at length told her, that he found her in a careless and less neat posture; that it was convenient she should wash her self, and bath ottner; commanding presently, with somewhat a stern countenance, that forthwith a Fire should be made under that Chaudron, and he would not part thence, before the Eunuchs had brought him word, that that unhappy Man was dispatched. Some time after she took other measures, she chose for her *Kane-saman*, that is, her Steward, a certain *Persian* called *Nazerkan*, who was a young *Omrah*, the handsomest and most accomplished of the whole Court; a Man of Courage and Ambition, the Darling of all, insomuch that *Chah-Hoshkan*, Uncle of *Aureng-Zebe*, proposed to marry him to the Princess: But *Chah-Jehan* received that Proposition very ill, and besides, when he was informed of some of the secret Intrigues that had been formed, he resolved quickly to rid himself of *Nazerkan*. He therefore presented to him, as 'twere to do him honour, a *Betele*, which he could not refuse to chew presently, after the custom of the Countrey. *Betele* is a little knot made up of very delicate leaves, and some other things, with a little chalk of Sea-Cockles, which maketh the mouth and lips of a vermilion colour, and the breath sweet and pleasing. This young Lord thought of nothing less than being poysoned: He went away from the Company very jocund and content, into his *Paleky*; but the Drug was so strong, that before he could come to his house, he was no more alive.

Rauchenara-Begum never passed for so handsom and spiritual as *Begum-Saheb*, but she was not less cheerful, and comely enough, and hated pleasures no more than her Sister. But she addicted her self wholly to *Aureng-Zebe*, and consequently declared her self an Enemy to *Begum-Saheb* and *Dara*. This was the cause, that she had no great Riches, nor any considerable share in the Affairs of the State: Nevertheless as she was in the *Seraglio*, and wanted no Wit and Spies, she could not but discover many important matters, of which she gave secret advertisement to *Aureng Zebe*.

Chah-Jehan, some years before the Troubles, finding himself charged with these four Princes, all come to Age, all Married, all pretending to the Crown, Enemies to one another, and each of them making secretly a Party, was perplexed enough, as to what was fittest for him to do, fearing danger to his own person, and foreseeing what afterwards

wards befell him: For, to shut them up in *Goualeor*, which is a Fortress where the Princes are ordinarily kept close, and which is held impregnable, it being situated upon an inaccessible Rock, and having within it self good water, and provision enough for a Garison; *that* was not so easie a thing. They were too potent already, each of them having a Princely Train. And again, he could not handsomly remove them far off, without giving them some Government fit for their Birth; wherein he apprehended they would Cantonize themselves, and become little independent Kings, as actually they afterwards did. Nevertheless, fearing lest they should cut one anothers Throat before his Eyes, if he kept them still at Court, he at last concluded to send them away. And so he sent *Sultan Sujah*, his second Son, into the Kingdom of *Bengale*; his third, *Aureng-Zebe*, into *Decan*; and the youngest, *Morad-Bakshe*, to *Guzaratte*; giving to *Dara*, the eldest, *Cabal* and *Multan*. The three first went away very well content with their Government, and there they acted each the Soveraign, and retained all the Revenues of their respective Countries, entertaining great Troops, under the pretence of bridling their Subjects and Neighbours. As to *Dara*, because the eldest, and designed to the Crown, he stirred not from the Court; which that he should not do, seemed also to be the intention of *Chah-Jehan*, who entertained him in the hopes of succeeding him after his death. He even permitted then, that Orders were issued out by him, and that he might sit in a kind of Throne, beneath his, among the *Omrahs*; so that it seemed, as if there were two Kings together. But as 'tis very difficult for two Soveraigns to agree, *Chah-Jehan*, though *Dara* shew'd him great observance and affection, always harbour'd some diffidence, fearing above all things the *Morsel*; and besides, for as much as he knew the parts of *Aureng-Zebe*, and thought him more capable to Reign than any of the rest, he had always (as they say) some particular correspondence with him.

This it is, what I thought fit to premise concerning these four Princes, and their Father *Chah-Jehan*, because 'tis necessary for the understanding of all that follows. I esteem'd also, that I was not to forget those two Princesses, as having been the most considerable Actors in the Tragedy; the Women in the *Indies* taking very often, as well as at *Constantinople*, and in many other places, the best part in the most important Transactions, though men take seldom notice of it, and trouble their heads of seeking for other causes.

But to deliver this History with clearness, we must rise somewhat higher, and relate what passed, some time before the Troubles, between *Aureng-Zebe*, the King of *Golkonda*, and his Visier *Emir-Jemla*; because this will discover to us the character and temper of *Aureng-Zebe*, who is to be the *Heros* of this Piece, and the King of the *Indies*. Let us then see, after what manner *Emir-Jemla* proceeded, to lay the first foundation of the Royalty of *Aureng Zebe*.

During the time that *Aureng-Zebe* was in *Decan*, the King of *Golkonda* had for his Visier and General of his Armies this *Emir-Jemla*, who was a *Persian* by Nation, and very famous in the *Indies*. He was not a man of great Extraction, but beaten in Business, a person of excellent parts, and a great Captain. He had the wit of amassing great Treasures, not only by the administration of the affairs of this opulent Kingdom, but also by Navigation and Trade, sending Ships into very many Parts, and causing the Diamond Mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence. So that people discoursed almost of nothing but of the Riches of *Emir-Jemla*, and of the plenty of his Diamonds, which were not reckon'd but by Sacks. He had also the skill to render himself very potent and considerable, entertaining, besides the Armies of the King, very good Troops for his particular, and above all a very good Artillery, with abundance of *Franguys* or Christians to manage it. In a word, he grew so rich, and so puissant, especially after he had found a way to enter into the Kingdom of *Karnates*, and to pillage all the ancient Churches of the Idols of that Countrey, that the King of *Golkonda* became jealous of it, and prepared himself to unsaddle him; and that the more, because he could not bear what was reported of him, as if he had used too great familiarity with the Queen his Mother, that was yet beauteous. Yet he discover'd nothing of his design to any, having patience, and waiting 'till *Emir* came to the Court, for he was then in the Kingdom of *Karnates* with his Army. But one day, when more particular News was brought him of what had passed between his mother and him, he had not power enough to dissemble any longer, but was transported by choler to fall to invectives and menaces: Whereof *Emir* was soon made acquainted, having at the Court abundance of his Wives Kindred, and all his

nearest

neareſt Relations and beſt Friends poſſeſſing the principal Offices. The King's Mother alſo, who did not hate him, had ſpeedy information of the ſame. Which obliged *Emir*, without delay, to write to his only Son, *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, who then was about the King, requiring him to do the beſt he could to withdraw with all ſpeed from the Court, under ſome pretence of Hunting, or the like, and to come and join with him. *Mahmet Emir-Kan* failed not to attempt divers ways; but, the King cauſing him to be narrowly obſerved, none of them all would ſucceed. This very much perplexed *Emir*, and made him take a ſtrange reſolution, which caſt the King in great danger to loſe his Crown and Life; ſo true 'tis, that *he who knows not to Diſſemble, knows not how to Reign.* He writ to *Aureng-Zebe*, who was then in *Daulet-Abad*, the Capital of *Decan*, about fifteen or ſixteen days Journey from *Golkonda*, giving him to underſtand, *that* the King of *Golkonda* did intend to ruine him and his Family, notwithſtanding the ſignal Services he had done him, as all the World knew; which was an unexampled Injuſtice and Ingratitude; *that* this neceſſitated him to take his refuge to him, and to intreat him, that he would receive him into his protection; *that*, for the reſt, if he would follow his advice, and confide in him, he would ſo diſpoſe Affairs, that he would at once put into his hands both the King and Kingdom of *Golkonda*. This thing he made very eaſie, uſing the following Diſcourſe: You need but take four or five thouſand Horſe, of the beſt of your Army, and to march with Expedition to *Golkonda*, ſpreading a rumor by the way, that 'tis an Ambaſſador of *Chah-Jehan* that goes in haſte, about conſiderable matters, to ſpeak with the King at *Bag-nagar*. The *Dabir*, who is he that is firſt to be addreſſed unto, to make any thing known unto the King, is allied to me, and my creature, and altogether mine; take care of nothing but to march with Expedition, and I will ſo order it, that without making you known, you ſhall come to the Gates of *Bagnagar*; and when the King ſhall come out to receive the Letters, according to cuſtom, you may eaſily ſeize on him, and afterwards of all his Family, and do with him what ſhall ſeem good to you; in regard that his houſe of *Bag-nagar*, where he commonly reſides, is unwalled and unfortified. He added, *that* he would make this Enterpriſe upon his own charges, offering him fifty thouſand *Roupies* a day (which is about five and twenty thouſand Crowns) during the whole time of the March.

Aureng-Zebe, who looked only for ſome ſuch occaſion, had no mind at all to loſe ſo fair an one. He ſoon undertook the Expedition, and did ſo fortunately manage his Enterpriſe, that he arrived at *Bag-nagar*, without being otherwiſe known than as an Ambaſſador of *Chah-Jehan*. The King of *Golkonda* being advertiſed of the arrival of this pretended Ambaſſador, came forth into a Garden, according to cuſtom, received him with honour, and having unfortunately put himſelf into the hands of his Enemy, ten or twelve Slaves, *Gurgis*, were ready to fall upon and to ſeize his perſon, as had been projected; but that a certain *Omrah*, touched with tenderneſs, could not forbear to cry out, though he was of the Party, and a creature of *Emir*, *Doth not your Majeſty ſee that this is* Aureng-Zebe? *Away, or you are taken.* Whereat the King being affrighted, ſlips away, and gets haſtily on horſeback, riding with all his might to the Fortreſs of *Golkonda*, which is but a ſhort League from thence.

Aureng-Zebe ſeeing he was defeated in his deſign, yet was not therefore diſcompoſed; but ſeized at the ſame time on the Royal Houſe, taketh all the rich and good things he finds there; yet ſending to the King all his Wives (which over all the *Indies* is very religiouſly obſerved) and goeth to beſiege him in his Fortreſs. But as the Siege, for want of having brought along all Neceſſaries, held on long, and laſted above two months, he received order from *Chah-Jehan* to raiſe it, and to retire into *Decan* again; ſo that, although the Fortreſs was reduced to Extremities, for want of Victuals and Ammunition of War, he found himſelf obliged to abandon his Enterpriſe. He knew very well, that it was *Dara* and *Begum* that had induced *Chah-Jehan* to ſend theſe Orders, from the apprehenſion they entertained, that he would become too powerful; but in the mean time he never diſcover'd any reſentment of it, ſaying only, that he ought to obey the Orders of his Father. Yet he withdrew not, without cauſing under-hand payment to be made to him of all the Charges of his Expedition: Beſides, he married his Son *Sultan Mahmond* to the eldeſt Daughter of that King, with a promiſe, that he would make him his Succeſſor, cauſing him alſo to give him for a Dowry the Fortreſs and the Appurtenances of *Bamgnyre*. He alſo made the King conſent, that all the Silver Money that ſhould be Coined for the future in that Kingdom, ſhould bear on one ſide the Arms of *Chah-Jehan*; and that *Emir-Jemla* ſhould withdraw with his whole Family, all his Goods, Troops, and Artillery.

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These two great Men were not long together, but they framed great designs: On the way they besieged and took *Bider*, one of the strongest and most important Places of *Visapour*; and thence they went to *Daulet-Abad*, where they contracted so intimate a friendship together, that *Aureng-Zebe* could not live without seeing *Emir* twice a day, nor *Emir* without seeing *Aureng-Zebe*. Their Union began to cause a new Face in all the Affairs of those Parts, and laid the first foundations of the Royalty of *Aureng-Zebe*.

This Prince having used the Art to make himself to be called to the Court divers times, went with great and rich Presents to *Agra* to *Chah-Jehan*, presenting him his service, and inducing him to make War against the King of *Golkonda*, and him of *Visapour*, and against the *Portugals*. At first he presented to him that great Diamond, which is esteem'd matchless; giving him to understand, that the precious stones of *Golkonda* were quite other things, than those Rocks of *Kandahar*; that *there* it was, where the War ought to be made, to get the possession thereof, and to go as far as *Cape-Comory*. *Chah-Jehan*, whether it were that he was dazled by the Diamonds of *Emir*, or whether he thought it fit, as some believe he did, to have an Army in the Field, somewhat to restrain *Dara*, whom he found active in making himself potent, and who with insolence had ill treated the Visier *Sadullah-Kan* (whom *Chah-Jehan* passionately loved, and considered as the greatest Statesman that had been in the *Indies*) causing him even to be made away with Poison, as a Man not of his Party, but inclined to *Sultan Sujah*; or rather, because he found him too powerful, and in a condition to be the Umpire of the Crown, if *Chah-Jehan* should decease; or lastly, because being neither *Persian*, nor of *Persian* Extraction, but an *Indian*, there were not wanting envious persons, who spread abroad, that he entertained in divers places numerous Troops of *Patans*, very gallant men, and well paid, with a design to make himself King, or his Son; or at least to expel the *Mogols*, and to restore to the Throne the Nation of the *Patans*, of whom he had taken his Wife. However it be, *Chah-Jehan* resolved to send an Army towards *Decan*, under the conduct of *Emir-Jemla*.

Dara, who saw the consequence of this Affair, and that the sending of Troops for those Parts, was to give strength to *Aureng-Zebe*, opposed it exceedingly, and did what he could to hinder it. Nevertheless, when he saw that *Chah-Jehan* was resolute for it, he at last thought it best to consent; but with this condition, that *Aureng-Zebe* should keep in *Daulet-Abad*, as Governor only of the Countrey, without medling at all in the War, or pretending to govern the Army; that *Emir* should be the absolute General, who for a pledge of his Fidelity was to leave his whole Family at the Court. *Emir* strugled enough within himself, whether he should agree to this last condition, but when *Chah-Jehan* desir'd him to give that satisfaction to *Dara*, and promised him, that after a little while he would send him back his Wife and Children, he consented, and marched into *Decan* towards *Aureng-Zebe* with a very gallant Army, and without any stop entred into *Visapour*, where he besieged a strong place called *Kaliane*.

The Affairs of *Indostan* were in that condition, as I have been relating, when *Chah-Jahan* fell dangerously sick, I shall not speak here of his sickness, much less relate the particulars of it. I shall only say this, that it was little suitable to a man of above Seventy years of Age, who should rather think on preserving his strength, than to ruine it, as he did. This sickness did soon alarm and trouble all *Indostan*. Mighty Armies were levied in *Debly* and *Agra*, the Capitals of the Empire. *Sultan Sujah* did the like in *Bengale*, and *Aureng-Zebe* in *Decan*, and *Morad-Bakche* in *Guzaratte*: All four assembled to themselves their Allies and Friends; all four write, promise, and form divers Intrigues. *Dara* having surprised some of their Letters, shew'd them to *Chah-Jehan*, and made great noise about them; and his Sister *Begum* failed not to make use of this occasion, to animate the King against them. But *Chah-Jehan* was diffident of *Dara*, and fearing to be poisoned, gave order, that particular care should be had of what was brought to his Table. 'Twas also said, that he wrote to *Aureng-Zebe*; and that *Dara* being advertised thereof, could not forbear to menace, and to break into very passionate expressions. In the mean time the distemper of *Chah-Jehan* lingred, and 'twas bruited every where, that he was dead. Whereupon the whole Court was disorder'd, the whole Town alarm'd, the Shops for many days shut up; and the four Sons of the King made openly great Preparations, each for himself: And to say truth, it was not without reason, that they all made ready for War; for they all very well knew, that there was no hopes of Quarter, that there was no other way, than to vanquish or die, to be King or undone,

undone, and that he that should be Conqueror would rid himself of all the rest, as formerly *Chah-Jehan* had done of his Brothers.

Sultan Sujah, who had heaped up great Treasures in that rich Kingdom of *Bengale*, ruining some of the *Rajas* or petty Kings that are in those Parts, and drawing great Sums from others, took the Field first of all with a puissant Army, and in the confidence he had of all the *Persian Omrahs*, for the Sect of whom he had declared himself, he boldly marched towards *Agra*, giving out openly, that *Chah-Jehan* was dead, that *Dara* had poison'd him, that he would revenge the death of his Father, and, in a word, that he would be King. *Dara* desired *Chah-Jehan* to write himself to him, and to forbid him to advance further; which he did, assuring him, that his sickness was not at all dangerous, and that he was already much better. But he having Friends at Court, who assured him that the sickness of *Chah-Jehan* was mortal, he dissembled, and ceased not to advance, saying still, that he knew very well *Chah-Jehan* was dead; and if he should be alive, he was desirous to come and kiss his feet, and to receive his Commands.

Aureng-Zebe immediately after, if not at the same time, taketh the Field also in *Decan*, maketh a great noise, and prepareth to march towards *Agra*. The same prohibition was made to him also, as well from *Chah-Jehan*, as from *Dara*, who threaten'd him. But he dissembleth, for the same reason that *Sultan Sujah* had done, and giveth the like answer. Mean time, finding that his Treasure was low, and his Soldiery very inconsiderable, he devised two Artifices, which succeeded admirably well; the one, in regard of *Morad-Bakshe*; the other, in respect of *Emir-Jemla*. To *Morad-Bakshe* he writes with speed a very fair Letter, importing, *that* he had always been his true and intimate Friend; *that*, as for himself, he laid no claim at all to the Crown; *that* he might remember, he had all his life-time made profession of a *Fakire*, but that *Dara* was a person incapable to govern a Kingdom; *that* he was a *Kafer*, an Idolater, and hated of all the greatest *Omrahs*; that *Sultan Sujah* was a *Rafezy*, an Heretick, and by consequence an Enemy to *Indostan*, and unworthy of the Crown: So that, in a word, there was none but he (*Morad-Bakshe*) that could reasonably pretend to the Succession; *that* the Crown did expect him; *that* the whole Court, which was not ignorant of his Valor, would be for him; and *that* for his particular, if he would promise him, that being King, he would give him leave to live quietly in some corner or other of his Empire, there to serve God the remainder of his days, he was ready to make a conjunction with him, to assist him with his Counsel and Friends; and to put into his hands his whole Army, to fight *Dara* and *Sultan Sujah*; that in the mean time he sent him an Hundred thousand *Rupies* (which make about Fifty thousand Crowns of our money) and prayed him to accept thereof as a pledge of his friendship; and *that* he would advise him to come with all possible speed to seize on the Castle of *Suratte*, where he knew to be the Treasure of the Land.

Morad-Bakshe, who was neither too rich, nor too powerful, received with much joy this Proposition of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the Hundred thousand *Rupies* sent by him; and shew'd *Aureng-Zebe*'s Letter to every body, thereby to oblige the Flower of that Country to take up Arms for him, and the substantial Merchants to lend him the more willingly such Sums of money as he demanded of them. He began in good earnest to act the King, made large promises to all, and, in short, did so well, that he set a good Army on foot, of whom he singled out some Three thousand, who, under the conduct of *Chah-Abas*, one of his Eunuchs, but a valiant man, should go to besiege *Suratte*.

Aureng-Zebe sent his eldest Son, *Sultan Mahmoud* (him whom he had married to the Daughter of the King of *Golkonda*) to *Emir-Jemla*, who was yet employed in the siege of *Kaliane*, to perswade him to come to him to *Daulet-Abad*, pretending to have matter of the greatest importance to communicate to him. *Emir*, who soon suspected his intentions, excused himself, saying openly, that *Chah-Jehan* was not dead, *that* he had fresh News of his being alive, and *that* besides, all his Family being at *Agra* in the hands of *Dara*, he could by no means assist *Aureng-Zebe*, nor declare himself for him. Whereupon *Sultan Mahmoud* return'd to *Daulet-Abad*, without effecting any thing, and very much dissatisfied with *Emir*. But *Aureng-Zebe* lost no courage for all that, but sent the second time to *Emir*, yet not *Sultan Mahmoud*, but *Sultan Mazum* his second Son, who presented to him his Fathers Letter, and handled him with that dexterity, sweetness, and protestation of friendship, that it was not possible to resist him. *Emir* therefore pressed the siege of *Kaliane*, forced the besieged to surrender upon composition, took the

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choice of his Army, and with all diligence went away with *Sultan Mazum*. At his arrival, *Aureng-Zebe* courted him in the higheſt degree, treating him no otherwiſe than with the name of *Baba* and *Babagy*, that is, Father, Lord-Father; and after an hundred Embraces, he took him ſomewhat aſide, and told him (according to what I could learn from perſons who knew of it) *That it was not juſt, that having his Family at the Court, he ſhould adventure to do any thing in his behalf that might come to be known; but that, after all, there was nothing ſo difficult but an Expedient might be found. Give me leave therefore,* ſaid he, *to propoſe to you a Deſign, which at firſt will poſſibly ſurpriſe you; but, ſince you apprehend the danger of your Wife and Children that are in Heſtage, the beſt way of providing for their ſecurity would be, to ſuffer me to ſeize on your perſon, and to put you in Priſon. It is out of doubt, that all the World will believe it done in earneſt: For who would imagine, that ſuch a perſon as you would be content to let your ſelf be laid in Priſon? In the interim, I could make uſe of part of your Army, and of your Artillery, as you ſhall judge moſt proper and convenient: You alſo could furniſh me with a Sum of money, as you have frequently offered it; and beſides, methinks I might tempt Fortune further, and we might together take our meaſures, to ſee in what manner I had beſt to demean my ſelf, if you would alſo permit, that I might cauſe you to be tranſported into the Fortreſs of* Daulet-Abad, *where you ſhould be Maſter; and that there I might have you kept by my own Son,* Sultan Mazum, *or* Sultan Mahmoud; *this would yet better palliate the matter, and I ſee not, what* Dara *could juſtly ſay of it, nor how he could reaſonably treat your Wife and Children ill.*

Emir, whether it were by reaſon of the friendſhip he had ſworn to *Aureng-Zebe*, or for the great promiſes made to him, or the apprehenſion he had, of ſeeing near him *Sultan Mazum*, who ſtood by, very penſive and well armed, and *Sultan Mahmoud*, who looked grim upon him for his coming away at the ſolicitation of his Brother, not at that of his, and had at his very entrance lift up his foot, as if he would have hit him; whatever of theſe Conſiderations might induce him, conſented to all what *Aureng-Zebe* deſired, and approved of the Expedient to ſuffer himſelf to be impriſon'd; ſo that *Aureng-Zebe* being no ſooner gone, but the great Maſter of the Artillery was ſeen to approach with ſome fierceneſs to *Emir*, and to command him in the name of *Aureng-Zebe* to follow him, locking him up in a Chamber, and there giving him very good words, whilſt all the Soldiery that *Aureng-Zebe* had thereabout, went to their Arms. The report of the detention of *Emir-Jemla* was no ſooner ſpread, but a great Tumult aroſe; and thoſe, whom he had brought along with him, although aſtoniſh'd, yet put themſelves into a poſture of reſcuing him, and with their Swords drawn ran to force the Guards, and the Gate of his Priſon, which was eaſie for them to do: For *Aureng-Zebe* had not with him ſufficient Troops to make good ſo bold an Enterpriſe, the only name of *Emir-Jemla* made all tremble. But the whole matter being altogether counterfeited, all theſe Commotions were preſently calmed, *by* the intimations that were given to the chief Officers of *Emir*'s Army, and *by* the preſence of *Aureng-Zebe*, who there appeared very reſolute with his two Sons, and ſpoke now to one, then to another; and at laſt *by* Promiſes and Preſents, liberally beſtowed on thoſe that were concerned. So that all the Troops of *Emir*, and even moſt of thoſe of *Chah-Jehan*, ſeeing things troubled, and being without their General, and believing *Chah-Jehan* to be dead, or, at beſt, deſperately ſick; conſidering alſo the ample promiſes made to them of augmenting their ſtipend, and of giving them at that very time three months Advance, ſoon Liſted themſelves under *Aureng-Zebe*; who having ſeized on all the Equipage of *Emir*, even his very Camels and Tents, took the Field, reſolved to march to the Siege of *Suratte*, and to haſten the taking it in; where *Morad-Bakche* was exceedingly embarraſſed, becauſe that his beſt Troops were employed there, and that he found more reſiſtance in that place than he imagined. But *Aureng-Zebe*, after ſome days March, was informed, that the Governor had ſurrendred the Place; for which he ſent Congratulations to *Morad-Bakche*, acquainting him withal of his Tranſactions with *Emir-Jemla*, and aſſuring him, *that* he had Forces and Money enough, and very good intelligence at the Court; *that* nothing was wanting; *that* he was directly going to *Brampour* and *Agra*; *that* he had expected him on the way, and therefore deſired him to join with him.

'Tis true, that *Morad-Bakche* found not ſo much money in the Fortreſs of *Suratte* as he had imagined, whether it were that really there was not ſo much as was reported, or whether the Governor had diverted a part of it, as ſome believed: Yet notwithſtanding that little he found there was uſeful to him, to pay the Soldiers that had Liſted

themselves in hopes of the advantages, they should make of the imagined vast Treasure of *Suratte*. 'Tis not less true, that he had no greater reason to boast of the taking of this Place, in regard there was not any Regular Fortification about it; and yet his Army had lain before it above a month, and would never have reduced it without the *Hollanders*, who furnished them with the Invention of Springing a Mine, which ruining a great side of the Wall, cast the besieged into such a Consternation, that it made them immediately surrender. The reduction of this Town did much advance his Design, Fame proclaiming immediately throughout these Countreys, that *Morad-Bakche* had taken *Suratte*; that he had sprung a Mine, which sounded very big among the *Indians*, who as yet do little understand that practice; and that there he had found a vast Treasure. Notwithstanding this great noise, and all the first advantages, joyned to all those frequent Letters and great Promises of *Aureng-Zebe*, the Eunuch, *Chah-Abas*, a Man of good Sense, of a great Heart, and exceedingly affectionate to the Service of his Master, was not of opinion, that *Morad-Bakche* should so much tye himself in Interest to *Aureng-Zebe*, or precipitate his conjunction with him, but advised, that he should amuse him with words, and let him advance alone towards *Agra*; that in the mean time there would come certain News of the sickness of *Chah-Jehan*; that he should first see what Channel Affairs would run in; that he should Fortifie *Suratte*, as a very good Post, able to render him Master of a very large and rich Countrey; and that perhaps in time he might seize *Brampour*, which is a very considerable Passage of a River, and as 'twere a Bar of *Decan*. But the continual Letters and Protestations of *Aureng-Zebe*, joyned to the small Forces, Artillery, and Treasure of *Morad-Bakche*, blinded with an excessive ambition to Reign, made him regardless of all other considerations; so that he went away from *Amadevad*, abandoned *Guzaratte*, and took his way through the Woods and Mountains, with all Expedition, to be at the Rendezvouz, where *Aureng-Zebe* had looked for him these two or three days.

Great Solemnities of Joy were made at the conjunction of the two Armies, the Princes visited one another, *Aureng-Zebe* made a hundred Protestations and no less Promises to *Morad-Bakche*, assured him afresh, and solemnly, of his not caring for the Crown, as also of his being there for no other end than to assist him against *Dara*, their Common Enemy, and to place him in the Throne, which expected him.

Upon this Enterview, and confirmation of Friendship, both Armies marched together, *Aureng-Zebe* continuing always, during the March, in the Protestations of Friendship, and in his Courtship to *Morad-Bakche*, treating him never otherwise, whether in publick or private, but with the Title of *Hazaret*, that is, King and Majesty: So that *Morad-Bakche* was fully perswaded, that *Aureng-Zebe* meant sincerely, from an excess of affection towards him; whence he even willingly, and without Ceremony, suffered the submissions and respects he shewed him; instead of remembring what had lately passed at *Golkonda*, and of considering, that he, who had thus hazarded himself with so much boldness to usurp a Kingdom, was not of a temper to live and dye a *Fakire*.

These two Armies thus joyned made a Body considerable enough; which begot a great noise at Court, and gave cause of thoughtfulness, not only to *Dara*, but to *Chah-Jehan* himself, who knew the great parts and subtle Conduct of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the Courage of *Morad-Bakche*; and who foresaw very well, that a fire was a kindling, which would be very hard to quench. It was to no purpose to write Letters upon Letters, signifying that he was well, and giving Order that they should turn back to their respective Governments, and expressing also, that he would forget all that had passed hitherto. All his Letters were not able to hinder their Advance; and as the sickness of *Chah-Jehan* did still pass for mortal, there being no persons wanting to bring and spread such News, they still continued to dissemble, giving out, that they were *Letters* counterfeited by *Dara*; that *Chah-Jehan* was dead indeed; but that, in case he were alive, they would go to kiss his Feet, and deliver him from the hands of *Dara*.

What then should *Chah-Jehan*, this unfortunate King, do, who seeth, that his Sons have no regard to his Orders; who is informed at all hours, that they march apace towards *Agra* in the head of their Armies, and who in this conjuncture finds himself sick to boot in the hands of *Dara*, that is, of a man who breatheth nothing but War; who prepareth for it with all imaginable earnestness, and with all the marks of an enraged resentment against his Brothers; but what could he do in this extremity? He is constrained to abandon to them his Treasures, and to leave them to their disposal. He is forced to send for his old and most trusty Captains, whom he knows for the most part to be not

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very affectionate to *Dara*; he muſt command them to fight for *Dara*, againſt his own Blood, his own Children, and thoſe, for whom he hath more eſteem than for *Dara*; he is obliged forthwith to ſend an Army againſt *Sultan Sujah*, becauſe 'tis he that is moſt advanced; and he is to ſend another againſt *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, who no leſs are marching towards him.

Soliman Chekouh, the eldeſt Son of *Dara*, a young Prince of about five and twenty years of Age, very proper of Body, and of good Parts and Conduct, generous, liberal, and univerſally beloved, eſpecially of *Chah-Jehan*, who had already enriched him, and who conſidered *him* rather for his Succeſſor than *Dara*, was he, that was made General of this Army againſt *Sujah*. Nevertheleſs *Chah-Jehan*, who wiſhed much rather, that *Sujah* were returned to *Bengale*, than that the matter ſhould be tryed by a bloody Combat, which could not be but very Tragical, and wherein he run the hazard of loſing one or other of his Sons, gave him for Companion an Ancient *Raja*, called *Jeſſeigne*, who is at preſent one of the powerfulleſt and richeſt *Rajahs* of all *Indoſtan*, and one of the ableſt in the whole Kingdom, with a ſecret Order not to fight, except it were altogether unavoidable; as alſo to endeavour by all means to induce *Sujah* to retire, and to reſerve his Forces for a better occaſion; that is to ſay, after they ſhould have ſeen the event of the ſickneſs of *Chah-Jehan*, and the ſucceſs of *Aureng-Zebe*, and of *Morad-Bakche*. But this young Prince, *Soliman Chekouh*, full of heat and Courage, breathing after nothing but to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action, and *Sultan Sujah* fearing leſt *Aureng-Zebe* gaining a Battle ſhould firſt make himſelf Maſter of the Capital Towns of the Empire, *Agra* and *Dehly*; it was impoſſible for the *Raja Jeſſeigne* to keep them from a Combat. The two Armies are no ſooner in ſight of one another, but they prepare to fall on, and they were not long from giving ſome Vollies of Cannon. I ſhall not relate the particulars of this Fight, for, beſides that the narration of it would be too long and tedious, in the ſequel of this Hiſtory we ſhall be obliged to deſcribe more conſiderable ones, by which the Reader will be able to judge of this. 'Tis ſufficient to know in general, that the firſt onſet was very ſharp and obſtinate on both ſides, but that at length *Soliman Chekouh* did urge *Sujah* with that force and vigour that he diſordered him, and made him fly: So that if *Jeſſeigne*, and the *Patan Delil-kan*, who was one of the firſt Captains and a valiant Man, but an intimate friend of the *Raja*, and did not act but being moved by him, had ſeconded him in good earneſt, 'tis thought that the whole Army of *Sujah* would have been defeated, and himſelf in danger of being taken: But that was not the deſign of the *Raja* to deſtroy him, no more than it was that of *Chah-Jehan*, who had given him order to the contrary. Thus then had *Sujah* time to retreat, and that without loſing any conſiderable number of his Men; yet becauſe *Soliman Chekouh* kept the field, and brought away ſome pieces of Artillery, it was preſently bruited at Court, that *Sujah* had been totally overthrown. This Defeat purchaſed great reputation to *Soliman Chekouh*, leſſened much the eſteem of *Sultan Sujah*, and cooled exceedingly all the *Perſians* that had an inclination for him.

After that ſome days were ſpent in the purſuit of *Sujah*, the Prince *Soliman Chekouh*, who every day received News from the Court, and who learned that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bachche* did approach with great reſolution, well knowing, that his Father *Dara* had no great ſtock of Prudence, but good ſtore of ſecret Enemies, reſolved to quit the purſuit of *Sultan Sujah*, and with all ſpeed to return to *Agra*, where in all appearance *Dara* was to give Battel againſt *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*. This was the beſt counſel he could take, for no man doubts, that if he could have been there in good time, *Aureng-Zebe* would not have had the Advantage; and 'tis even believed, he would never have hazarded the Combat, the Party being too unequal; but the bad fortune of *Dara* did not permit it.

Whilſt all that was thus tranſacted towards *Elabas*, which is the place where the *Gemna* is joyned to *Ganges*; the Scene was very different on the ſide of *Agra*. At the Court they were much ſurpriſed to hear, that *Aureng-Zebe* had paſſed the River of *Bramponr*, and all the other paſſages that were moſt difficult between the Mountains; ſo that with all haſt they ſent away ſome Troops to diſpute with him the paſſage of the River *Eugenes*, whilſt the whole Army was making ready. For which purpoſe there were choſen two of the moſt conſiderable and the moſt powerful of the Kingdom to command it; the one was *Kaſem-Kan*, a Renowned Captain and very affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, but one that had no great inclination to *Dara*, and who went not but to oblige *Chah-Jehan*, whom he ſaw in the hands of *Dara*: The other was *Jeſſomſeigne*, a

potent *Raja*, not inferior to *Jesseigne*, and Son-in-law to that *Raja Rana*, who was at the time of *Ekbar* so puissant, as if he had been the Emperor of the *Raja*'s. *Dara* at their farewel expressed to them great kindness, and presented them nobly; but *Chah-Jehan* took his time, before their departure, to charge them in secret, as he had done the *Raja Jesseigne*, when he went away in the Expedition against *Sultan Sujah* with *Soliman Chekoub*. Neither were they wanting, in their March, to send several times to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, to perswade them to turn back: But this was in vain; their Envoys came not again, and the Army advanced with that diligence, that they saw it much sooner than they thought upon a rising ground, not far remote from the River.

It being then Summer, and the season of the greatest heats, the River was fordable; which was the cause, that at the same time *Kasem-kan* and the *Raja* prepared themselves to give Battel; besides that, they soon knew the resolution of *Aureng-Zebe*, that he would force them, since that, although his Army was not all come up, he gave them some Vollies of Cannon; his design being to amuse them, fearing lest they themselves should pass the River, not only to prevent his passage, but also to hinder his Army from reposing, and from taking an advantageous post; which was indeed in great disorder, and so tired by their March, and so faint by the heat, that if at the very first it had been assaulted, and kept from passing the Water, it would doubtless have been routed without much resistance. [I was not by in this first Encounter, but thus it' was generally discoursed of, and it agreeth with the after-relation of many of our *Frenchmen*, who served *Aureng-Zebe* in the Artillery.] But they were content to stay at the River-side, to keep *Aureng-Zebe* from passing it, according to the Order they had received.

After that *Aureng-Zebe* had let his Army rest two or three days, and by amusing the Enemy, had fitted it to pass the River, he made his whole Artillery play, which was very well placed; and he commanded, that under the favour of the Cannon they should pass the River. *Kasem-Kan* and the *Raja*, on their part, discharged theirs also, and did what they could to repulse the Enemy, and to keep him from passing. The Combat was sharp enough at first, and very obstinately maintained by the extraordinary Valour of *Jessonseigne*. For as to *Kasem-Kan*, although a great Captain, and a stout Man, he gave no great proof of his Valour in this occasion; yea, some accuse him of Treachery, charging him that he had in the night caused the Bullets and Powder to be hid under the Sand, there being no more of them to be found after two or three discharges. However it be, the Combat for all that was, as I said, very resolutely carried on, and the Passage long disputed. There were Rocks in the Bed of the River, which did much embarass, and the Banks in many places were very high and difficult to climb up. But at last, *Morad-Backche* cast himself into the water with so much resolution and force, and shewed so much valour and boldness, that there was no resisting of him. He passed over, and with him a good part of the Army, which made *Kasem-Kan* to give back, and cast *Jessonseigne* into great danger of his Person. For by and by he found the whole Body of the Enemy upon him, and without the extraordinary resolution of his *Ragipous*, who almost all were killed about him, he had been a dead man. One may judge of the great danger he was in upon this occasion, by this, that after he had disengaged himself as well as he could, and was come back to his own, not daring to return to *Agra*, because of the great loss he had suffered, of seven or eight thousand *Ragipous* he had but five or six hundred of them remaining.

These *Ragipous*, who take their name from the *Rajas*, that is to say, the Children of the *Rajas*, are from Father to Son such Men as make the Sword their Profession. The *Rajas*, whose Subjects they are, do assign them Lands for their subsistence, on condition to be always ready to go to War when summoned. So that one might say, that they were a sort of Pagan Nobles, if the *Rajas* gave them their Lands in propriety for them and their Children. They are great takers of *Opium*; and I have sometimes wondred at the quantity I have seen them take: They accustom themselves to it from their youth. On the day of Battel they double the Dose, this Drug animating, or rather inebriating them, and making them insensible of danger; insomuch that they cast themselves into the Combate like so many furious Beasts, not knowing what it is to run away, but dying at the feet of their *Raja*, when he stands to it. They want nothing but Order, Resolution they have enough. 'Tis a pleasure thus to see them, with the fume of *Opium* in their Head to embrace one another, when the Battel is to begin, and to give their mutual Farewels, as men resol-

ved to dye. And that they do for this reason; that the *Great Mogol*, though a *Mahumetan*, and by consequence an Enemy of the Heathen, yet for all that entertains always a good number of *Rajas* in his service, whom he considers as his other *Omrahs*, and imploys in his Armies as if they were *Mahumetans*.

I cannot forbear to relate here the fierce reception, which the Daughter of the *Rana* gave to her Husband *Jessomseigne*, after his defeat and flight. When she heard that he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the Battel; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred Men left; and that at last, not being able to resist any longer the Enemy, he had been obliged to retreat: She, in stead of sending one to receive him, and to condole him in his misfortunes, commanded in a dry mood to shut the Gates of the Castle, and not to let this infamous Man enter; that he was not her Husband; that she would never see him; that the Son-in-law of the Great *Rana*, could not have so low a Soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into so Illustrious an House, he was to imitate the Virtue of it; and, in a word, that he was either to vanquish, or to dye. A moment after she was of another humour; she commands a Pile of Wood to be laid, that she might burn her self, that they abus'd her; that her Husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after this, she was seen to change her countenance, to fall into passion, and to break out into a thousand reproaches against him. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her Husband, 'till at last her Mother coming in, brought her in some degree to her self, and comforted her, assuring her, that as soon as the *Raja* had but a little refresh'd himself, he would raise another Army, to fight *Aureng-Zebe*, and repair his Honour at any rate.

By which story one may see a pattern of the Courage of the Women in that Countrey: To which I could add something I have seen some of them do, who burned themselves alive after the death of their Husbands; but we must reserve this Discourse for another place, where I shall also shew, that there is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, &c. may not make Men do or suffer.

Dara having understood what had passed at *Eugenes*, fell into that choler against *Kasem-Kan*, that it was thought he would have cut off his Head, if he had been upon the place. He was also transported against *Emir-Jemla*, as the Person that was the first and principal cause of the Misfortune, and who had furnish'd *Aureng-Zebe* with Men, Money, and Cannon. He is ready to kill his Son *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, and will send his Wife and Daughter to *Basar*, or the Market-place of prostituted Women; and 'tis past doubt, that he would have done some such thing, if *Chah-Jehan*, with much art and prudence, had not moderated the excess of his passion, in remonstrating to him, that *Emir-Jemla* had not so little conduct, nor so great a friendship for *Aureng-Zebe*, as to hazard, and in a manner to sacrifice his Family, for the advancing of his Interest; that *Aureng-Zebe* must needs have gulled and ensnared him, by his usual artifice and cunning.

As for *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, the happy success of this first Encounter did so swell their hearts, and gave such Courage to their whole Army, that henceforth they believed themselves invincible, and capable to compass any thing. Besides, *Aureng-Zebe*, the more to animate his Soldiers, bragged openly, that he had Thirty thousand *Mogols* at his devotion in the Army of *Dara*; and there was something in it, as appeared by the sequel. *Morad-Bakche* was for nothing but fighting, and would march with all diligence. But *Aureng-Zebe* represented to him, that it was necessary the Army should refresh themselves for some time upon the Banks of this sweet River; that in the mean time he would write to all his Friends, and get a full and certain information of the state of the Court, and of the condition of all Affairs. So that he marched not towards *Agra*, 'till he had rested some days, and after that he marched but slowly, to inform himself of all, and to take his time and measures.

Concerning *Chah-Jehan*, when he plainly saw the resolution of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, and that there was no hope left to make them turn back, he was in such a perplexity, that he knew not what to resolve, and foreseeing some great calamity, he would fain have hindred the last decisive Battel, for which he saw *Dara* preparing himself with great eagerness. But what could he do to oppose it? He was yet too weak of his sickness, and saw himself still in the hands of *Dara*, whom, as I have said, he trusted not much: So that he found himself obliged to acquiesce in his Will, and to commit

mit to him all the Forces of the Empire, and to command all Captains to obey him. Immediately all was in Arms: I know not, whether there was ever a more gallant Army seen in *Indostan*. 'Tis said, that there were little less than an Hundred thousand Horse, and Twenty thousand Foot, with Four thousand pieces of Cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of Servants, Followers, Victuallers, whom Historians, methinks, do often put into the number of the Combatants, when they speak of those formidable Armies of Three or four hundred thousand men, of which their Books are full. Though this Army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as *Aureng-Zebe* had, in which there were no more than Thirty Five or Forty thousand men in all, and these tired and harassed by a very long and irksom march, during the height of the Heats; and but a small number of Cannon, in respect of that of *Dara*. Mean time (which seems hard to believe) there was scarce any Body that presaged well for *Dara*, all knowing, that most of the chief *Omrahs* had no affection for him, and that all the good Soldiers that were for him, and whom he might confide in, were in the Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son. And 'twas for this reason, that the most prudent and the most faithful of his Friends, and *Chah-Jehan* himself, counselled him, not to hazard a Battel: *Chah-Jehan* offering, as infirm as he was, that he would go into the Field himself, and be carried before *Aureng-Zebe*, to interpose; which was looked upon as a very good Expedient for Peace, and for accommodating the Affairs of *Chah-Jehan*. For 'tis certain, that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Murad-Bakche*, would never have had the boldness to fight against their own Father; and if they should have attempted it, they would have smarted for it, because, besides that the match was not equal, and all the great *Omrahs* were so affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, that they would not have failed to fight resolutely, if they had seen him in the head of the Army; besides this, I say, the Captains themselves of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Murad-Bakche*, bore great affection and respect to this Prince, whose Creatures they most were; and the whole Army, in a manner, was his. So that in all appearance, not one of them would have presumed to draw his Sword against him, nor he been at the pains of drawing his.

Then they advised *Dara*, that if he would not hearken to this Expedient, he should at least not precipitate the business, but delay, 'till *Soliman Chekouh*, who made all haste to join, were come in. Which was also very good counsel, in regard that that Prince was beloved of all, and was lately come home victorious, and had the most faithful and the bravest Soldiers with him. But *Dara* would never hearken to any Proposition that could be made to him, and he thought on nothing else but to give Battel presently, and to go against *Aureng-Zebe* in person. And possibly he did not amiss, as to his own Honour and particular Interest, if he could have commanded Fortune, and made things succeed as he contrived them. For the Considerations he had (as he could not forbear now and then to discover) were some such as these:

He looked upon himself as Master of the person of *Chah-Jehan*; that he could dispose of him as he pleased; that he was also Possessor of all the Treasures and Forces of the Empire; that *Sultan Sujah* was half ruined; that his two other Brothers, with a weak and tired Army, were come to cast themselves into his hands; that, if he gained the Battel, they could not escape him; that he should all at once be absolute Master, and at the end of all his troubles, and at the height of his wishes, so as no body could contradict him in any thing, or dispute the Crown with him. Whereas if *Chah-Jehan* should take the Field, all Affairs would be accommodated, his Brothers would return to their Governments, *Chah-Jehan*, who began to recover his health, would resume the Government as before, and all things would return into their first Channel: That, if he should stay for *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son, *Chah-Jehan* might take some design to his disadvantage, or contrive something with *Aureng-Zebe*; that whatever he could do for gaining the Victory, the Reputation which *Soliman Chekouh* had purchased, would still give him all the honour of it. And after that, what would not he be capable to undertake, swelled with so much glory and success, and especially being supported, as he was, by the favour and affection of *Chah-Jehan*, and of the greatest part of the *Omrahs*? What did he know, whether he would keep any modesty, or any respect for him, and whither his Ambition might not carry him?

These Considerations made *Dara* resolve to stand out against the counsel of all, and to pursue his Point. And for that purpose, he commanded immediately the whole Army to take the Field, and thereupon came to take leave of *Chah-Jehan*, who was in the Fortress

treſs of *Agra*. This good old Man was ready to melt in tears, when he embraced him; but withal failed not to repreſent to him, with a very grave countenance: Well, *Dara*, ſince thou art reſolved to follow thine own Will, Go, God bleſs thee, but remember well theſe few words: *If thou loſeſt the Battel, take heed of ever coming into my Preſence.* But this made no great impreſſion upon him; he goeth forth briskly, taketh Horſe, and ſeizeth on the Paſſage of the River *Tchembel*, which is about twenty miles from *Agra*; where he fortified himſelf, expecting his Enemy. But the ſubtile and crafty *Fakire*, who wanted no good Spies, and People that gave him intelligence of all, and who knew that the Paſſage was there very difficult, took good heed to attempt the forcing it. He came to encamp himſelf near it, ſo that from the Camp of *Dara* one might diſcover his Tents. But what doth he in the mean time? He inveigles a certain Rebel of *Raja*, called *Chempet*, preſents him richly, and promiſeth him a thouſand fine things, if he would let him paſs thorough his Territories, that ſo he might go with ſpeed to gain a certain place, where he knew that the River might be paſſed on foot with eaſe. *Chempet* agreeth, and offers of his own accord, that he would himſelf attend him, and ſhew him the way through the Woods and Hills of his Countrey. *Aureng-Zebe* raiſed his Camp the ſame night, without any noiſe, leaving ſome of his Tents to amuſe *Dara*, and marching night and day, made ſuch haſte, that he was almoſt as ſoon on the other ſide of the River, as *Dara* could have notice of it. Which obliged *Dara* to abandon the River there, and to leave all his Fortifications, and to follow his Enemy, who, he was told, did advance with great diligence towards *Agra*, to gain the River of *Gemna*, and there without trouble, and at his eaſe, to enjoy the water, to fortifie, and to fix himſelf well, and ſo to expect *Dara*. The place where he encamped is but five Leagues from *Agra*, it was formerly called *Samonguer*, and now *Fateabad*, which is to ſay, *Place of Victory*. A little while after, *Dara* alſo came to encamp there, nigh the Bank of the ſame River, between *Agra*, and the Army of *Aureng-Zebe*.

The two Armies were there between three and four days in ſight of one another, without fighting. Mean time *Chah-Jehan* wrote ſeveral Letters to *Dara*, that *Soliman Chekoh* was not far off; that he ſhould not precipitate; that he ſhould come near *Agra*, and chuſe an advantageous place to fortifie himſelf 'till he came. But *Dara* anſwered, that before three days were paſſed, he would bring to him *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* tyed hand and foot, to do with them what he ſhould think fit. And without expecting any longer, he began at that very hour to put his Army in Battel-Array.

He placed in the Front all his Cannon, cauſing them to be tyed the one to the other with Chains, to ſhut the paſſage to the Cavalry. Behind theſe Peeces of Cannon, he placed alſo front-wiſe a great number of light Camels, on the forepart of the Bodies, whereof they faſten a ſmall Peece, of the bigneſs of a double Muſquet; a Man ſitting on the hind-part of the Camel, being able to charge and diſcharge without lighting. Behind theſe Camels ſtood the greateſt part of the Muſqueteers. Of the reſt of the Army, which chiefly conſiſted in Cavalry, furniſh'd with Bows and Arrows, (as ordinarily are the *Mogols*, that is, at preſent, White Men, Mahumetans, ſtrangers, as *Perſians*, *Turks*, *Arabians*, and *Usbecks*;) or with a Sword, and a kind of Halt-pike, as commonly are the *Ragipous*: Of all theſe, I ſay, there were made three different Bodies. The right Wing was committed to *Calil-ullah-Kan*, with thirty thouſand *Mogols* under his Command; for he was made Great *Bakchis*, that is, Great Maſter of the Cavalry, in the place of *Daneshmend-Kan*, that was afterwards my *Agah*, who voluntarily reſigned this Office, ſeeing that he was not well-beloved of *Dara*, for having always highly maintained againſt him the Intereſt and Authority of *Chah Jehan*. The left Wing was given to *Roſtam-Kan Dakny*, a very renowned and very valiant Captain, together with the *Raja Chatreſale*, and the *Raja Kamſeigne Rouțlé*.

On the other ſide, *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* put alſo their Army almoſt into the ſame Order; except that in the midſt of the Troops of ſome *Omrahs*, they had hid ſome ſmall Field-Peeces, which was, as was ſaid, after the Way and Art of *Emir-Jemla*, and with no ill effect.

They hardly made uſe of any more Art, than what hath been now related; only they placed here and there ſome Men caſting *Bannes*, which is a kind of Granado faſtened to a ſtick, that may be caſt very far through the Cavalry, and which extremely terrifieth Horſes, and even hurts and kills ſometimes.

All this Cavalry turns about very eaſily, and they draw their Arrows with marvellous

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swiftness; one Man being able to draw six of them, before a Musqueteer can twice discharge his Musquet. The same Cavalry keeps also very close in several Troops under their respective Officers, especially when they are going to fight hand to hand. But after all, I see not, that this way of putting an Army in Array, is any great matter, in comparison of our Armies, when in good order.'

All things being thus disposed, the Artillery began to play on both sides; for 'tis always the Cannon that makes the prelude amongst *them*; and the Arrows were now seen to fly through the Air, when unexpectedly there hapned to fall a Storm of Rain, so violent, that it interrupted the Combat. The Rain ceasing, the Cannon began afresh to roar; and then it was that *Dara* appeared, who being mounted upon a proud Elephant of *Ceilan*, commanded that an Onset should be made on all sides; and himself advanced into the midst of the Body of the Cavalry, directly towards the Enemies Artillery, who received him warmly, kill'd store of Men about him, and put into disorder, not only the main Body which he commanded, but also the other Bodies of the Cavalry that followed him. Yet notwithstanding, because he was seen to keep firm upon his Elephant, without any appearance of giving back, and was observed to look every where about him with an undaunted look, and to make signs with his hands to advance and follow him, this disorder soon ceased, every one resuming his Rank, and advancing in the same place with *Dara*. But he could not reach the Enemy, without receiving another Volley of Cannon-shot, which caused a second and great disorder in his Men, and made a good part of them recoil; yet he, without any change in his Countenance, stood to it, encouraging his Troops, and gave still signs, that they should follow him, and advance with speed without any loss of time. Thus pressing vigorously forward, he forced the Enemies Artillery, broke the Chains, entred into their Camp, and made a Rout in their Camels and Infantry, and in every thing he met with on that side, opening also a good passage to the Cavalry that followed him. Then it was, that the Enemies Cavalry facing him, a sore Combat began. A showre of Arrows filled the Air from both sides, *Dara* himself putting his hand to that work: But, to say truth, these Arrows do but little Execution; more of them are lost in the Air, or broken on the ground, than hit. The first discharges of Arrows being made, they fought hand to hand with their Sables, *pesle mesle*, and the Combat was stoutly maintained on both sides. *Dara* is still seen to continue firm on his Elephant, encouraging, making a noise, and giving signs on all sides; and at last advancing with so much resolution and force, against all that opposed him in his March, that he overthrew the Cavalry, and made them to retire and run away.

Aureng-Zebe, who was not far from thence, and mounted also on an Elephant, seeing this great disorder, was in great trouble, and laboured with all his might to remedy it; but to no purpose. He made the main Body of his best Cavalry advance, to try whether he could make head against *Dara*; but it was not long before this Body also was forced to give back, and to retreat in great disorder, whatever *Aureng-Zebe* could say or do to hinder it. Mean time let us take notice of his courage and resolution: He saw that almost the whole Body of his Army was disordered, and in a flying posture, insomuch that he had not a thousand Men about him that kept their standing; (some told me, that there were scarce five hundred:) He saw, that *Dara*, notwithstanding the difficulty of the way, which was uneven, and full of holes in divers places, made as if he would rush in upon him: Yet, for all this, he lost no courage, and was so far from being struck with fear, or from retreating, that he stood firmly to it, and called by name most of his Captains that were about him, crying out to them, *Delirane Kodabé*, (these are his own words,) that is, *Courage my old Friends, God is:* What hope is there in flying? Know you not, where is our *Decan*? *Kodabé, Kodabé, God is, God is.* And that none might doubt of his being undaunted, and that he thought on nothing less than running away, he commanded before them all (oh strange extremity!) that forthwith Chains should be fastned to the feet of his Elephant; and was going to fasten them in good earnest, but that they all declared their courage and resolution, to live and dye with him.

Dara in the interim endeavoured to advance upon *Aureng-Zebe*, though he was yet at a good distance from him, and though the difficulty of the way embarassed and retarded him much; he meeting also with some resistance, even from those disordered Horse of the Enemy, that covered all high and low places where he was to march. And this Encounter with *Aureng-Zebe* was looked upon as *the* thing, that was to assure *Dara* of

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and took Horse. But I know not whether there passed one quarter of an hour, but he perceived the Treachery of *Calil ullah-Kan*, and repented himself extremely of the great fault he had committed. He looks about him, he seeketh, he asketh where he is; he saith, he is a Traitor, he will kill him. But the perfidious Villain is by this time at a good distance; the occasion is lost. Would it be believed, that as soon as the Army perceived *Dara* to be no more upon the Elephant, they imagined that there was Treason, that *Dara* was killed; and all were struck with such a terror, that every one thought on nothing, but how to escape the hands of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to save himself? What shall I say? All the Army disbands and flyeth. A sudden and strange revolution! He that saw himself just now Victorious, finds himself in a few moments vanquished, abandoned, and obliged to fly himself to save his life. *Aureng-Zebe*, by holding out firm a quarter of an hour upon his Elephant, seeth the Crown of *Indostan* upon his Head; and *Dara* for having come down a little too soon, seeth himself precipitated from the Throne, and the most unfortunate Prince of the World. Thus Fortune taketh pleasure, to make the gain or loss of a Battel, and the decision of a great Empire, depend upon a nothing.

These great and prodigious Armies, 'tis true, do sometimes great things; but when once terror seiseth, and disorder comes among them, what means of stopping the Commotion? 'Tis like a great River broke through its Dams; it must overrun all, without a Remedy. Whence it is, that as often as I consider the condition of such Armies, destitute of good order, and marching like flocks of Sheep, I perswade my self, that, if in these parts one might see an Army of five and twenty thousand men, of those old Troops of *Flanders*, under the conduct of *Monsieur le Prince*, or *Monsieur de Turenne*, I doubt not at all, but they would trample under foot all those Armies, how numerous soever they were. And this it is, that now maketh me not find it any longer strange or incredible, what we are told of ten thousand *Greeks*; and of fifty thousand Men of *Alexander*, overcoming six or seven hundred thousand Men of *Darius*; (if it be true, that there were so many, and that the Historian did not reckon the Servants, and all those numbers of Men, which were to follow the Army, to furnish it with Forrage, Cattle, Corn, and all other necessaries.) Bear only the first brunt, which would be no very difficult thing for us to do; and behold, they are all astonished: Or, do like *Alexander*, set vigorously upon one place, if that hold not out, (which will be very hard for them to do) you may be sure the work is done; all the rest presently take fright and flight together.

Aureng-Zebe, encouraged by such a wonderful success, is not wanting to turn every stone, to employ skill, dexterity, subtilty, craft, courage, to profit by all the Advantages, which so favourable an occasion puts into his hands. *Calil-ullah-Kan* is presently with him, offering him his Service, and all the Troops he could be Master of. He, on his side, wants not words of thanks and acknowledgments, nor a thousand fair Promises: But he was very cautious to receive him in his own name; he carried him presently and presented him to *Morad-Bakche*, who, as we may easily think, received him with open Arms; *Aureng-Zebe* in the mean time congratulating and praising *Morad-Bakche*, for having fought so valiantly, and ascribing to him all the honour of the Victory; treating him with the title of King and Majesty before *Calil-ullah-Kan*, giving him uncommon respect, and doing submissions to him becoming a Subject and Servant. In the interim, he labours night and day for himself, he writeth round about to all the *Omrâhs*, making sure to day of one, and next day of another. *Chah-best-Kan*, his Uncle, the great and old Enemy of *Dara*, by reason of an Affront he had received from him, did the same for him on his part; and as he is the Person who writeth best and subtillest of the Empire of *Indostan*, so he contributed not a little by his Cabals to the advancement of the Affairs of *Aureng-Zebe*, making strong Parties every where against *Dara*.

In the mean time let us still observe the artifice and dissimulation of *Aureng-Zebe*, Nothing of what he doth, treateth, promiseth, is for himself, or in his own Name; he hath still (forsooth) the design of living as a *Fakire*: all is for *Morad-Bakche*, 'tis he that commands; *Aureng-Zebe* doth nothing; 'tis *Morad-Bakche* doth all, 'tis he that is designed to be King.

As for the unhappy *Dara*, he comes with all speed to *Agra*, in a desperate condition, and not daring to go see *Chah-Jehan*, remembring, doubtless, those severe words which he let

let fall, when he took leave of him before the Battel, *viz.* That he ſhould remember not to come before him, if he were overcome. Yet, for all that, the good old Father ſent ſecretly a truſty Eunuch to him, to comfort him, to aſſure him of the continuance of his affection, to declare to him his trouble for his misfortune, and to remonſtrate to him, that the caſe was not yet deſperate, conſidering that there was a good Army with *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son, that he ſhould go to *Debli*, where he ſhould find a thouſand Horſe in the Royal Stables; and *that* the Governor of the Fortreſs had Order to furniſh him with Money and Elephants; for the reſt, *that* he ſhould not go further than he needs muſt; *that* he would often write to him: And laſtly, *that* he very well knew how to find out and chaſtiſe *Aurenge Zebe*.

I have been informed, that *Dara* was then in ſuch a confuſion, and ſunk ſo low, that he had not the power to anſwer a word to the Eunuch, nor the courage to ſend any one to *Chah-Jehan*; but that, after having ſent ſeveral times to *Begum-Saheb*, his Siſter, he went away at midnight, taking with him his Wife, his Daughters, and his Grandchild *Sepe-Chekouh*; and that (which is almoſt incredible) he was attended with not above three or four hundred perſons. Let us leave him in his Voyage to *Debli*, and ſtay at *Agra*, to conſider the dexterity and craft, wherewith *Aureng-Zebe* proceeded to manage Affairs.

He well knew, that *Dara*, and thoſe of his Party, could yet place ſome hopes in the victorious Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, and therefore he reſolved to take it from him, or to make it uſeleſs to him. To this end, he wrote Letters upon Letters to the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, and to *Delil-Kan*, who were the chief Heads of the Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, telling them, that there was no hope left for *Dara* and his Party; that he had loſt the Battel; that his whole Army had ſubmitted to him; that all had abandon'd him; that he was fled alone towards *Debli*; that he could never eſcape him, and that Orders were diſtributed every where to ſeize on him. And as for *Chah-Jehan*, that he was in a condition hopeleſs of recovery; that they ſhould take good care of what they had to do; and if they were Men of underſtanding, and would follow his fortune, and be his Friends, they ſhould ſeize on *Soliman Chekouh*, and bring him to him.

Jeſſeigne found himſelf perplexed enough, what he ſhould do, ſtill much apprehending *Chah-Jehan* and *Dara*, and more, to lay hands upon a Royal Perſon, well knowing, that ſome miſchief might therefore fall on him, ſooner or later, even from *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf. Beſides, he knew that *Soliman Chekouh* had too much courage to let himſelf be taken after that manner, and that he would rather die in defending of himſelf. Behold therefore, what he at laſt reſolved! After having taken counſel with *Delil-Kan*, his great Friend, and after they had renewed to one another the Oath of mutual Fidelity, he went directly to the Tent of *Soliman Chekouh*, who with great impatience expected him, (for he alſo had heard the News of the Defeat of *Dara* his father) and had already divers times ſent for him. To him he frankly diſcovered all things, ſhewed him the Letter of *Aureng-Zebe*, told him what courſe was beſt for him to take, repreſented to him the danger he was in; that there was no reaſon he ſhould truſt in *Delil-Kan*, or in *Daoud-Kan*, or in the reſt of his Army; but that, as ſoon as he could, he ſhould gain the Mountains of *Serenaguer*; that that was the beſt Expedient he could take; that the *Raja* of that Countrey being in unacceſſible places, and not apprehending *Aureng-Zebe*, would doubtleſs receive him gladly; and, for the reſt, he would ſoon ſee how things would go, and be always in a condition to come down from the Mountains, when he ſhould think good.

The young Prince underſtood well enough by this kind of diſcourſe, that there was no ground to truſt henceforth in this *Raja*, and that there was no more ſafety for his Perſon; and that the rather, becauſe he knew that *Delil-Kan* was altogether devoted to him, and he ſaw well enough, that there was a neceſſity to take this courſe ſuggeſted. Whereupon he ſoon commanded, that his Baggage ſhould be put up to march towards the Mountains. Some of his moſt affectionate Friends, as a good number of *Manſeb-Dars*, of *Sajeds*, and others, put themſelves in order to attend him; the reſt of the Army, altogether aſtoniſhed, remain'd with the *Raja*. But that, which was very mean for a great *Raja*, and a very ſordid barbarouſneſs, was, that he and *Delil-Kan* ſent under hand ſome to fall upon his Baggage, who alſo took other things, and among them an Elephant laden with Rupies of Gold, which cauſed a great diſorder among thoſe ſmall Troops that followed him; and which was an occaſion, that many of them

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no man doubts, but all his great *Omrahs* would have followed him; nor would *Aureng-Zebe* himself have had the boldness nor the savageness to fight against his own Father in Person, especially since he must have apprehended, that all the world would have abandon'd him, and possibly *Morad-Bakche* himself. And 'tis indeed the great fault which *Chah-Jehan* is observed to have committed after the Battel, and the flight of *Dara*, not to have come out of the Fortress. But yet I have conversed with many, who maintained that *Chah-Jehan* did prudently in it. For this hath been a question much agitated among the Politicians, and there are no reasons wanting to countenance the Sentiment of the latter sort; who also add, that Men almost always judge of things by the Event; that often very foolish Enterprises have been observed to succeed, and which therefore are approved by all; that if *Chah-Jehan* had prospered in his design, he would have been esteemed the most prudent and the most able Man in the World; but now being taken, he was nothing but a good old Man, that suffer'd himself to be led by a Woman, his Daughter *Begum*, which was blinded by her passion, and had the vanity to believe, that *Aureng-Zebe* would come to see her, that the Bird of it self would fly into the Cage, or at least, that he would never be so bold as to attempt the seisure of the Fortress, nor have the power to do so. These same Reasoners maintaining also stifly, that the greatest fault that *Sultan Mahmoud* could possibly commit, was, that he knew not how to take the occasion to assure himself of the Crown, by the rarest and the most generous Action that ever was, to put his Grandfather at liberty, and thus to do himself Right and Justice, as the Soveraign Umpire of Affairs; whereas, as things now stand, he must one day go and dye in *Goualeor*. But *Sultan Mahmoud* (whether it was that he feared his Grandfather would not keep his word with him, or that he should be himself detained within, or that he durst not play tricks with his Father *Aureng-Zebe*) would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the Apartment of *Chah-Jehan*, answering very closely, that he had no order from his Father to go and see him, but that he was by him commanded not to return, without bringing him the Keys of all the Gates of the Fortress, that so he might come with all safety to kiss the Feet of his Majesty. There passed almost two whole days before he could resolve to surrender the Keys; during which time, *Sultan Mahmoud* staid there, unalterable in his resolutions, keeping himself upon his Guard night and day, with all his Troops about him; till at length *Chah-Jehan*, seeing that all his people that were upon the Guard at the little Gate, little by little disbanded, and that there was no more safety on his side, gave him the Keys, with an order to tell *Aureng-Zebe*, that he should come presently if he were wise, and that he had most important things to discourse with him about. But *Aureng-Zebe* was too cunning to commit so gross a fault: On the contrary, he made his Eunuch *Ebarkan* Governor of the Fortress, who presently shut up *Chah-Jehan*, together with *Begum-Saheb*, and all his Women; causing divers Gates to be walled up, that so he might not be able to write or speak to any body, nor go forth out of his Apartment without permission.

Aureng-Zebe in the mean time writ to him a little Note, which he shewed to every body before he sealed it; in which, among other things, he told him with dry expressions, that he knew from good hands, that notwithstanding those great protestations of esteem and affection he made to him, and of contempt he made of *Dara*, he had, for all that, sent to *Dara* two Elephants charged with Rupies of Gold, to raise him again, and to re-commence the War; and that therefore, in truth, it was not he that imprisoned him, but *Dara*, and that he might thank him for it, as the cause of all these misfortunes; and if it had not been for him, he would have come the very first day to him, and paid him all the most dutiful respects he could have looked for from a good Son: That, for the rest, he begged his pardon, and a little patience; as soon as he should have disenabled *Dara* from executing his evil designs, he would come himself and open the Gates to him.

I have heard it said concerning this Note, that *Chah-Jehan* in very deed, the same night that *Dara* departed, had sent to him these Elephants laden with Rupies of Gold, and that it was *Rauchenara-Begum* that found a way to discover it to *Aureng-Zebe*; as she also had detected to him that Plot, which was laid against him with those *Tartarian* Women; and that *Aureng-Zebe* himself had intercepted some Letters of *Chah-Jehan* to *Dara*.

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I have conversed with others, that maintain there is no such thing, and that this Writing, which *Aureng-Zebe* shewed to all, was only to cast Sand into the Eyes of the People, and to labour, in some degree, to justifie himself in so strange an action, and to devolve the Cause of it upon *Chah-Jehan* and *Dara*, as if he had been forced to such proceedings. They are things, which are difficult enough well to discover. However it be, as soon as *Chah-Jehan* was shut up, almost all the *Omrahs* were in a manner necessitated to go and make their Court to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*; and (which is almost incredible) there was not one that had the Courage to stir, or to attempt the least in the behalf of his King, and for him that had made them what they were, and raised them from the dust, and perhaps from slavery it self (which is ordinary enough in that Court) to advance them to Riches and Honour. Yet some few there are, as *Danechmend-Kan*, and some others, that took no side; but all the rest declared for *Aureng-Zebe*.

'Tis notwithstanding to be noted what I said, that they were necessitated to do what they did. For 'tis not in the *Indies*, as in *France*, or other States of *Christendom*, where the Grandees and Nobles have large Possessions of Land, and great Revenues, which enables them for a while to subsist of themselves. *There* they have nothing but Pensions (as I have already touched above) which the King can take away from them at all hours, and thus ruin them in an instant; so that they shall be considered no more than if they never had been, nor have any credit to borrow a farthing.

Aureng-Zebe therefore having thus assured himself of *Chah-Jehan*, and of all the *Omrahs*, took what Sums of Money he thought fit out of the Treasury; and then having left *Chah-hest-Kan*, his Uncle, Governor of the Town, he went away with *Morad-Bakche* to pursue *Dara*.

The day that the Army was to march out of *Agra* the particular Friends of *Morad-Bakche*, especially his Eunuch *Chah-Abas*, who knew, that the excess of civility and respect is ordinarily a sign of imposture, counselled him, that since he was King, and every body treated him with the Title of Majesty, and *Aureng-Zebe* himself acknowledged him for such, he should let him go to pursue *Dara*, and stay himself with his Troops about *Agra* and *Debli*. If he had followed this counsel, 'tis certain, that he would have embarassed *Aureng-Zebe* not a little; but 'twas fatal, that he should neglect so good advice: *Aureng-Zebe* is too fortunate; *Morad-Bakche* entirely confideth in his promises, and in the Oaths of Fidelity they had sworn to one another upon the Alcoran. They went away together, and went with the same pace towards *Debli*.

When they were come to *Maturas*, three or four small days Journey from *Agra*, the friends of *Morad-Bakche*, who perceived something, endeavoured again to perswade him, that he should beware; assuring him that *Aureng-Zebe* had evil designs, and that beyond all doubt some mischief was upon the Anvil; that they had notice of it from all parts, and that by no means, for that day at least, he should go to see him; that it would be much better to prevent this stroke the soonest it might be; that he was only to forbear going to visit him that day, excusing himself with some Indisposition. But whatsoever could be said to him he believed nothing of it, his Ears were stopped to all the good advice that was given him, and as if he had been enchanted by the friendship of *Aureng-Zebe*, he could not hold to go to him that very night, and to stay at Supper with him. As soon as he was come, *Aureng-Zebe*, who expected him, and had already prepared all things with *Mirkan*, and three or four of his most intimate Captains, was not wanting in embracements, and in redoubling his Courtship, Civilities and Submissions, insomuch as gently to pass his hankerchief over his face, and to wipe off his sweat and dust, treating him still with the title of King and Majesty. In the mean time the Table is served, they sup, the conversation grows warm, they discourse of various things as they use to do; and at last there is brought a huge Bottle of excellent *Chiras* Wine, and some other Bottles of *Caboul* Wine, for a Debauch. Then *Aureng-Zebe*, as a grave serious Man, and one that would appear a great Mahumetan, and very regular, nimbly riseth from Table, and having with much kindness invited *Morad-Bakche*, who loved a Glass of Wine very well, and who relished the Wine that was served, scrupled not to drink of it to excess. In a word, he made himself drunk, and fell asleep. This was the thing that was wished; for presently some Servants of his that were there, were commanded away, under a pretence, to let him sleep without making any noise; and then his Table and Ponyard were taken from

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about him: But *Aureng-Zebe* was not long, but came himself and wakened him. He entred into the Chamber, and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his Eyes, he made to him this short and surprising Reprimand: What means this, *said he*, What shame and what ignominy is this, that such a King as you are, should have so little temper, as thus to make himself drunk? What will be said both of you and me? Take this infamous Man, this Drunkard, tye him hand and foot, and throw him into that room to sleep out his Wine. No sooner said, but it was executed; notwithstanding all his appeal and out-cry, five or six persons fall upon him, and fetter his hands and feet. The things could not be done, but some of his Men that were thereabout had news of it. They made some noise, and would enter forcibly; but *Allah-Couly*, one of his chief Officers, and the Master of his Artillery, that had been gained long before, threatned them, and made them draw back. Without any delay, Men were sent through the whole Army to calm this first Commotion, which also might have proved dangerous; they made them believe it was nothing, they having been present, that *Morad-Bakshe* was only drunk, that in that condition he had railed at every body, and *Aureng-Zebe* himself, insomuch that there had been a necessity, seeing him drunk and furious, to keep him apart; that the next day they would see him abroad, after he had digested his Wine. In the mean time, the Presents walked about all night amongst the chief Officers of the Army, their Pay was forthwith encreased, they had great Promises made them; and as there was none, that had not long since apprehended some such thing, there was no great wonder to see almost all things quieted the next morning; so that the very next night this poor Prince was shut up in a little close house, such an one as is wont to be placed on Elephants to carry Women, and he was carried directly to *Dehli* into *Slimager*, which is a little old Fortress in the midst of the River.

After that all was thus appeased, except the Eunuch *Chah-Abas*, who caused difficulty enough, *Aureng-Zebe* received the whole Army of *Morad-Bakshe* into his Service, and went after *Dara*, who marched apace towerds *Lahor*, with an intention well to fortifie himself in that place, and thither to draw his Friends. But *Aureng-Zebe* followed him with so much speed, that he had not time to do any great matter, finding himself necessitated to retreat, and to take the way of *Multan*, where also he could do nothing considerable, because that *Aureng-Zebe*, notwithstanding the great heat, marched night and day; insomuch, that to encourage all to make haste, he sometimes advanced almost all alone two or three Leagues before the whole Army, finding himself often obliged to drink ill water like others, to be content with a crust of dry bread, and to sleep under a Tree, staying for his Army in the midst of the high-way, laying his head on his Shield like a common Souldier. So that *Dara* found himself constrained to abandon *Multan* also, that he might avoid being near *Aureng-Zebe*, whom he was not able to encounter. Here 'tis that the Statesmen of this Countrey have reasoned very diversly: For 'tis said, that if *Dara*, when he went out of *Lahor*, had cast himself into the Kingdom of *Caboul*, as he was advised, he would there have found above ten thousand warlick Men, designed against the *Augans*, the *Persians*, and the *Usbecs*, and for a Guard to that Countrey, the Governor whereof was *Mohabet-Kan*, one of the most potent and the most ancient of *Indostan*, and that had never been *Aureng-Zebe*'s Friend; that, besides, he would have been there at the Gate of *Persia* and *Usbec*; that he was likely, that there being no want of Money, all that *Militia* and *Mohabet-Kan* himself, would have embraced his Party; and that further, he might have drawn assistance, not only from *Usbec*, but also from *Persia*, as well as from *Humayon*, whom the *Persians* had restored to his Country against *Zaher-Kan*, King of the *Patans*, who had driven him thence. But *Dara* was too unfortunate to follow so good advice. Instead of that he went towards *Scimdy*, to cast himself into the Fortress of *Tatabakar*, that strong and famous place, seated in the midst of the River *Indus*.

Aureng-Zebe seeing him take this way, found it not fit to follow him further off, being extremely glad that he had not taken the way to *Caboul*. He contented himself to send after him seven or eight thousand Men, under the Conduct of *Mir-baba*, his Foster-brother, and turned back with the same expedition to the place whence he was come, much apprehending lest any thing should fall out about *Agra*; lest some or other of those potent *Rajah*'s, as *Jesseigne*, or *Jessomseigne*, should make an attempt

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in his absence, to free *Chah-Jehan* out of Prison; or left *Soliman Chekouh*, together with the *Raja* of *Serenaguer*, should descend from the Hills; or left also *Sultan Sujah* should approach too near *Agra*. Behold a little Accident, which one day befell him, for too great precipitation.

When he thus returned from *Multan* towards *Labor*, and marched his ordinary swift pace, he saw the *Raja Jesseigne* come against him, accompanied with four or five thousand of his *Ragipous*, in a very good equipage; *Aureng-Zebe*, who had left his Army behind, and who also knew that this *Raja* was very affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, was sufficiently surprised, as may easily be imagined, fearing left this *Raja* should make use of this occasion, and do a Master-piece of State, by seising on him, to draw *Chah-Jehan* out of Prison, which at that time was very easie to do. Neither is it known, whether this *Raja* had not some such design; for he had marched with extraordinary speed, insomuch that *Aureng-Zebe* had no news of it, believing him yet to be at *Debli*. But what may not resolution and presence of mind do? *Aureng-Zebe*, without any alteration of his Countenance, marched directly towards the *Raja*, and as far off as he could see him, maketh signs to him with his hands, importing that he should make hast to a nearer approach, crying out to him with a loud voice, *Salamed Bached Rajagi*, *Salamed Bached Babagi*, treating him with the Titles of *Lord Raja*, and *Lord Father*. When the *Raja* was come to him; I expected you, *said he*, with great impatience; the work is done, *Dara* is lost, he is all alone; I have sent *Mir-baba* after him, from whom he cannot escape: And for an excess of kindness to him, he took off his Neck-lace of Pearls, and put it about the Neck of this *Raja*: And the sooner to rid himself handsomely of him, (for he wished him far enough) Go, *saith he*, with all the expedition you can to *Labor*, my Army is somewhat tyred; go quickly to attend me there; I apprehend that else something sinister might fall out there; I make you Governor of that place, and put all things into your hands. For the rest, I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have done with *Soliman Chekouh*: Where have you left *Delil-Kan?* I shall find my revenge of him. Make all possible dispatch, *Salamed Bached*, Farewell.

Dara being arrived at *Tata-baker*, made Governor of that place a very understanding, gallant, and generous Eunuch, with a very good Garrison of *Patans* and *Sayeds*; and for Cannoneers, a good number of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, *English*, *French*, and *Germans*, who had followed him out of great hopes he had given them, (for, if his Affairs had prospered and he were become King, we must all have resolved to be *Omrahs*, as many *Franguis* as we were.) He there left also the greatest part of his Treasure; he wanted as yet no Gold nor Silver; and staying there but a very few days, he marched away with two or three thousand Men only, descending along the River *Indus* towards *Scindy*, and from thence crossing with an incredible celerity all those Territories of the *Raja Katche*, he arrived in *Guzaratte*, and came to the Gates of *Amadevat*. The Father-in-law of *Aureng-Zebe*, called *Chah-Navaze-Kan*, was Governor there, with a very good Garrison, able to resist. Yet notwithstanding, whether it was that he was surprised, or that he wanted courage (for although he was of those ancient Princes of *Machate*, yet he was no great Souldier, though a Man of a very obliging and civil conversation) he did not oppose *Dara*, but rather received him very honourably, and even managed him afterwards with so much dexterity, that *Dara* was so simple as to trust himself with him, and to communicate to him his Designs; insomuch as that he shewed him the Letters which he received from the *Raja Jessomseigne*, and of many other of his Friends, which prepared themselves to come to him; although it proved too true, what every body told him, and his Friends confirmed by Letters, that certainly this *Chah-Navaze-Kan* would betray him.

Never was any man more surprized than *Aureng-Zebe*, when he heard that *Dara* was in *Amadevat*: For he well knew, that he wanted no Money, and that all his Friends, and all the discontented Party, which was numerous, would not fail to betake themselves by little and little to him: And on the other side, he found it not safe to go and find him out himself in that place, by removing himself so far from *Agra* and *Chah-Jehan*, to go and embarase himself in all those Countries of the *Rajah's*, *Jesseigne*, *Jessomseigne*, and others, that are in those Provinces. Besides, he apprehended, left *Sultan Sujah* should advance with a strong Army, which was already about *Elabas*, and left the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* should descend from the Hills with *Soliman Chekouh*: So that

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he was sufficiently perplexed and troubled, not knowing which way to turn. At last he believed it best to leave *Dara* for a time quiet where he was, and to go thither where his presence and Army was most necessary, which was towards *Sultan Sujah*, who had already passed the River *Ganges* at *Elabas*.

This *Sultan Sujah* was come to encamp in a little Village called *Cadjoue*, and had conveniently seized himself of a great *Talab*, or Reservatory of Water, which is there in the way; and *Aureng-Zebe* came to place himself on the side of a small Torrent, at the distance of a mile and an half from thence, on *Agra*'s side. Between both was a very fair Campagne, very proper for a Battel. *Aureng-Zebe* was no sooner arrived, but being impatient to end this War, at break of day he went to face *Sujah*, leaving his Baggage on the other side of the Torrent. He fell upon *Sujah* with an effort unimaginable. *Emir-Jemla*, Prisoner of *Decan*, and who arrived just on the day of the Combat, fearing *Dara* no more, because his Family was more in safety, did there also lay out all his force, courage, and dexterity. But seeing that *Sultan Sujah* had well fortified himself, and was accompanied with a very good Artillery, advantageously placed, it was not possible for *Aureng-Zebe* to force him, nor to make him retreat from thence, so as to make him lose those Waters. On the contrary, he was obliged himself to draw back several times, so vigorously was he repulsed, insomuch that he found himself in great perplexity. *Sultan Sujah* not being willing to advance too far into the Campagne, nor to remove from that advantagious place where he was, pretending only to defend himself; which was very prudently done. For he foresaw, that *Aureng-Zebe* could not stay there long, and that in that hot season he would be absolutely obliged to turn back towards the Torrent for the Water; and that, when he should do so he would fall upon his Rear, *Aureng-Zebe* also foresaw well enough the same thing, and that was the reason why he was so forward and pressing; but behold another more troublesome accident.

In this very time he receiveth intelligence, that the *Raja Jessomseigne*, who in *appearance* had accommodated himself with him, was fallen upon his Rear, and plundred his Baggage and Treasure. This News astonished him much, and the more, because he perceived that his Army which had heard of it was thereby frighted, and fallen into disorder. Yet he loses not his judgment for all this; and being well aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he resolved, as in the Battle of *Dara*, to bear up the best he could, and to expect with a steady foot all Events. In the mean time, the disorder grew worse and worse in his Army: *Sujah*, who was resolved to profit of the occasion, taketh his time, and presseth him vigorously. He that led *Aureng-Zebe*'s Elephant is killed with the shot of an Arrow; he leads the Beast as well as he can himself, till another could be had in that Leaders place. Arrows rain upon him; he returns many himself, his Elephant begins to be frighted, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to that point, that one foot of his was out of the seat, as if he meant to cast himself to the ground; and no man knows what in that trouble he had not done, if *Emir-Jemla*, being nigh, and performing like a great Man as he was, beyond imagination, called to him, in holding up his hand *Decan-kan*, *Decan-kan*, where is *Decan?* This seems to have been the greatest extremity, to which *Aureng-Zebe* could be reduced. One would have said, 'twas now and here that Fortune had abandon'd him, and there is almost no appearance of a possibility to escape. But his good Fortune is stronger than all that: *Sultan Sujah* must be routed, and take flight, like *Dara*, to save his life: *Aureng-Zebe* must remain Victorious, carry away the Bell, and be King of the *Indies*.

We are to remember the Battel of *Samanguer*, and that, in appearance, slight accident which ruined *Dara*: 'Tis the same over-sight, or rather the same Treason, which is now destroying *Sultan Sujah*. One of his chief Captains, *Allah-verdi-Kan*, who (as some say) had been gained, useth the same Artifice that *Calil-ullah-Kan* had employed towards *Dara*; though there were some who believed, that there was no malice in the case, and that it was a meer piece of Flattery. For seeing that the whole Army of *Aureng-Zebe* was in disorder, he ran towards *Sultan Sujah*, telling him the same thing, that *Calil-ullah Kan* did to *Dara*, and begging of him with folded hands, that he would stay no longer in so great danger upon his Elephant. Come down, *said he*, in the name of God, mount on Horse-back, God hath made you Sovereign of the *Indies*, let us pursue those Fugitives, let not *Aureng-Zebe* escape us.

But not to stay long from declaring the strange Fortune of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the incredible conjuncture that recovers his desperate condition; *Sultan Sujah*, not more considerate than *Dara*, commits the same Fault; and he was no sooner come down from his Elephant, but his Army seeing him no more, was struck with a terror, believing there was Treason, and that he was either taken or slain. Whereupon they disbanded, without any more ado, as *Dara*'s Army did in the Battel of *Samonguer*; and the Defeat was so great, that the *Sultan* was fortunate in that he could save himself.

Jessomseigne hearing this unexpected News, and perceiving it was not very safe for him to tarry there, contented himself with the Spoil he had got, and with all diligence marched streight to *Agra*, thence to pass to his Countrey. The noise was already in *Agra*, that *Aureng-Zebe* had lost the Battel; that he was taken, together with *Emir-Jemla*, and that *Sultan-Sujah* brought them both Prisoners. Insomuch, that *Chah-hest-Kan*, who was Governor of the Town, and Uncle to *Aureng-Zebe*, seeing *Jessomseigne*, whose Treachery he had heard of, at the Gates, and despairing of his Life, had taken into his hand a Cup of Poyson to make himself away, and had, as they say, in very deed swallowed it, if his Women had not fallen upon him, and hindred him: So that 'tis thought, if *Jessomseigne* had had the wit and courage to stay longer in *Agra*, if he had threatned boldly, and promised and acted vigorously for the freedom of *Chah-Jehan*, he might have drawn him out of Prison; so much the more easily, because all *Agra* was for two whole days in that belief, that *Aureng-Zebe* was overcome. But *Jessomseigne*, who knew how all things went, and who durst not long stay there, nor attempt any thing, did nothing but pass, returning with all speed homewards.

Aureng-Zebe, who apprehended mischief from *Agra*, and fear'd lest *Jessomseigne* should undertake something for *Chah-Jehan*, was not long in the pursuit after *Sultan Sujah*; he turn'd short for *Agra* with his whole Army, where he stay'd a good while, giving order for all things. Mean time he received intelligence, that *Sultan Sujah* had not lost many Men in his being routed, for want of farther pursuit; that also from the Lands of the *Raja's*, which are in those quarters, on the right and left of *Ganges*, he raised great Forces, upon the score of the reputation he had of being very rich, and very liberal, and that he fortified himself in *Elabas*, that important and famous Passage of *Ganges*, which, with its Fortress, is the first In-let into *Bengale*. And then he considered also, that he had about him two Persons, which indeed were very capable to serve him, *Sultan Mahmoud* his eldest Son, and *Emir-Jemla*; but he well knew, that those who have done good service to their Prince, grow often insolent, in the belief, that all is due to them, and that they cannot be recompenced enough. He perceived already, that the former of them began very much to emancipate himself, and that every day he became more arrogant, for having seized on the Fortress of *Agra*, and by that means had broken all the Designs which *Chah-Jehan* could have formed. And as to the *latter*, he knew indeed the force of his Understanding, his Conduct, and Valour; but that was the very thing which made him apprehend him the more: For knowing that he was very rich, that his Reputation was great, that he passed for the *First Mover* in Affairs, and for the ablest Man in all the *Indies*, he doubted not, but that after the Example of *Sultan Mahmoud*, he entertain'd himself with big hopes. All this certainly would have been able to perplex an ordinary Spirit, but *Aureng-Zebe* found a Remedy to all. He knew to remove them both with so much prudence, and even with so much handsomness, that neither of them found any cause to complain of it. He sent them both against *Sultan Sujah* with a puissant Army, letting *Emir* secretly know, that the Government of *Bengale*, which is the best quarter of *Indostan*, was design'd for him, to hold it during his life, and for his Son after his decease; and that thereby he would begin to express to him his acknowledgments for the great Services he had done him; and that therefore it belonged only to him to defeat *Sujah*, and that as soon as he should have compassed it, he would make him *Mir-ul Omrahs*, which is the first and the most honourable place of *Indostan*, and no less than the Prince of the *Omrahs*.

To *Sultan Mahmoud* his Son, he said only these few words: *Remember, that thou art the Eldest of my Children, that 'tis for thy self thou goest forth to fight; that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not* Sujah, *who is our greatest and powerfullest Enemy; I hope, God assisting me, to be soon Master of the rest.*

With these words he dismissed them both, with ordinary Honours, that is, with rich

rich Vests, some Horses and Elephants gallantly harnessed; making in the mean time *Emir-Jemla* to consent, that his only Son, *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, should stay with him for a good Education, or rather for a Pledge of his Fidelity; and *Sultan Mahmoud*, that his Wife should remain in *Agra* (which was the Daughter of the above-mention'd King of *Golkonda*) as too troublesom a thing in an Army, and in such an Expedition.

Sultan Sujah, who was always in the apprehension, lest the *Raja's* of the lower *Bengale*, which he had ill treated, should be raised against him, and who feared nothing more than to have to do with *Emir-Jemla*, had no sooner received this News, but apprehending that the passage to *Bengale* would be obstructed, and that *Emir* would pass in some other place the River *Ganges*, either lower or higher than *Elabas*, raised his Camp, and went down to *Benares* and *Patna*, whence he betook himself to *Mogiere*, a small Town seated upon the *Ganges*, a place commonly call'd the *Key* of the Kingdom of *Bengale*, being a kind of Streight between the Mountains and the Woods, which are not far from thence. He thought fit to stay in that place, and there to fortifie himself; and for greater safety, he caused a great Trench to be made, which I have seen, passing that way some years after, from the Town and River unto the Mountain, being well resolved there to attend *Emir-Jemla*, and to dispute that passage with him. But he was sufficiently astonish'd, when he was told, that the Troops of *Emir*, which slowly descended along the River *Ganges*, were certainly for nothing but to amuse him; that himself was not there; that he had gained the *Raja's* of those Mountains, which are on the right hand of the River; and that he and *Sultan Mahmoud* marched apace over their Lands with all the Flower of the Army, drawing straight to *Rage-Mehalle*, to intercept him: So that he was constrained to quit, as soon as he could, his Fortifications; yet notwithstanding he made so much haste, that though he was obliged to follow those windings, which the River *Ganges* on that side maketh towards the left hand, he prevented *Emir* by some days, and arrived first at *Rage-Mehalle*, where he had time to fortifie himself; because *Emir* having heard this News, took his March to the left hand towards *Ganges*, through very ill ways, there to expect his Troops, which came down with the Body of the Artillery and the Baggage along the River. As soon as all was come, he went to attaque *Sultan Sujah*, who defended himself very well for five or six days; but seeing that the Artillery of *Emir*, which played incessantly, ruined all his Fortifications, which were made but of sandy Earth and Fagots, and that he could not but with much difficulty make resistance in that place, besides that the Season of the Rain began, he retired himself, at the favour of the Night, leaving behind two great Peeces of Cannon. *Emir* durst not follow him in the night, for fear of some Ambush, putting off the pursuit 'till the next morning: But *Sujah* had the good luck, that at the break of day there began to fall a Rain, which lasted above three days; so that *Emir* could not only stir out of *Rage-Mehalle*, but saw himself obliged to pass the Winter there, by reason of the excessive Rains in that Countrey, which render the ways so troublesom for more than four Months, *viz. July*, *August*, *September*, and *October*, that the Armies cannot possibly march. And hereby *Sultan Sujah* had the means to retire himself, and to chuse what place he would, having time enough to fortifie his Army, and to send out of the inferiour *Bengale* for many Peeces of Cannon, and a good number of *Portugals*, that were retired thither, because of the great fertility of the Countrey: For he much courted all those *Portugal* Fathers, Missionaries, that are in that Province, promising them no less than that he would make them all rich, and build Churches for them wheresoever they would. And they were indeed capable to serve him, it being certain, that in the Kingdom of *Bengale* there are to be found no less than eight or nine Thousand Families of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, and these either Natives or Mesticks.

But *Sultan Mahmoud*, who, for the reason above-mentioned, was grown fierce, and aspired, perhaps, to greater things than at that time he ought, did pretend to command the Army absolutely, and that *Emir-Jemla* should follow his Orders, letting also from time to time fall insolent words in reference to his Father *Aureng-Zebe*, as if he were obliged to him for the Crown, and uttering Expressions of Contempt and Threat against *Emir Jemla*, which caused great coldness betwixt them two, which lasted a pretty while, until *Sultan Mahmoud* understood, that his Father was very much dissatisfied with his conduct: And apprehending, lest *Emir* had order to seize on his person, he went away to *Sultan Sujah*, accompanied with a very small number, and to him he

made great promises, and swore Fidelity. But *Sujah*, who feared *Aureng-Zebe* and *Emir-Jemla*'s snares, could not trust him, having always an Eye upon his Actions, without giving him any considerable Command; which he so disgusted, that some months after, not knowing what would become of him, he left *Sultan Sujah*, and returned to *Emir*, who received him well enough, assuring him, that he would write in his behalf to *Aureng-Zebe*, and do his utmost to make him forget that fault.

I think fit here to take notice, on the by, of what many have told me, *viz.* That this Escape of *Sultan Mahmoud* was altogether made by the Artifices of *Aureng-Zebe*, who cared not much to hazard this Son of his to try to destroy *Sujah*, and who was glad enough, that whatever the Event were, he might have a specious pretence to put him in a place of surety. However it be, he afterwards shew'd himself much dissatisfied with him, and wrote to him a severe Letter, in which he enjoin'd him to return to *Debli*, but giving order in the mean time, that he should not come so far: For he no sooner had passed the River *Ganges*, but he met with Troops that stopt him, and put him up in a small Chair, (as was done to *Morad-Bakche*) and carried him to *Gonaleor*, whence 'tis thought he will never be set at liberty: *Aureng-Zebe* by this means freeing himself from great perplexity; who then also let his second Son, *Sultan Mazum*, know, that the point of Reigning is so delicate a thing, that Kings must be jealous even of their own shadow; adding, that if he be not discreet, the like may befall him what had befallen his Brother, and that he ought to think *Aureng-Zebe* was not a Man, that would suffer that to be done to himself, what *Chah-Jehan* did to his Father *Jehan-Guyre*, and what he had also lately seen done to *Chah-Jehan*.

And indeed we may on this occasion say, that if this Son continue to behave himself as he hath done hitherto, *Aureng-Zebe* will have no cause to suspect him, and to be dissatisfied with him: For no Slave can be more tractable, and *Aureng-Zebe* himself never appear'd more careless of Greatness, nor more given to Devotion than he: Yet I have known Men of Parts, who believed, that he is not so in good earnest, but by superlative policy and craft, like that of his Father, which we may have the proof of in time.

Whilst all these things were thus transacted in *Bengale*, and that *Sultan Sujah* resisted the best he could the Forces of *Emir-Jemla*, passing now on one side of the River *Ganges*, of a Channel, or some other River, (for that Countrey is full of them) then on the other; *Aureng-Zebe* kept himself about *Agra*, going to and fro; and at length, after he had also sent *Morad-Bakche* to *Gonaleor*, he came to *Debli*, where in good earnest he took upon him publickly to act the King, giving order for all Affairs of the Kingdom, and especially thinking on means to catch *Dara*, and to get him out of *Guzaratte*, which was a very hard thing, for the Reasons already mentioned. But the great good Fortune, and the singular dexterity of *Aureng-Zebe* soon drew him thence, which now follows next to be related.

Jessomseigne, who had retired himself to his Countrey, and made the best of what he had taken in the Battel of *Kadjoue*, raised a strong Army, and wrote to *Dara*, that he should come to *Agra* as soon as he could, and that he would join with his Forces. *Dara*, who had by this time set on foot a pretty numerous Army, (though it consisted, for the most part, but of gathered people) and who hoped, that approaching to *Agra*, many of his old Friends, seeing him with *Jessomseigne*, would not fail to join with him also, immediately leaveth *Amadevad*, and marcheth with great speed to *Asmire*, seven or eight days journey from *Agra*. But *Jessomseigne* kept not his word with him: The *Raja Jesseigne* interposed to make his peace with *Aureng-Zebe*, and to fasten him to his Party; or, at least, to hinder his design, which was capable to ruine himself, and to make all the *Raja's* rise; and wrote to him several Letters, giving him to understand the great danger he went to expose himself to, by espousing a Party in that Extremity, as that of *Dara's* was; that he should well consider what he was going to do; that he went about wholly to destroy himself, and all his whole Family; that *Aureng-Zebe* would never forgive him; that he was a *Raja* as himself; that he should think on sparing the blood of the *Ragipous*; that if he thought to draw the *Raja's* to his Party, he would find those that would hinder him from it. In a word, that it was a business which concern'd all the Gentry of *Indostan*, and exposed them to danger, if way were given to kindle a Fire, which would not be extinguish'd at pleasure. And lastly, if he would leave *Dara* to himself, *Aureng-Zebe* would forget all that had passed, and pre-

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ſent him with all he had taken, and give him that very inſtant the Government of *Guzaratte*, which would be very convenient for him, that Countrey being near his Lands; that he could be there in full liberty and ſafety, and as long as he pleaſed, and that himſelf would be Caution for all. In a word, this *Raja* acted his part ſo well, that he made *Jeſſomſeigne* return to his Land, whilſt *Aureng-Zebe* approached with his whole Army to *Aſmire*, and encamped in the ſight of that of *Dara*.

And now what could this poor Prince *Dara* do? He ſeeth himſelf abandoned, and fruſtrated of his hopes. He conſiders, that to turn back ſafe to *Amadevad* was impoſſible, in regard that it was a March of Thirty and five days; that it was in the heat of Summer; that water would fail him; that they were all the Lands of *Raja's*, Friends or Allies of *Jeſſeigne* or *Jeſſomſeigne*; that the Army of *Aureng-Zebe*, which was not haraſſed like his, would not fail to follow him. *'Tis as good*, ſaith he, *to periſh here; and although the Match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give Battel once more.* But alas! what does he mean to do? He is not only abandoned by all, but he hath yet with him *Chah-Navaze-Kan*, whom he truſts, and who betrays him, and diſcovers all his Deſigns to *Aureng-Zebe*. 'Tis true, that *Chah-Navaze-Kan* was puniſh'd for his Perfidiouſneſs, and kill'd in the Battel; whether it was by the hands of *Dara* himſelf, as many told me, or (which is more probable) by ſome of *Aureng-Zebe's* Army, who being ſecret Partiſans of *Dara*, found means to get to him, and to diſpatch him, fearing leſt he ſhould diſcover them, and have ſome knowledge of the Letters they had written to *Dara*. But what did it benefit him at that time, that *Chah-Navaze-Kan* was dead? *Dara* ſhould have ſooner follow'd the advice of his Friends, and never have confided in him.

The Fight began between Nine and Ten of the Clock in the morning: *Dara's* Artillery, which was very well placed on a little Eminency, was loud enough; but, as was ſaid, moſt of the Peeces without Bullets; ſo was he betray'd by all! 'Tis needleſs to relate the other Particulars of this Battel; it was properly not a Battel, but a Rout. I ſhall only ſay, that hardly the Onſet was begun, but *Jeſſeigne* was near and in ſight of *Dara*, to whom he ſent word, that he ſhould flie preſently, unleſs he would be taken. So that this poor Prince, being altogether ſurpriſed, was conſtrained to run away inſtantly, and with ſo much diſorder and precipitation, that he had not leiſure to put up his Baggage. It was no ſmall matter, that he was able to get away with his Wife, and the reſt of his Family. And 'tis certain, that if the *Raja-Jeſſeigne* would have done what he could, he could never have eſcaped; but he always had a reſpect to the Royal Family; or rather, he was too crafty and politick, and had too great forecaſt, to venture to lay hands on a Prince of the Blood.

This unfortunate Prince, deſerted by almoſt all, and finding himſelf accompanied but of Two thouſand Men at moſt, was forced in the hotteſt of Summer to croſs, without Tents or Baggage, all thoſe Countries of the *Raja's*, that are almoſt from *Aſmire* to *Amadevad*. Mean time the *Koulis*, which are the Countrey People, and the worſt of all the *Indies*, and the greateſt Robbers, follow him night and day, rifle and kill his Soldiers, with ſo much cruelty, that no Man could ſtay Two hundred Paces behind the Body, but he was preſently ſtripp'd naked, or butcher'd upon the leaſt reſiſtance. Yet notwithſtanding, *Dara* made ſhift to get near *Amadevad*, when he hoped, that the next day, or ſoon after, he ſhould enter into the Town to refreſh himſelf, and to try once more to gather again ſome Forces: But all things fall out contrary to vanquiſhed and unfortunate Men.

The Governor, whom he had left in the Caſtle of *Amadevad*, had already received both menacing and promiſing Letters from *Aureng-Zebe*, which made him loſe Courage, and incline to that ſide; inſomuch that he wrote to *Dara*, forbidding him to come nearer, if he did, he would find the Gates ſhut, and all in Arms.

Three days before I met this unhappy Prince, by a ſtrange Accident, when he obliged me to follow him, having no Phyſician about him; and the Night before that he received this News from the Governor of *Amadevad*, he did me the favor to make me come into the *Karavan-Serrak*, where he was, fearing leſt the *Koulis* ſhould aſſaſſinate me: And (what is hard enough to believe in *Indoſtan*, where the Grandees eſpecially are ſo jealous of their Wives) I was ſo near to the Wife of this Prince, that the Cords of the *Kanates*, or Wind ſcreen, which encloſed them, (for they had not ſo much as a poor Tent) were faſtned to the wheels of my Chariot. I relate this circumſtance by the by only, to ſhew the extremity *Dara* was reduced to.

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When these Women heard this sad News (which was at the break of day, as I well remember) they broke out upon a sudden into such strange cryes and lamentations, that they forced tears from ones Eyes. And now behold all was in an unexpressible confusion: Every one looks upon his Neighbor, and no body knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we saw *Dara* come forth, half dead, now speaking to one, then another, even to the meanest Soldiers. He seeth all astonish'd, and ready to abandon him. What counsel? whither can he go? he must be gone instantly. You may judge of the extremity he must needs be in, by this small accident I am going to mention. Of three great Oxen of *Guzaratte*, which I had for my Chariot, one died the Night before, another was dying, and the third was tyred out, (for we had been forced to march for three days together, almost night and day, in an intolerable heat and dust:) Whatever *Dara* could say or command, whether he alledged it was for himself, or for one of his Women that was hurt in her Leg, or for me; he could not possibly procure for me, wheti er Ox, or Camel, or Horse: So that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there. I saw him march away, and that with tears in his Eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred Cavaliers at most, and with two Elephants, that were said to be laden with Gold and Silver; and I heard them say, that they were to take their March towards *Tatabakar*; for he had no other Game to play, though even that seem'd in a manner impossible, considering the small number of People left him, and the great sandy Deserts to be waded through in the hottest season, most of them without water fit to drink. And indeed most of those that follow'd him, and even divers of his Women, did there perish, either of drought, or the unwholsom waters, or the tiresom ways and ill food; or lastly, because stripped by the *Koullis* above-mention'd. Yet notwithstanding all this, *Dara* made hard shift to get to the *Raja Katebe*; unhappy even herein, that he perish'd not himself in this March.

This *Raja* at first gave him a very good Reception, even so far as to promise him assistance with all his Forces, provided he would give his Daughter in marriage to his Son. But *Jesseigne* soon wrought as much with this *Raja*, as he had done with *Jessomseigne*; so that *Dara* one day seeing the kindness of this *Barbarian*, cooled upon a sudden, and that consequently his Person was in danger there, he betakes himself to the pursuit of his Expedition to *Tatabakar*.

To relate how I got away from those Robbers, the *Koullis*, in what manner I moved them to compassion, how I saved the best part of my small Treasure, how we became good Friends by the means of my Profession of Physick, my Servants (perplexed as well as my self) swearing that I was the greatest Phytician of the World, and that the People of *Dara*, at their going away, had ill treated me, and taken from me all my best things: How, after having kept me with them seven or eight days, they had so much kindness and generosity, as to lend me an Ox, and to conduct me so far, that I was in sight of *Amadevad:* And lastly, how from thence after some days I returned to *Debli*, having lighted on an occasion to go with a certain *Omrah* passing thither; in which Journey I met from time to time, on the way, with Carkasses of Men, Elephants, Oxen, Horses, and Camels, the remainder of that unfortunate Army of *Dara*. These are things, I say, I must not insist upon to describe them.

Whilst *Dara* advanced towards *Tatabakar*, the War continues in *Bengale*, and much longer than was believed, *Sultan Sujah* putting forth his utmost, and playing his last Game against *Emir-Jemla:* Yet this did not much trouble *Aureng-Zebe*, who knew 'twas a great way between *Bengale* and *Agra*, and was sufficiently convinced of the prudence and valor of *Emir-Jemla*. That which disquieted him much more was, that he saw *Soliman Chekuh* so near (for from *Agra* to the Mountains 'tis but eight days Journey) whom he could not master, and who perpetually alarm'd him by the rumors that went continually about, as if he were coming down the Mountains with the *Raja*. 'Tis certainly very hard to draw him thence: But behold how he manages the matter to compass it.

He maketh the *Raja Jesseigne* write one Letter after another to the *Raja* of *Serenaguer*, promising him very great things, if he would surrender *Soliman Chekuh* to him, and menacing War at the same time, if he should obstinately keep him. The *Raja* answers, *That he would rather lose his Estate, than do so unworthy an Action.* And *Aureng-Zebe*, seeing his resolution, taketh the Field, and marcheth directly to the foot of the Hills,

Hills, and with an infinite number of Pike-men cauſeth the Rocks to be cut, and the paſſage to be widen'd. But the *Raja* laughs at all that; neither hath he much cauſe to fear on that ſide. *Aureng-Zebe* may cut long enough, they are Mountains inacceſſible to an Army, and ſtones would be ſufficient to ſtop the Forces of four *Indoſtans*; ſo that he was conſtrained to turn back again.

Dara in the mean time approacheth to the Fortreſs of *Tatabakar*, and when he was but two or three days journey off, he received News, that *Mir-baba*, who had long held it beſieged, had at length reduced it to extremity: As I afterwards learned of our *French*, and other *Franguis* that were there, a pound of Rice and Meat having coſt there above a Crown, and ſo of other Victuals in proportion: Yet the Governour held out; made Sallies, which extreamly incommoded the Enemy; and ſhew'd all poſſible prudence, courage and fidelity; deriding the endeavours of the General, *Mir-baba*, and all the menaces and promiſes of *Aureng-Zebe*.

And this alſo I learned afterwards of my Country-men, the *French*, and of all thoſe other *Franguis* that were with him; who added, that when he heard *Dara* was not far off, he redoubled his liberalities, and knew ſo well to gain the hearts of all his Souldiers, and to encourage them to do bravely, that there was not one of them, that was not reſolved to ſally out upon the Enemy, and to hazard all to raiſe the Siege, and to make *Dara* enter; and that he alſo knew ſo well to caſt fear and terrour into the Camp of *Mir-baba*, by ſending Spies about very cunningly to aſſure, that they had ſeen *Dara* approach with great reſolution, and very good Forces; that if he had come, as was believed he would do every moment, the Army of the Enemy was for disbanding upon his appearance, and even in part to go over to him. But he is ſtill too unfortunate, to undertake any thing proſperouſly. Believing therefore, that to raiſe the Siege with ſuch an handful of Men as he had, was impoſſible; he did deliberate to paſs the River *Indus*, and to endeavour to get into *Perſia*; although that alſo would have had mighty difficulties and inconveniencies, by reaſon of the Deſarts, and the ſmall quantity of good waters in thoſe parts; beſides, that upon thoſe Frontiers there are but mean *Rajas* and *Patans*, who acknowledge neither the *Perſian* nor the *Mogol*. But his Wife did very much diſſwade him from it, for this weak reaſon, that he muſt, if he did ſo, expect to ſee his Wife and Daughter Slaves of the King of *Perſia*; that that was a thing altogether unworthy of the Grandeur of his Family, and 'twas better to die, than to undergo this Infamy.

Dara, being in great perplexity, remembred, that there was thereabout a certain *Patan*, powerful enough, called *Gion-Kan*, whoſe Life he had formerly ſaved twice, when *Chah-Jehan* had commanded he ſhould be caſt under the feet of an Elephant, for having rebelled divers times: He reſolved to go to him, hoping that he could give him ſufficient Succours to raiſe the Siege of *Tatabakar*; making account, that thence he would take his Treaſure, and that going from thence, and gaining *Kandahar*, he could caſt himſelf into the Kingdom of *Caboul*, having great hopes of *Mohabet-Kan*, who was Governour of it, becauſe he was both potent and valiant, well beloved of his Country, and had obtained this Government by his (*Dara*'s) favour. But his Grandchild, *Sepe-Chekoh*, yet but very young, ſeeing his deſign, caſt himſelf at his Feet, intreating him for God's ſake, not to enter into the Country of that *Patan*. His Wife and Daughter did the ſame, remonſtrating to him, that he was a Robber, a revolted Governour, that he would infallibly betray him; that he ought not to ſtand upon the raiſing of the Siege, but rather endeavour to gain *Caboul*, that the thing was not impoſſible, foraſmuch as *Mir-baba* was not like to quite the Siege to follow him, and to hinder him from getting thither.

Dara, being carried head-long by the force of his unhappy Deſtiny, rejected this counſel, and would hearken to nothing of what was propoſed to him, ſaying, as was true, that the March would be very difficult, and very dangerous; and maintaining always, that *Gion-Kan* would not be ſo mean, as to betray him, after all the good he had done him. He departed, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid to him, and went to prove, at the price of his Life, That no truſt is to be given to a wicked Man.

This Robber, who at firſt believed that he had numerous Troops following him, gave him the faireſt reception that could be, and entertained him with very great kindneſs and civility in appearance, placing his Souldiers here and there among his Subjects, with a ſtrict order to treat them well, and to give them what refreſhments

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the Country afforded: But when he found that he had not above two or three hundred Men in all, he quickly shew'd what he was. It is not known, whether he had not received some Letters from *Aureng-Zebe*, or whether his avarice had not been tempted by some Mules said to be laden with Gold; which was all that could be saved hitherto, as well from the hands of Robbers, as of those that conveyed it. Whatever it be, on a certain morning, when no body looked for any such thing, all being taken up with the care of refreshing themselves, and believing all to be safe; behold this Traitor, who had bestirr'd himself all night to get armed Men from all parts, fell upon *Dara* and *Sepe-Chekuh*, killed some of their Men that stood up to defend themselves; forgot not to seize on the loads of the Mules, and of all the Jewels of the Women; made *Dara* to be tyed fast upon an Elephant, commanding the Executioner to sit behind, and to cut off his head upon the least sign given, in case he should be seen to resist, or that any one should attempt to deliver him. And in this strange posture he was carried to the Army before *Taba-bakar*, where he put him into the hands of *Mir-baba*, the General, who caused him to be conducted in the company of this same Traitor to *Labor*, and thence to *Debli*.

When he was at the Gates of *Debli*, it was deliberated by *Aureng-Zebe*, whether he should be made to pass through the midst of the City, or no, to carry him thence to *Gonaleor*. Many did advise, that that was by no means to be done; that some disorder might arise; that some might come to save him; and besides, that it would be a great dishonour to the Family Royal. Others maintained the contrary, *viz.* That it was absolutely necessary he should pass through the Town, to astonish the World, and to shew the absolute Power of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to disabuse the People, that might still doubt, whether it were himself, as indeed many *Omrahs* did doubt; and to take away all hopes from those, who still preserved some affection for him. The Opinion of these last was followed; he was put on an Elephant, his Grand-child, *Sepe-Chekuh*, at his side; and behind them was placed *Bhadur-Kan*, as an Executioner. This was none of those brave Elephants of *Ceilan* or *Pegu*, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt Harness and embroidered Covers, and Seats with Canopies very handsomely painted and gilt, to defend themselves from the Sun: It was an old Caitiff Animal, very dirty and nasty, with an old torn Cover, and a pitiful Seat, all open. There was no more seen about him, that Necklace of big Pearls, which those Princes are wont to wear, nor those rich Turbants and Vests embroider'd. All his Dress was a Vest of course Linnen, all dirty, and a Turbant of the same, with a wretched Scarf of *Kachimere* over his head, like a Varlet; his Grand-son, *Sepe-Chekuh*, being in the same equipage. In this miserable posture he was made enter into the Town, and to pass through the greatest Merchant-streets, to the end that all the People might see him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it was he.

As for me, I fancied we went to see some strange Massacre, and was astonish'd at the boldness of making him thus pass through the Town; and that the more, because I knew that he was very ill guarded, neither was I ignorant, that he was very much beloved by the lower sort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly against the cruelty and tyranny of *Aureng-Zebe*, as one that kept his Father in prison, as also his own Son *Sultan Mahmoud*, and his Brother *Morad-Bakche*. I was well prepar'd for it, and with a good Horse and two good Men I went, together with two others of my Friends, to place my self in the greatest street, where he was to pass. But not one Man had the boldness to draw his Sword, only there were some of the *Fakires*, and with them some poor people, who seeing that infamous *Gion-Kan* ride by his side, began to rail and throw stones at him, and to call him Traitor. All the Shops were ready to break for the crowd of Spectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud Out-cryes and Lamentations, Invectives, and Curses, heaped on *Gion-Kan*. In a word, Men and Women, great and small (such is the tenderness of the hearts of the *Indians*) were ready to melt into tears for compassion; but not one there was that durst stir to rescue him. Now after he had thus passed through the Town, he was put into a Garden called *Heider-Abad*.

There were not wanting to tell *Aureng-Zebe*, how the People at this sight had lamented *Dara*, and cursed the *Patan*, that had deliver'd him; and how the same was in danger to have been stoned to death, as also that there had been a great apprehension of some sedition and mischief. Hereupon another Council was held, whether

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he ſhould indeed be carried to *Gonaleor*, as had been concluded before; or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death, without more ado? Some were of opinion, that he ſhould go to *Gonaleor* with a ſtrong Guard, that that would be enough; *Daneshmend-Kan*, though *Dara*'s old Enemy, inſiſting much upon that. But *Rauchenara-Begum*, in purſuance of her hatred againſt this Brother of hers, puſhed *Aureng-Zebe* to make him away, without running the danger there was in ſending him to *Gonaleor*; as alſo did all his old Enemies, *Galilullah-Kan*, and *Chah-beſt-Kan*, and eſpecially a certain Flatterer, a Phyſitian, who was fled out of *Perſia*, firſt called *Hakim-Daoud*, and afterwards being become a great *Omrah* named *Takarrub-Kan*: This Villain boldly roſe up in a full aſſembly, and cryed out, that it was expedient for the ſafety of the State to put him to death immediately, and that the rather, becauſe he was no *Muſſulman*; that long ſince he was turn'd *Kafire*, Idolater, without Religion, and that he would charge the Sin of it upon his own head: Of which imprecation he ſoon after felt the ſmart; for within a ſhort time he fell into diſgrace, and was treated like an infamous Fellow, and dyed miſerably. But *Aureng-Zebe*, carried away by theſe inſtances and motives, commanded that he ſhould be put to death, and that *Sepe-Chekoub*, his Grand-child, ſhould be ſent to *Gonaleor*.

The Charge of this Tragical Execution was given to a certain Slave, call'd *Nazer*, that had been bred by *Chah-Jehan*, and was known to have been formerly ill treated by *Dara*. This Executioner, accompanied with three or four Parricides more, went to *Dara*, who was then himſelf dreſſing ſome Lentils with *Sepe-Chekoub* his Grandchild. He no ſooner ſaw *Nazer*, but cryed out to *Sepe-Chekoub*, My dear Son, behold thoſe that come to kill us! laying hold at the ſame time of a ſmall Knife, which was all the Arms that were left him. One of theſe Butchers immediately fell upon *Sepe-Chekoub*; the others, upon the arms and legs of *Dara*, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, 'till *Nazer* cut his throat. His Head was forthwith carried to the Fortreſs of *Aureng-Zebe*, who preſently commanded it to be put in a diſh, and that water ſhould be fetch'd; which when brought, he wiped it off with an Handkerchief, and after he had cauſed the Face to be waſhed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully ſatisfied that it was the very head of *Dara*, he fell a weeping, and ſaid theſe words; Ah *Bed-Bakt!* Ah unfortunate Man! Take it away, and bury it in the Sepulchre of *Houmayon*.

At night, the Daughter of *Dara* was brought into the *Seraglio*, but afterwards ſent to *Chah-Jehan*, and *Begum-Saheb*, who asked her of *Aureng-Zebe*. Concerning *Dara*'s Wife, ſhe had ended her days before at *Labor*: She had poyſon'd her ſelf, foreſeeing the extremities ſhe was falling into, together with her Husband. *Sepe-Chekoub* was ſent to *Gonaleor*. And after a few days, *Gion-kan* was ſent for, to come before *Aureng-Zebe* in the Aſſembly: To him were given ſome Preſents, and ſo he was ſent away; but being near his Lands, he was rewarded according to his deſert, being killed in a Wood. This barbarous Man not knowing, or not conſidering, that if Kings do ſometimes permit ſuch Actions for their Intereſt, yet they abhor them, and ſooner or later revenge them.

In the mean time, the Governour of *Tatabakar*, by the ſame Orders that had been required of *Dara*, was obliged to ſurrender the Fortreſs. It was indeed upon ſuch a compoſition as he would have, but it was alſo with an intention not to keep word with him. For the poor Eunuch, arriving at *Labor*, was cut in pieces, together with thoſe few Men he had then with him, by *Kalil-ullah-kan*, who was Governour thereof. But the reaſon of the non-obſervance of the Capitulation was, that there was come intelligence, that he ſecretly prepar'd himſelf to go directly to *Soliman-Chekoub*, ſparing no Gold, which under-hand he conveyed into the hands of our *Franguis*, and to all thoſe that were come with him out of the Fortreſs to follow him, under pretext of accompanying him as far as *Debli* to *Aureng-Zebe*, who had often ſaid, that he ſhould be very glad to ſee ſo gallant a Man, and who had ſo valiantly defended himſelf.

There remained therefore none of the Family of *Dara*, but *Soliman-Chekoub*, who could not eaſily be drawn away from *Serenaguer*, if the *Raja* had been ſteady to his firſt Declarations. But the ſecret practices of the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, the promiſes and threats of *Aureng-Zebe*, the death of *Dara*, and the other *Rajas* his Neighbours that had been gain'd, and were prepared by the Orders, and at the coſt of *Aureng-Zebe*, to make War againſt him, did at laſt ſhake the Faith of this perfidious Protector, and

made him consent to their demands. *Sepe-Cheknub*, who was advertised of it, fled through the midst of those horrid Countries and fearful Desarts, towards the great *Tibet*. But the Son of the *Raja*, soon pursuing and overtaking him, caused him to be assaulted with stones. The poor Prince was hurt, seized, and carried to *Dehli*, where he was imprison'd in *Serenguer*, that little Fortress, where at first they had put *Morad-Bakche*.

Aureng-Zebe, to observe what he had practised towards *Dara*, and that no body might doubt it was *Soliman-Chekoub* himself, commanded him to be brought before him in the presence of all the Grandees of the Court. At the entry of the Gate, the Chains were taken from his feet, leaving those he had about his hands, which seemed gilt. When this proper young Man, so handsome and gallant, was seen to enter, there was a good number of *Omrahs* that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all the great Ladies of the Court, that had leave to see him come in, fell a weeping. *Aureng-Zebe*, who appear'd himself to be touched at his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly to him, and to comfort him; telling him amongst other things, that he should fear nothing, that no hurt should be done to him; on the contrary, that he should be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had caused his Father to be put to death for no other reason, than that he was turn'd *Kafer*, and a Man without Religion. Whereupon this young Prince returned him the *Salem*, and blessed him, abating his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the custom of the Country; and told him with resolution enough, That if he were to drink the *Pouft*, he intreated him that he might dye presently, being very willing to submit to his Fate. But *Aureng-Zebe* promised him publickly, that he should drink none of it; that he should rest satisfied as to that, and not entertain any sad thoughts about it. This being said, he once more repeated the *Salem*: And after they had asked him several Questions, in the Name of *Aureng-Zebe*, touching that Elephant which was charged with Roupies of Gold, taken from him when he went to *Serenaguer*, he was sent to *Goualeor* to the rest. This *Pouft* is nothing else else but Poppy expressed, and infused a night in water. And 'tis that potion, which those that are kept at *Goualeor*, are commonly made to drink; I mean those Princes, whose heads they think not fit to cut off: This is the first thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat 'till they have drunk a great cup full of it; they would rather let them starve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them dye insensibly, they losing little by little their strength and understanding, and growing torpid and senseless. And by this very means 'tis said, that *Sepe-Chekoub*, and the Grand-child of *Morad-Bakche*, and *Soliman-Chekoub*, were dispatch'd.

As to *Morad-Bakche*, he was made away by a more violent death. For *Aureng-Zebe* seeing, that though he was in prison, yet the generality had an inclination to him, and that many Verses were spread in the praise of his Valour and Courage, thought himself not safe enough by putting him to death in private, by giving him *Pouft* like others; apprehending, that his Death would be still doubted of, and that that might one time or other occasion some commotion, and therefore devised the following Charge against him.

The Children of a certain *Sayed*, very rich, whom he had caused to be put to death in *Amadevad*, to get his Estate, when he there made his preparations for War, and borrowed or took by force great Sums of Money from all the rich Merchants, appeared in full Assembly, making their complaints, and demanding Justice, and the Head of *Morad-Bakche*, for the Blood of their Father. Not one of the *Omrahs* durst contradict it, both because he was a *Sayed*, that is, one of *Mahomet*'s Kindred, to whom great Veneration was paid; and that every body sufficiently understood the design of *Aureng-Zabe*, taking this for a pretence to rid himself openly of *Morad-Bakche*, under a shew of Justice. So that the Head of him, that had killed the Father of the Plaintiffs, was granted them without any other form of Process. Whereupon they went, with necessary Orders issued out for that purpose, to cut it off in *Goualeor*.

There remained no other Thorn in the Foot of *Aureng-Zebe* but *Sultan Sujah*, who kept himself still in *Bengale*; but he also was forced to yield at last to the power and fortune of *Aureng-Zebe*. There were sent so many Troops of all sorts to *Emir-Jemla*, that at last he was encompassed on all sides, both on this and that side of the River

Ganges;

Ganges; so that he was necessitated to flye to *Dake*, which is the last Town of *Bengale* on the Sea side; and here comes the conclusion of this whole Tragedy.

This Prince being destitute of Ships to put to Sea, and not knowing whether to flye, sent his eldest Son, *Sultan-Banque*, to the King of *Racan* or *Moy*, a Heathen or Idolatrous King, to know whether he would give him leave to make his Country his place of refuge only for some time, and do him the favour, when the *Monsons* or the Season-winds should come, to furnish him with a Vessel for *Mecha*, from thence to pass into some part of *Turky* or *Persia*. That King sent answer, that he should be very welcome, and have all possible assistance. So *Sultan Banque* returned to *Dake* with some Galeasses, manned with *Franguis* (I mean, with those fugitive *Portugals*, and other straggling Christians, that had put themselves in service to that King, driving no other Trade than to ravage all this lower *Bengale*; upon which *Sultan Sujah* embarked, with his whole Family, *viz.* his Wife, his three Sons, and Daughters. They were well enough received; whatever was necessary for their subsistance, such as that Countrey would afford, was provided for them, in the name of that King. Some months pass, the Season of the favourable Winds come in, but not a word of the Vessel, though he demanded it no otherwise than for his Money; for as yet he wanted not Rupies of Gold, nor Silver, nor Gems: He had too great a plenty of them; his Riches were, in all appearance, the cause of his ruin, or at least contributed much to it. Those barbarous Kings have no true generosity, and are not much refrained by the Faith they have given, regarding nothing but their present Interests, without so much as considering the mischiefs that may befall them for their perfidiousness and brutality. To get out of their hands, one must either be the stronger, or have nothing that may tempt their avarice. *Sultan Sujah* may long enough sollicit for a Vessel; all is in vain, he effects nothing: On the contrary, the King begins to shew much coldness, and to complain of his not coming to see him. I know not, whether *Sultan Sujah* thought it unworthy of himself, and too mean a thing to give him a Visit; or rather, whether he fear'd, that being in the Kings House he might not there be seized on, to take away all his Treasure, and then be delivered into the hands of *Emir-Jemla*, who for that purpose promised, in the name of *Aureng-Zebe*, great Sums of Mony, and many other considerable advantages. Whatever the matter was, he would not go thither himself, but sent his Son *Sultan Banque*, who being near the Kings House, began to shew liberality to the people, throwing out to them a good quantity of half Rupies, and whole Rupies, of Gold and Silver. And being come before the King, he presented him with store of Embroideries, and of rare pieces of Goldsmiths-work, set with precious Stones of great value, excusing his Father, *Sultan Sujah*, as being indisposed, and beseeching him in his name, that he would remember the Vessel, and the promise made to him thereof. But all that did not advance his business; on the contrary, five or six days after, this King sent to *Sultan Sujah*, to ask of him one of his Daughters in Marriage; which he could never resolve to grant him, whereat this barbarous Prince was highly offended. What then could he do in this case? The Season passeth away. What shall become of him? What other resolution can he take, but to do a desperate Action? Behold a strange undertaking, which may give a great Example of what Despair can do!

Although this King of *Racan* be an Heathen, yet there is in his Dominions store of *Mahumetans* mingled with the people, that are retired thither, or have been, for the most part, taken Slaves, here and there, by those *Franguis* above-mention'd. *Sultan Sujah* did under-hand gain these *Mahumetans*; and with two or three hundred Men, whom he had yet remaining of those that follow'd him from *Bengale*, he resolved, one day to fall unpectedly upon the House of this Barbarian, to kill all, and to make himself proclaim'd King of *Racan*. This was a very bold Enterprise, and such a one, as had more of a *Desperado* in it, than of a prudent Man. Yet notwithstanding, as I was inform'd, and by what I could learn from many *Mahumetans*, and *Portugals*, and *Hollanders*, that then were there present, the thing was feasible enough. But the day before the stroke was to be given, the Design was discover'd; which did altogether overthrow the Affairs of *Sultan Sujah*, and was soon after the cause of his ruin. For not finding hereafter any way more to recover himself, he attempted to flye towards *Pegu*; which was a thing in a manner impossible, by reason of the vast Mountains and Forrests to be passed. Besides, he was immediately pursued so close, that he was over-

taken the same day he fled. It may well be thought, that he defended himself with as much courage as was possible. He killed so many of those Barbarians, that it will scarce be believed, but he was so overpow'red by the multitude of pursuers, that he was obliged to quit the Combat. *Sultan Banque*, who was not so far advanced as his Father, defended him also like a Lion; but at length, being all bloody of the wounds, by stones poured upon him from all sides, he was seized on, and carried away, with his two little Brothers, his Sisters, and Mother.

As to the Person of *Sultan Sujah* himself, all what could be learnt of it, is this: That he, with one Woman, one Eunuch, and two other persons, got up to the top of the Mountain; that he received a wound in his Head by a stone, which struck him down, but yet he rose again, the Eunuch having wound his Head about with his Turbant, and that they escaped through the midst of the Woods.

I have heard the Relation three or four other manner of ways, even by those persons that were upon the place. Some did assure, that he had been found among the dead, but was not well known: And I have seen a Letter of the Chief of the *Dutch* Factory, confirming this. So that 'tis difficult enough to know aright what is become him. And this it is, which hath administred ground to those so frequent Alarms, given us afterwards at *Debli*: For at one time it was rumored, that he was arrived at *Maslipatan*, to joyn with the Kings of *Golkonda* and *Visapour*; another time it was related for certain, that he had passed in sight of *Suratte* with two Ships, bearing the Red Colours, which the King of *Pegu*, or the King of *Siam* had given him; by and by, that he was in *Persia*, and had been seen in *Chiras*, and soon after in *Kandahar*, ready to enter into the Kingdom of *Caboul* it self. *Aureng-Zebe* one day said smiling, that *Sultan Sujah* was at last become an *Agy* or Pilgrim. And at this very day there are abundance of persons who maintain that he is in *Persia*, returned from *Constantinople*, whence he is said to have brought with him much Money. But that which confirms more than enough, that there is no ground for any of these reports, is that Letter of the *Hollanders*; and that an Eunuch of his, with whom I travelled from *Bengale* to *Maslipatan*, as also the Great Master of his Artillery; whom I saw in the Service of the King of *Golkonda*, have assured me, that he is no more in being, though they made difficulty to say any more concerning him; as also, that our *French* Merchants, that lately came out of *Persia* and from *Hispahan*, when I was yet at *Debli*, had in those parts heard no news at all of him; besides that, I have heard that a while after his Defeat, his Sword and Poynard had been found: So that 'tis credible, that if he was not killed upon the place, he soon dyed afterwards, and was the prey of some Robbers, or Tygers, or Elephants, of which the Forrests of that Country are full. However it be, after this last Action his whole Family was put in Prison, Wives and Children, where they were treated rudely enough; yet some time after they were set at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment: And then the King called for the eldest Daughter, whom he married.

Whilst this was doing, some Servants of *Sultan Banque*, joyned with divers of those *Mahumetans* which I have mentioned, went to plot another Conspiracy like the first. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the Conspirators, being half drunk, began too soon to break out. Concerning this also I have heard forty different relations, so that 'tis very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the King was at length so exasperated against this unfortunate Family of *Sujah*, that he commanded it should be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, save that Daughter which the King had made his Wife. *Sultan Banque*, and his Brothers, had their Heads cut off with blunt Axes; and the Women were mured up, where they dyed of hunger and misery.

And thus endeth this War, which the lust of Reigning had kindled among those four Brothers, after it had lasted five or six years, from 1655, or thereabout, to 1660 or 1661; which left *Aureng-Zebe* in the peaceable possession of this puissant Empire.

The End of the FIRST TOME.

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not taken their Letters from their own hands. I believe if they had been required to kiss the ground, and even to do something of a lower nature, they would have complied with it. 'Tis true, it would have been in vain, if they had desired to make no other Salute, but that of their own Countrey, and to deliver to the King their Letters with their own hands; for that belongs only to the Ambassadors of *Persia*, nor have these this favour granted them, but with much difficulty.

They stay'd above four months at *Dehli*, what diligence soever they could use to be dispatch'd, which did incommode them very much; for they fell almost all sick, and even some of them dyed, because they were not accustomed to such heats as are in *Indostan*, or rather because they were sordid, and kept a very ill Diet. I know not whether there be a more avaricious and uncleanly Nation than they are. They laid up the Money which the King had appointed them for their maintenance, and lived a very miserable life, altogether unworthy of Ambassadors; yet they were dismissed with great honour: The King, in the presence of all the *Omrahs*, presented each of them with two rich *Ser-apahs*, and gave order that Eight thousand *Rupies* should be carried to their Lodgings, which amounted to near Two thousand Crowns each. He also gave them for Presents to the *Kans* their Masters, very handsom *Ser-apahs*, store of the richest and best wrought Embroideries, a good quantity of fine Cloth, and Silk-stuffs, wrought with Gold and Silver, and some Tapestries, and two Poynards set about with precious stones.

During their stay, I went thrice to see them, being presented to them as a Physician by one of my Friends, that was Son of an *Usbec*, that had made his Fortune in that Court. I had a design to have learned something in particular of their Countrey, but I found them so ignorant, that they knew not so much as the Confines of their State, much less could they inform me of any thing concerning the *Tartars* that have conquer'd *China* of late years: In short, they told me nothing that I knew not before. I had once the Curiosity to dine with them, which liberty I obtained easily enough. They are not Men of much Ceremony; it was a very extraordinary Meal for such a one as I, it being meer Horse-flesh; yet for all this I got my Dinner with them; there was a certain Ragou, which I thought passable: And I was obliged to express a liking of so exquisite a Dish, which they so much lust after. During Dinner, there was a strange silence; they were very busie in carrying in with their whole hands, for they know not what a Spoon is; but after that this Horse-flesh had wrought in their stomachs, they began to talk, and then they would perswade me, they were the most dextrous at Bows and Arrows, and the strongest Men in the World. They call'd for Bows, which are much bigger than those of *Indostan*, and would lay a wager, to pierce an Ox or my Horse through and through. Then they proceeded to commend the strength and valor of their Women, which they described to me quite otherwise than the *Amazons*, telling me very wonderful stories of them, especially one, which would be admirable indeed, if I could relate it with a *Tartarian* Eloquence, as they did: They told me, that at the time when *Aureng-Zebe* made War in their Countrey, a Party of Twenty five or Thirty *Indian* Horsemen came to fall upon a small Village; whilst they plundred, and tyed all those whom they met with to make them Slaves, an old Woman said to them, *Children, be not so mischievous, my Daughter is not far off, she will be here very shortly, retreat if you be wise, you are undone if she light upon you.* They laughed at the old Woman, and her Advice, and continued to load, to tye, and to carry away her self; but they were not gone half a Mile, but this old Woman, looking often backward, made a great out-cry of Joy, perceiving her Daughter coming after her on Horse-back; and presently this generous She *Tartar*, mounted on a furious Horse, her Bow and Arrows hanging at her side, called to them at a distance, that she was yet willing to give them their Lives, if they would carry back to the Village all they had taken, and then withdraw without any noise. The Advice of this young Woman affected them as little as that of her old Mother; but they were soon astonish'd, when they found her let flie at them in a moment three or four great Arrows, which struck as many of their Men to the ground, which forced them to fall to their Quivers also. But she kept her self at that distance from them, that none of them could reach her. She laughed at all their Effort, and at all their Arrows, knowing how to attack them at the length of her Bow, and to take her measure from the strength of her Arm, which was of another temper than theirs: So that after she had killed half of them with her Arrows, and

put them into disorder, she came and fell upon the rest with the Zable in her hand, and cut them all in pieces.

The Ambassadors of *Tartary* were not yet gone away from *Dehli*, when *Aureng-Zebe* fell exceeding sick; a violent and continued Fever made him sometimes lose his understanding: His Tongue was seized with such a Palsie, that he lost almost his speech, and the Physicians despaired of his Recovery; nothing was heard for the time, than that he was gone, and that his Sister *Rauchenara-Begum* concealed his death out of design. It was already bruited, that the *Raja Jessomseigne*, Governor of *Guzaratte*, was on the way to deliver *Chah-Jehan*, that *Mohabet-Kan* (who had at length obeyed the Orders of *Aureng-Zebe*) quitting the Government of *Caboul*, and being already on this side *Labor* to come back, made haste also with Three or four thousand Horse for the same end; and that the Eunuch *Ethar-kan*, who kept *Chah-Jehan* in the Fortress of *Agra*, would have the honour of his delivery. On one side we see *Sultan Mazum* bestir himself exceedingly with Bribes, endeavouring by Promises to assure himself of the *Omrahs*, so far, as that one Night he went disguised to the *Raja Jessegne*, entreating him with expressions of deep respect, that he would engage himself for his interest.

We knew from other hands, that *Rauchenara-Begum*, together with *Teda-kan*, the great Master of Artillery, and many *Omrahs*, declared for the young Prince *Sultan Ekbar*, the third Son of *Aureng-Zebe*, though he was but seven or eight years old; both Parties in the mean time pretending, they had no other design than to deliver *Chah-Jehan*: so that the People believed, that now he was going to be set at liberty, though none of the Grandees had any such thing in their thoughts, spreading this Rumor, only to gain Credit and Concourse, and because they feared, lest by the means of *Ethar-kan*, or some other secret Intrigue, he should one day appear in the Field. And indeed of all the Parties, there was not one that had reason to wish for his liberty and restoration to the Throne, except *Jessomseigne*, *Mohabet-kan*, and some others, that as yet had done no great matter to his disadvantage. The rest had been all against him, at least they had vilely abandon'd him. They knew very well he would be like an unchain'd Lyon, if he came abroad: Who then could trust him? And what could *Ethar-kan* hope for, who had kept him up so close? I know not, if by some Adventure or other, he should have come out of Prison, whether he would not have stood single, and been alone of his Party.

But though *Aureng-Zebe* was very sick, yet for all this he gave order for all things, and particularly for the sure custody of *Chah-Jehan* his Father; and though he had advised *Sultan Mazum* to go and open the Gates to *Chah-Jehan*, in case he should die, yet he omitted not to have *Ethar-kan* incessantly writ to. And the fifth day, in the height of his sickness, he caused himself to be carried into the Assembly of the *Omrahs* to shew himself, and to disabuse those who might believe him to be dead, and to obviate popular Tumults, or such Accidents as might have caused *Chah-Jehan* to be set at liberty. The seventh, ninth, and tenth day, he made himself to be carried again into the said Assembly for the same reason; and, what is almost incredible, the thirteenth, after he had recollected himself from a Fit of Swooning, which occasioned a rumor through the whole Town of his being dead, he called for two or three of the greatest *Omrahs*, and the *Raja Jessegne*, to let them see that he was alive, made himself to be raised in his Bed, called for Ink and Paper to write to *Ethar-kan*, and sent for the Great Seal, which he had trusted with *Rauchenara-Bagum*, and commonly enclosed in a small Bag, sealed with a Seal he always wore about his Arm, fearing lest she had already made use of it for her designs. I was nigh my *Agah*, when all this News was told him, and I understood, that lifting up his hands to Heaven, he said, *What a Soul is this? A matchless Fortitude and Courage of Spirit! God preserve thee* Aureng-Zebe, *for greater things, certainly he will not that thou shouldst yet die.* And indeed after this Fit, he recover'd by little and little.

He had no sooner recover'd his health, but he sought to get out of the hands of *Chah-Jehan*, and *Begum-Saheb*, the Daughter of *Dara*, to secure the Marriage of *Sultan-Ekbar*, his third Son, with this Princess, on purpose thereby to gain him Authority, and to give him the greater right to the Empire: For he it is, who is thought to be by him designed for it. He is yet very young, but he hath many near and powerful Relations at the Court, and is born of the Daughter of *Chah-Navaze-kan*, and consequently

quently of the Blood of the Ancient Sovereigns of *Machate*; whereas *Sultan Mahmoud* and *Sultan Mazum* are only Sons of *Ragipontais*, or Daughters of *Raja's*. These Kings, though *Mahumetans*, do, for all that, marry of the Daughters of the Heathen, either for State-interest, or for extraordinary Beauty. But *Aureng-Zebe*, was disappointed in this design: It will hardly be believed, with what height and fierceness of spirit *Chah-Jehan* and *Begum* rejected the Proposition, and the young Princess her self, who, in the fear of being carried away, was for some days desperate, and protested she would rather kill her self an hundred times over, if it were possible, than to marry the Son of him that had murthered her Father.

He had no better satisfaction from *Chah Jehan* about certain Jewels which he asked of him, in order to finish a piece of work which he caused to be added to a famous Throne, which is so highly esteemed. For he fiercely answer'd, *That* Aureng-Zebe *should take no other Care, but to rule better than he did; that he should let his Throne alone; that he was weary to hear of those Jewels; and that the Hammers were ready to beat them to dust, the first time he should be importun'd again about them.*

The *Hollanders* would not be the last in doing Reverence to *Aureng-Zebe*: they had thoughts of sending an Ambassador to him. They pitched upon Monsieur *Adrican*, the Commander of their Factory at *Suratte*; and being a right honest man, and of good sense and judgment, not neglecting to take the counsel of his Friends, he well acquitted himself of this Employment. *Aureng-Zebe*, though he carries it very high, and affects to appear a zealous *Mahumetan*, and consequently to despise the *Franguis*, or Christians, yet thought fit to receive them with much Respect and Civility. He even was desirous, that this Ambassador should complement him in the mode of the *Franguis*, after he had been made to do it the *Indian* way. 'Tis true, he received his Letters by the hand of an *Omrah*; but *that* was not to be taken for any Contempt, he having shew'd no more Honour to the Ambassadors of *Usbec*. After this, he intimated to him, that he might produce his Present; and at the same time he caused him, and some of his Train, to be dressed with a *Ser-Apah* embroider'd. The Present consisted of store of very fine Scarlet, some large Looking-glasses, and divers excellent pieces of *Chinese* and *Japonese* work, among which there was a *Paleky*, and a *Tackt-wan*, or a Field-Throne of admirable workmanship.

This Ambassador was not so soon dispatch'd as he wish'd, it being the Custom of the Kings of *Mogol* to detain Ambassadors as long as they well can, from a belief they have, that 'tis the interest of their Greatness, to oblige Strangers to give long Attendance at their Court; yet he was not kept so long as the Ambassadors of *Usbec*. Mean time he had the misfortune, that his Secretary died there, and the rest of his Retinue began to grow sick. When the King dismissed him, he gave him such another *Ser-Apah* embroider'd, as the first was for himself; and another, a very rich one, for the General of *Batavia*, together with a Poyuard, set about with Jewels, all accompanied with a very obliging Letter.

The chief Aim of the *Hollanders* in this Embassy was, to make themselves immediately known to the King, thereby to gain Credit, and to intimidate the Governors of the Sea-Ports, and other places, where they have their Factories; that so they may not attempt, when they please, to insult over them, or to trouble them in their Trade; thereby letting them know, that they had to do with a potent Nation, and that hath a door open to address themselves, and to complain immediately to the King. Their End also was, to make it appear, what interest the King had in their Commerce; and therefore they shew'd long Rolls of Commodities, bought up by them through the whole Kingdom, and Lists of considerable Sums of Gold and Silver, every year brought thither by them; but saying not a word of those which they draw thence, from the Copper, Lead, Cinamon, Cloves, Muscadin, Pepper, Wood of Aloes, Elephants, and other Commodities which they vend there.

About this time, one of the most considerable *Omrahs* of *Aureng-Zebe* addressed himself to him, and represented, that this multitude and variety of perplexing Affairs, and this perpetual Attention of mind in him, might soon cause a great Alteration in his Temper, and a dangerous Inconvenience in his Health. But *Aureng-Zebe*, seeming to take almost no notice of what that *Omrah* said, turn'd himself another way, and approaching to another of the prime *Omrahs* of the Court, a person of great knowledge and judgment, spoke to him in this purpose (as I was informed by the Son of this Lord, who was my Friend.)

You

You other Sages, are you not all of the mind, that there are times and conjunctions so urgent, that a King ought to hazard his life for his Subjects, and sacrifice himself for their defence with Arms in his hands? And yet this effeminate Man would dissuade me from taking pains, and debort me from watching and sollicitude for the Publick; and carry me by pretences of Health, to the thoughts of an easie life, by abandoning the Government of my People, and the management of Affairs, to some Visir or other. Doth he not know, that Providence having given me a Royal Extraction, and raised me to the Crown of Indostan, *hath not made me for my self alone, but for the good and safety of the Publick, and for the procurement of Tranquility and Happiness to my Subjects, as far as that may be obtained by Justice and Power? He seeth not the consequence of his Counsels, and what mischiefs do attend Visirships. Doth he think it to be without reason, what our Grand Sady hath so generously pronounced, O Kings, cease, cease to be Kings, or govern your Kingdoms your selves? Go tell thy Countrey-man, that I shall well like of the care he is constantly to take of the faithful discharge of his Place; but advise him also, not any more to run out himself so far as he hath done. We have* natural *inclination enough to a long, easie, and careless life, and there need no Counsellors to shake off business and trouble. Our Wives, that lie in our bosom, do too often, besides our own genius, incline us that way.*

At the same time there happen'd an Accident, that made a great noise at *Debli*, especially in the *Seraglio*, and disabused a great many, that could as hardly believe as my self, that Eunuchs, though they had their Genitals quite cut away, could become amorous as other men. *Didar-kan*, one of the chief Eunuchs of the *Seraglio*, who had built an house, where he came often to divert himself, fell in love with a very beautiful Woman, the Sister of a Neighbor of his, that was an Heathen Scrivener.

These Amours lasted a good while, before any Body blamed them, since it was but an Eunuch that made them, which sort of men have the priviledge to go where they please; but the familiarity grew so great, and so extraordinary betwixt the two Lovers, that the Neighbors began to suspect something, and to rally the Scrivener, which did so touch him, that he threatned both his Sisters and the Eunuch to kill them, if they should continue their Commerce. And soon after, finding them in the Night lying together, he stabbed the Eunuch out-right, and left his Sister for dead. The whole *Seraglio*, Women and Eunuchs, made a League together against him to make him away; but *Aureng-Zebe* dissipated all these machinations, and was content to have him turn *Mahumetan*. Mean time 'tis thought, he cannot long avoid the malice and power of the Eunuchs; for 'tis not, as is the common saying, with Men as with Brutes; these latter become gentler and more tractable when they are castrated; but men more vicious, and commonly very insolent, though sometimes it turneth to an admirable Fidelity and Gallantry.

It was also about the same time, that *Aureng-Zebe* was somewhat discontented with *Rauchenara-Begum*, because she was suspected to have given Access to two young Gallants into the *Seraglio*, who were discover'd, and brought before *Aureng-Zebe*. Yet this being but a suspicion, he expressed to her no great resentment of it; nor did he make use of so great rigor and cruelty against those poor men, as *Chah-Jehan* had done against the person above spoken of. The matter was related to me by an old *Portuguese* Woman (that had a long while been Slave to the *Seraglio*, and went out and in at pleasure) as followeth: She told me that *Rauchenara-Begum*, after she had drawn from a young man, hidden by her, all his Ability, deliver'd him to some Women, to convey him away in the Night thorough some Gardens, and so to save him: But whether they were discover'd, or whether they feared they should be so, or what else might be the cause, they fled, and left him there wandring in the midst of those Gardens, not knowing which way to get out: And being at last met with, and brought before *Aureng-Zebe*, who examined him strictly, but could draw nothing else from him, than that he was come in over the walls, he was commanded to get out the same way by which he entred: But it seems, the Eunuchs did more than *Aureng-Zebe* had given order for, for they cast him down from the top of the walls to the bottom. As for the other young Gallant, this same Woman assured me, that he was found wandring in the Garden like the first; and having confessed that he was come in by the Gate, *Aureng-Zebe* commanded likewise, that he also should pass away again by the same Gate; yet reserving to himself a severe chastisement for the Eunuchs,

since not only the honour of the Royal House, but also the safety of the King's person is herein concerned.

Some months after, there arrived at *Debli* several Ambassadors, almost at the same time. The first was *Xerif* of *Mecchа*, whose Present did consist in some *Arabian* Horses: The second and third Ambassadors were, he of the King of *Hyeman*, or *Happy Arabia*, and he of the Prince of *Bassora*, who likewise presented *Arabian* Horses. The two remaining Ambassadors were sent from the King of *Ethiopia*. To the three first no great regard was given; they appear'd in so miserable and confused an Equipage, that it was perceived they came only to get some money by the means of their Present, and of the many Horses, and other Merchandize, which under the pretence of Ambassadors, entred without paying any Duty into the Kingdom, there to be sold, and to buy for the money a quantity of *Indian* Stuffs, and so to return, without paying likewise any Impost at all.

But as to the *Ethiopian* Embassy, that deserves to be otherwise taken notice of; the King of *Ethiopia* having received the News of the Revolution of the *Indies*, had a design to spread his Name in those Parts, and there to make known his Grandeur and Magnificence, by a splendid Embassy: Or, as Malice will have it, or rather as the very truth is, to reap some Advantage by a Present as well as the rest. Behold therefore this great Embassy! He chose for his Ambassadors two persons, that one would think were the most considerable in his Court, and the most capable to make such a Design prosper. And who were they? The *one* was a *Mahumetan* Merchant, whom I had seen some years ago at *Moka*, when I passed there coming out of *Egypt* over the *Red-Sea*, where he was to sell some Slaves for that Prince, and to buy of the money, raised thence, some *Indian* Commodities. And this is the fine Trade of that great *Christian* King of *Africa*. The *other* was a Christian Merchant of *Armenia*, born and married in *Aleppo*, known in *Æthiopia* by the name of *Murat*. I had seen him also at *Moka*, where he had accommodated me with the half of his Chamber, and assisted me with very good Advice, whereof I have spoken in the beginning of this History, as a thing taking me off from passing into *Ethiopia*, according to my first design. He also came every year to that place, in that King's Name, for the same end that the *Mahumetan* did, and brought the Present which the King made every year, to the Gentlemen of the *English* and *Dutch* Company of the *East-Indies*, and carried away theirs. Now the King of *Ethiopia*, sutably to his design, and the desire he had of making his Ambassadors appear with great Splendor, put himself to great Expences for this Embassie: He gave them Thirty two young Slaves, of both Sexes, to sell them at *Moka*, and thence to make a Sum of Money to bear their Charges. A wonderful Largess! Slaves are commonly sold there for Twenty five or thirty Crowns apiece, one with another. A considerable Sum. Besides, he gave them for a Present to the *Great Mogol* Five and twenty choice Slaves, among which there were nine or ten very young, proper to make Eunuchs of. A very worthy Present for a King, and he a Christian, to a *Mahumetan* Prince! It seems the Christianity of the *Ethiopians* is very different from ours. He added to that Present, twelve Horses, esteem'd as much as those of *Arabia*, and a kind of little Mule, of which I saw the Skin, which was a very great Rarity, there being no Tyger so handsomly speckled, nor Silken Stuff of *India* so finely, so variously, and so orderly streaked, as that was. Moreover, there were for a part of the Present, two Elephants teeth, so prodigious, that they assured it was all that a very able bodied man could do, to lift up one of them from the ground. Lastly, an Horn of an Ox full of Civett, and so big, that the Aperture of it being measur'd by me, when it came to *Debli*, it had a Diameter of Half a Foot, and somewhat better. All things being thus prepared, the Ambassadors depart from *Gondez*, the Capital of *Ethiopia*, situated in the Province of *Dambea*, and came through a very troublesom Countrey to *Beiloul*, which is a dispeopled Sea-Port over against *Moka*, nigh to *Babel-mandel*, not daring to come (for Reasons elsewhere to be alledged) the ordinary way of the *Caravans*, which is made with ease in Forty days to *Arkiko*, and thence to pass to the Isle of *Massua*. During their stay at *Beiloul*, and expecting a Bark of *Moka*, to wast over the *Red-Sea*, there died some of their Slaves, because the Vessel tarried, and they found not in that place those refreshments that were necessary for them. When they came to *Moka*, they soon sold their Merchandize, to raise a Stock of Money according to order. But they had this ill luck, that that year the Slaves were very cheap, because the Market was glutted

glutted by many other Merchants, yet they raised a Sum to pursue their Voyage: They Embark'd upon an *Indian* Vessel to pass to *Suratte*; their Passage was pretty good; they were not above Five and twenty days at Sea; but whether it was that they had made no good provision for want of stock, or what else the cause might be, many of their Slaves and Horses, as also the Mule, whereof they saved the Skin, died. They were no sooner arrived at *Suratte*, but a certain Rebel of *Visapour*, called *Seva-Gi*, came and ransacked and burned the Town, and in it their House, so that they could save nothing, but their Letters, some Slaves that were sick, or which *Seva-Gi* could not light on, their *Ethiopian* Habits which he cared not for, and the Mule's Skin, and the Ox's Horn, which was already emptied of the Civett. They did very much exaggerate their misfortune; but those malicious *Indians* that had seen them arrive in such a wretched condition, without Provisions, without Habits, without Money, or Bills of Exchange, said, that they were very happy, and should reckon the Plunder of *Suratte* for a piece of their best Fortune, forasmuch as *Seva-Gi* had saved them the labour of bringing their miserable Present to *Debli*, and had furnisht them with a very specious pretence for their beggarly condition, and for the sale they had made of their Civett, and of some of their Slaves, and for demanding of the Governor of *Suratte* Provisions for their subsistence, as also some Money and Chariots to continue their Voyage to *Debli*. Monsieur *Adrican*, chief of the *Duteh* Factory, my Friend, had given to the *Armenian Murat* a Letter of Recommendation to me, which he deliver'd himself at *Debli*, not remembring that I had been his Host at *Moka*. It was a very pleasant meeting when we came to know one another, after the space of five or six years. I embraced him affectionately, and promised him that I would serve him in whatever I could; but that, though I had Acquaintance at the Court, it was impossible for me to do them any considerable good Office there: For since they had not brought with them any valuable Present, but only the Mule's Skin, and the empty Ox's Horn, and that they were seen going upon the streets without any Paleky or Horses, save that of our Father Missionary, and mine (which they had almost killed) cloathed like Beggars, and followed with seven or eight Slaves, bare-headed and bare-foot, having nothing but an ugly Sharse tyed between their Legs, with a ragged Cloth over their Left Shoulder, passing under their Left Arm like a Summer-Cloak; since, I said, they were in such a posture, whatever I could say for them was insignificant; they were taken for Beggars, and no body took other notice of them. Yet notwithstanding I said so much of the Grandeur of their King to my *Agah Danechmendkan*, who had cause to hearken to me, as managing all Foreign Affairs there, that *Aureng-Zebe* gave them Audience, received their Letters, presented them each with an Embroider'd Vest, a Silken Embroider'd Girdle, and a Turbant of the same, gave order for their Entertainment, and dispatched them in a little time, and that with more honour than there was ground to expect: For in dismissing them, he presented them each with another such Vest, and with 6000 *Rupies* for them all, which amounteth to about 3000 Crowns, of which the *Mahumetan* had four thousand, and *Murat*, because a Christian, but two thousand. He also gave them for a Present to their Master a very rich *Ser-apah* or Vest, two great silver and gilt Trumpets, two silver Tymbals, a Poynard cover'd with Jewels, and the value of about twenty thousand Francs in golden and silver *Rupies*, to let their King see Money coined, as a Rarity he had not in his Countrey: But *Aureng-Zebe* knew very well, that these *Rupies* would not go out of the Kingdom, and that they were like to buy Commodities for them: And it fell out so; for they laid them out, partly in fine Cotton Cloth, to make shirts of for their King, Queen, and their only lawful Son that is to be the Successor; partly in silken Stuffs streaked with Gold or Silver, to make Vests and Summer-Drawers of; partly in *English* Scarlet, to make two *Arabian* Vests of for their King also; and lastly, in Spices, and in store of coarser Cloth, for divers Ladies of his *Seraglio*, and for the Children he had by them, all without paying any Duty.

For all my friendship with *Murat*, there were three things that made me almost repent to have served them. The *first*, because *Murat* having promised me to leave with me for 50 *Rupies*, a little Son of his, that was very pretty, of a delicate black, and without such a swelled Nose, or such thick Lips as commonly the *Ethiopians* have, broke his word with me, and let me know, that he should take no less for him than 300 *Rupies*. For all this, I had thoughts of buying him, for Rarity's sake, and that I might

might say, a Father had sold me his Son. The *second*, because I found that *Murat*, as well as the *Mahumetan*, had obliged themselves to *Aureng-Zebe*, that they would employ their interest with their King, that he might permit in *Ethiopia* to rebuild an old *Mosquee* ruined in the time of the *Portugals*, and which had been built for a Tomb of a great *Dervich*, which went from *Mecha* into *Ethiopia*, for the propagation of *Mahumetanism*, and there made great progress. They receiv'd of *Aureng-Zebe* two thousand *Rupies* for this Engagement. This *Mosquee* had been pulled down by the *Portugals*, when they came with their Succors into *Ethiopia*, which the then King, who turn'd Catholick, had asked of them against a *Mahumetan* Prince, invading his Kingdom. The *third*, because they desired *Aureng-Zebe*, in the name of their King, to give them an *Alcoran*, and eight other Books, which I well remember, were of the most reputed in the *Mahumetan* Religion: Which proceeding seemed to me very unworthy of a *Christian* Embassador, and *Christian* King, and confirmed to me what I had been told at *Moka*, that the *Christianity* of *Ethiopia* must needs be some odd thing; that it savors much of *Mahumetanism*, and that the *Mahumetans* increase exceedingly in that Empire, especially since the *Portugals*, that came in there for the Reason lately expressed, were either killed, upon the death of the King, by the Cabal of the Queen-Mother, or expell'd together, with the Patriarch Jesuite, whom they had brought along from *Goa*.

During the time that the Ambassadors were at *Dehli*, my *Agah*, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was present, to inform himself of the State and Government of their Countrey, and principally to learn something of the source of the *Nile*, which they call *Ababile*, of which they discourse to us as a thing so well known, that no body doubted of it. *Murat* himself, and a *Mogol*, who was returned out of *Ethiopia* with him, had been there, and told us very near the same Particulars with those I had received of it at *Moka*, *viz.* That the *Nile* had its Origine in the Countrey of *Agaus*; that it issued out of the Earth by two Springs bubling up, near to one another, which did form a little Lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that coming out of this Lake, it did make a considerable River: and that from space to space, it receiv'd small Rivers increasing it. They added, that it went on circling, and making as 'twere a great Isle; and that afterwards it tumbled down from steep Rocks into a great Lake, in which there were divers fruitful Isles, store of Crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true) abundance of Sea-Calves, that have no other vent for their Excrements than that, by which they take in their food; this Lake being in the Countrey of *Dambea*, three small days journey from *Gondar*, and four or five days journey from the source of the *Nile*. And lastly, that this River did break out of this Lake, being augmented with many River-waters, and with several Torrents falling into it, especially in the rainy Season, (which do regularly begin there, as in the *Indies* about *July*, which is very considerable and convincing for the inundation of the *Nile*) and so runs away through *Sonnar*, the capital City of the King of *Fungi*, Tributary to the King of *Ethiopia*, and from thence passeth to the Plains of *Mesre*, which is *Egypt*.

The Ambassadors were not wanting to say more than was liked on the subject of their King's Greatness, and of the strength of his Army, but the *Mogolian* did not over-much agree with them in it; and in their absence represented to us this Army, which he had seen twice in the Field, with the *Ethiopian* King on the head of it, as the most wretched thing in the world.

They also related to us divers Particulars of that Countrey, which I have put in my Journal, one day perhaps to be digested and copied: In the mean time I shall insert here three or four things which *Murat* told me, because I esteem them very extravagant for a *Christian* Kingdom. He said then, that there were few men in *Ethiopia*, who besides their lawful Wife, had not many others, and himself owned that he had two, without reckoning her which he had left at *Aleppo*: That the *Ethiopian* Women did not so hide themselves, as they do in the *Indies* among the *Mahumetans*, nor even as among the *Gentiles*: *That* those of the meaner sort of People, Maids, or married Women, Slaves or Free, were often together pell-mell, night and day, in the same Chamber, without those jealousies so common in other Countries: That the Women of Lords did not stick much to go into the house of a simple Cavalier, whom they knew to be a Man of Execution: *That* if I had gone into *Ethiopia*, they would soon have obliged me to marry, as they had done, a few years since, to a certain *European*, who named

named himself a *Greek* Physician: *That* an ancient man, of about fourscore years of age, did one day present to the King fourscore Sons, all of age, and able to bear Arms; and that the King asked him, Whether he had no more but them? To whom having answer'd, No, but only some Daughters, the King sent him away with this reproach; Be gone, thou Calf, and be ashamed for having no more Children at that age, as if Women were wanting in my Dominions! *That* the King himself had at least fourscore Sons and Daughters running about pell-mell in the Seraglio, for whom he had caused to be made a number of round vernished sticks, made like a little maze; those Children being fond of having that in their hand like a Scepter, distinguishing them from those that were Children of Slaves, or from others living in that place.

Aureng-Zebe sent also twice for these Ambassadors, for the same reason that my *Agah* did, and especially to enquire after the state of *Mahumetanism* in that Country. He had also the curiosity of Viewing the skin of the Mule, which remained, I know not how, in the Fortress amongst the Officers; which was to me a great mortification, because they had designed it for me for the good services I had done them. I made account to have one day presented it to some very curious person in *Europe*. I urged often, that together with the Mules skin, they should carry the great Horn to *Aureng-Zebe*, to shew it him; but they fear'd, least he should make a question, which would have perplexed them; *viz.* how it came to pass, that they had saved the Horn from the plunder of *Suratte*, and lost the Civet?

Whilst these Ambassadors of *Ethiopia* were at *Debli*, it came to pass that *Aureng-Zebe* called together his Privy Councel, and the most learn'd persons of his Court, to chuse a new Master for his third Son, *Sultan Eckbar*, whom he design'd for his Successor. In this Councel he shew'd the passion he hath to have this young Prince well Educated, and to make him a great Man. *Aurenge-Zebe* is not ignorant of what importance it is, and how much 'tis to be wished, that as much as Kings surmount others in Greatness, they may also exceed them in Virtue and Knowledge. He also well knows, that one of the principal sources of the Misery, of the mis-Goverment, of the un-Peopling, and the decay of the Empires of *Asia* proceeds from thence, that the children of the Kings thereof are brought up only by Women and Eunuchs, which often are no other than wretched Slaves of *Russia*, *Circassia*, *Mingrelia*, *Gurgistan* and *Ethiopia*; mean and servile, ignorant and insolent souls. These Princes become Kings, when they are of Age, without being instructed, and without knowledge what 'tis to be a King; amazed when they begin to come abroad out of the Seraglio, as persons coming out of another World, or let out of some subterraneous Cave, where they had lived all their life time; wondring at every thing they meet, like so many Innocents; believing all, and fearing all, like Children, or nothing at all, as if they were stupid: And all this, according to their Nature, and sutable to the first Images imprinted upon them; commonly high and proud, and seemingly grave, but of that kind of pride and gravity, which is so flat and distasteful, and so unbecoming them, that one may plainly see, 'tis nothing but brutality or barbarousness, and the effect of some ill-studied, and ill-digested Documents; or else they fall into some childish civilities, yet more unsavoury; or into such cruelties, as are blind and brutal; or into that mean and gross vice of drunkenness, or into an excessive and altogether unreasonable Luxury, either ruining their bodies and understandings with their Concubines, or altogether abandoning themselves to the pleasures of Hunting, like some carniverous Animals, preferring a pack of Dogs before the life of so many poor people, whom they force to follow them in the pursuit of their Game, and suffer to perish of hunger, heat, cold, and misery. In a word, they always run into some extreme or other, being altogether irrational and extravagant, according as they are carried by their natural temper, or by the first impressions that are given them; thus remaining, almost all, in a strange ignorance of what concerns the state of the Kingdom; the reins of the Government being abandoned to some Visir, who entertains them in their ignorance and in their passions, which are the two strongest supports he can have to rule always according to his own mind, with most assurance, and the least contradiction; and given over also to those Slaves their Mothers, and to their Eunuchs, who often know nothing but to continue plots of cruelty, whereby they strangle and banish one another, and sometimes the Visirs, and even the Grand Signors themselves; so that no man whatsoever, that hath any Estate, can be in safety of his life.

But

But to return; after all these Ambassadors, which we have spoken of, there came at last news, that the Ambassador of *Persia* was upon the Frontiers. The *Persian Omrahs*, that are at the service of the *Mogol*, spred a rumor that he came for affairs of great importance; though intelligent persons much doubted of a Commission of that nature, considering that the time of great conjunctures was passed, and that those *Omrahs*, and the other *Persians* did what they did, rather to make a show, than for any thing else. Mean time, on the day of the Entry, this Ambassador was received with all possible respect: The *Bazars*, through which he passed, were all new-painted, and the Cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole League. Many *Omrah's* accompanied him with Musick, Tymbals and Trumpets, and when he entred into the Fortress, or the Palace of the King, the Guns went off. *Aureng-Zebe* received him with much civility, and was content he should make his Address to him after the *Persian* mode, receiving also, without any scruple, *immediately* from his hands the Letters of his King; which, out of respect, he lifted up even to his head, and afterwards read them with a grave and serious countenance: Which done, he caused an embroider'd Vest to be brought, together with a rich Turbant and Girdle, commanding it to be put on him in his presence. A little after, it was intimated to him, that he might order his Present to be brought in, which consisted of five and twenty as handsome Horses as ever I saw, led, and cover'd with embroider'd trapings; and of twenty very stately and lusty Camels, as big as Elephants: Moreover, of a good number of Boxes, said to be full of most excellent Rose-water; and of a certain distilled water, very precious, and esteemed highly cordial; besides, there were displayed five or six very rich and very large Tapisseries, and some embroider'd pieces exceeding noble, wrought in small flowers, so fine and delicate, that I know not whether in all *Europe* any such can be met with. To all this were added four Damaskin'd Swords, with as many Poynards, all cover'd with Jewels; as also five or six Harnasses of Horses, which were much esteem'd, being also very fine and rich, the stuff being raised with rich Embroidery set with small Pearls, and very fair Turcoises of the old Rock.

It was observ'd, that *Aureng-Zebe* beheld this Present very attentively; that he admired the beauty and rarity of every piece, and that several times he extolled the Generosity of the King of *Persia*; assigning to the Ambassador a place among his chief *Omrahs*. And after he had entertained him a while with a discourse about the inconveniencies and hardships of his Voyage, he dismist him, and made instance, that he should come every day to see him.

During the four or five Months that the Ambassador staid at *Debli*, he was always splendidly treated at *Aureng-Zebe*'s charge; and the greatest *Omrahs* presented him one after another; and at last he was very honourably dismissed: For *Aureng-Zebe* had him apparelled with another rich *Serapah* or Vest, to which he added considerable presents for himself, reserving those he intended for his King, 'till he should send an Ambassador expresly; which some time after he did.

Notwithstanding all these testimonies of honour and respect which *Aureng-Zebe* had shew'd to this Ambassador, the same *Persians*, above spoken of, gave out, that their King had sensibly reproached him in his Letters, with the Death of *Dara*, and the Imprisonment of *Chah-Jehan*, as actions unworthy of a Brother, and a Son, and a Musulman; and that he had also hit him with the word *Alem-Guire*, or Conquerour of the World, which *Aureng-Zebe* had caused to be engraven on his Coyn. But 'tis hard to believe, that the King of *Persia* should do any such thing to provoke such a Victorious Prince, since *Persia* is not in a condition to enter into a War with *Indostan*; I am rather apt to believe, that *Persia* hath work enough to keep *Kandahar* on the side of *Indostan*, and the Frontiers on the side of *Turky*: Its Forces and Riches are known; it produceth not always such great Kings as the *Chah-Abbas*, Valiant, Intelligent, and Politick, knowing to make use of every thing, and to do much with small expences. If it were in a condition of undertaking any thing against *Indostan*, or really sensible of Piety and the Musal-Man Faith, why was it that in these last troubles and Civil Wars, which continued so long in *Indostan*, the *Persians* sat still and looked on, when *Dara*, *Chan-Jehan*, *Sultan Sujah*, and perhaps the Governour of *Caboul* desired their assistance; and they might with no very great Army, nor great expences have seized on the fairest part of *India*, beginning from the Kingdom of *Caboul*, unto the River *Indus*, and beyond it, and so made themselves Umpires of all things? yet notwithstanding

ſtanding there muſt needs have been ſome offenſive Expreſſions in thoſe *Perſian* Letters, or elſe the Ambaſſador muſt have done or ſaid ſomething that diſpleaſed *Aureng-Zebe*; becauſe two or three days after he had diſmiſſed him, he made a rumor to be ſpread abroad, that the Ambaſſador had cauſed the Ham-ſtrings of the preſented Horſes to be Cut; And the Ambaſſador being yet upon the Frontiers, he made him return all the *Indian* Slaves which he carried along with him, of which he had a prodigious number.

Mean while, *Aureng-Zebe* was not ſo much concern'd, nor troubled himſelf ſo much with this Ambaſſador, as *Chah-Jehan*, upon a like occaſion, did with him, that was ſent to him from the great *Chah-Abbas*. When the *Perſians* are in the humor of Rallying againſt the *Indians*, they relate theſe three or four little Stories of them: They ſay, That *Chah-Jehan* ſeeing that the Courtſhip and Promiſes made to their Ambaſſador were not able to prevail with him, ſo as to make him perform his Salute after the *Indian* Mode, he deviſed this Artifice; he commanded to ſhut the great Gate of the Court of the *Amkas*, where he was to receive him, and to leave only open the Wicket, through which one man could not paſs but very difficultly, by ſtooping and holding down his Head, as the faſhion is, when one maketh an *Indian* Reverence, to the end that it might be ſaid, he had made the Ambaſſador put himſelf in a poſture, which was ſomething lower than the *Indian Salam*, or Salute; but that that Ambaſſador being aware of this trick, came in with his Back foremoſt: And that *Chah-Jehan*, out of indignation to ſee himſelf catch'd, told him, *Eh Bed-bakt, Thou Wretch, doſt thou think thou comeſt into a Stable of Aſſes, ſuch as thou art?* And that the Ambaſſador, without any alteration, anſwer'd, *Who would not think ſo, ſeeing ſuch a little Door?*

Another ſtory is this; That at a certain time *Chah-Jehan* taking ill ſome coarſe and fierce Anſwers return'd to him by the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, could not hold to tell him, *What, hath* Chah-Abbas *no other men at his Court, that he muſt ſend to me ſuch a Fool as thy ſelf?* And that the Ambaſſador anſwer'd, He hath many better and wiſer than me, but *to ſuch a King, ſuch an Ambaſſador.* They add, That on a certain day *Chah-Jehan*, who had made the Ambaſſador to dine in his Preſence, and ſought ſome occaſion to affront him, ſeeing that he was buſie in picking and gnawing of Bones, asked him ſmiling, *Eh Eltchy-Gi*, My Lord Ambaſſador, *What ſhall the Dogs eat?* And that he anſwer'd readily, *Kichery*, that is, a Diſh of Pulſe, which is the food of the meaner ſort of People, and which he ſaw *Chah-Jehan* eat, becauſe he loved it.

They ſay alſo, That *Chah-Jehan* once asked him, *What he thought of his new* Dehli (which he was building) *in compariſon of* Hiſpahan? And that he anſwer'd aloud, and with an Oath, *Billah, Billah, Hiſpahan doth not come near the duſt of Dehli*; which *Chah-Jehan* took for a high Commendation, though the Ambaſſador mocked him, becauſe the duſt is ſo troubleſom at *Dehli*.

Laſtly, They relate that *Chah-Jehan* one day preſſing him to tell him, What he thought of the Grandeur of the Kings of *Indoſtan*, compared to that of the Kings of *Perſia?* He anſwer'd, *That, in his opinion, one could not better compare the Kings of* India *than to a large Moon of 15 or 16 days old, and thoſe of* Perſia, *to a ſmall Moon of two or three days.* And that this Anſwer did at firſt pleaſe *Chah-Jehan*, but that ſoon after he perceived, that that Compariſon did him but little honour, the Ambaſſador's ſence being, that the Kings of *Indoſtan* were decreaſing, and thoſe of *Perſia* increaſing.

Whether theſe Points are ſo commendable, and ſuch marks of Wit, every one is free to judge, as he ſeeth cauſe. My opinion is, That a diſcreet and reſpectful Gravity is much more becoming Ambaſſadors, than Rallery and Roughneſs, eſpecially, when they have to do with Kings, who will not be rallied with, witneſs an Accident that befell this very Ambaſſador; for *Chah-Jehan* was at length ſo weary of him and his freedom, that he called him no otherwiſe than Fool; and one day gave ſecret order, that when he ſhould enter into a pretty long and narrow Street, that is near the Fortreſs, to come to the Hall of the *Aſſembly*, they ſhould let looſe upon him an ill-conditioned and fierce Elephant; and certainly, if the Ambaſſador had not nimbly leapt out of his *Paleky*, and, together with his dextrous Attendants, ſhot ſome Arrows into the Trunk of the Elephant, which forced him to turn back, he had been utterly ſpoiled.

It was at this time, upon the departure of the *Persian* Ambassador, that *Aureng-Zebe* received with that admirable wisdom his Tutor *Mallah-Sale*, the History of which is rare and considerable. This old man, who long since had retired himself towards *Caboul*, and setled himself on some Lands, which *Chah-Jehan* had given him, had no sooner heard of the great fortune of *Aureng-Zebe* his Discipline, who had overcome *Dara* and all his other Brothers, and was now King of *Indostan*, but he came in haste to the Court, swelled with hopes of being presently advanced to no less than the dignity of an *Omrah*. He maketh his Court, and endeavors to engage all his Friends, and *Rauchenara-Begum*, the King's Sister, employs her self for him. But yet there pass three whole Months, that *Aureng-Zebe* does not so much as seem to look upon him; till at length wearied to have him always at his Elbow, and before his Face, he sent for him to a place apart, where there was no body but *Hakim-lul-Moulak*, *Danechmend-kan*, and three or four of those *Omrahs*, that pretend to Science, and then spoke to him to this effect (as I was informed by my *Agah.*)

What is it you would have of me Doctor? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief Omrahs *of my Court? Let me tell you, if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just: For I am of this perswasion, that a Child well educated and instructed, is as much, at least, obliged to his Master as to his Father: But where are those good Documents you have given me? In the first place you have taught me, that all that* Frangistan (so it seems they call *Europe*) *was nothing, but I know not what little Island, of which the greatest King was he of* Portugal, *and next to him he of* Holland, *and after him he of* England; *and as to the other Kings, as those of* France *and* Andalusia, *you have represented them to me as our petty* Raja's; *telling me, that the Kings of* Indostan *were far above them all together, and that they were the true and only* Houmajons, *the* Ekbars, *the* Jehan-Guyres, *the* Chah-Jehans, *the* Fortunate *ones, the* Great *ones, the* Conquerors *and* Kings of the World; *and that* Persia *and* Usbec, Kachguer, Tartar *and* Catay, Pegu, China, *and* Matchina *did tremble at the name of the Kings of* Indostan: *Admirable Geography! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different States of the world, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their Customs, Religions, Governments and Interests; and by the perusal of solid History, to observe their Rise, Progress, Decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors, those great Changes and Revolutions of Empires and Kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learnt of you the name of my Grandfires, the famous Founders of this Empire; so far were you from having taught me the History of their Life, and what course they took to make such great Conquests. You had a mind to teach me the* Arabian *Tongue, to read and to write, I am much obliged to you (forsooth) for having made me lose so much time upon a Language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the Son of a King should think it to be an honour to him, to be a Grammarian, or some Doctor of the Law, and to learn other Languages than those of his Neighbors, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom Time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any Spirit that did not with some reluctancy, and even with a kind of debasement, employ it self in so sad and dry an exercise, so long some and tedious, as is that of learning words.*

Thus did *Aureng-Zebe* resent the pedantick Instructions of his Tutor; to which 'tis affirmed in that Court, that after some Entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following Reproof.

'Know you not, that Childhood well govern'd, being a state which is ordinarily 'accompanied with an happy memory, is capable of thousands of good Precepts and 'Instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and 'keep the mind always raised for great Actions? The Law, Prayers, and Sciences, may 'they not as well be learned in our Mother-Tongue, as in *Arabick*? You told my Fa-'ther *Chah-Jehan*, that you would teach me Philosophy. 'Tis true, I remember very 'well, that you have entertain'd me for many years with airy questions, of things that 'afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no use in humane Society, empty 'Notions, and meer Phancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to 'understand, and very easie to forget, which are only capable to tire and spoil a good 'understanding, and to breed an Opinion that is insupportable. I still remember, that 'after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine Philosophy, all 'I retained of it, was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder,

'per-

'perplex, and tire out the beſt Wits, and only invented, the better to cover the vani-
'ty and ignorance of men like your ſelf, that would make us believe, that they know
'all, and that under thoſe obſcure and ambiguous words, are hid great myſteries, which
'they alone are capable to underſtand: If you had ſeaſon'd me with that Philoſophy,
'which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and inſenſibly accuſtoms it to be ſatisfied
'with nothing but ſolid Reaſons; if you had given me thoſe excellent Precepts and
'Doctrines, which raiſe the Soul above the Aſſaults of Fortune, and reduce her to an
'unſhakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by Proſperi-
'ty, nor debaſed by Adverſity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of
'what we are, and what are the firſt principles of things; and had aſſiſted me in form-
'ing in my mind a fit *Idea* of the greatneſs of the Univerſe, and of the admirable
'order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I ſay, you had inſtilled into me this kind
'of Philoſophy, I ſhould think my ſelf incomparably more obliged to you, than *Alex-*
'*ander* was to his *Ariſtotle*; and believe it my duty to recompence you otherwiſe, than
'he did him. Should not you, inſtead of your flattery, have taught me ſomewhat of
'that point ſo important to a King, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a So-
'vereign to his Subjects, and thoſe of Subjects to their Sovereign? And ought not you
'to have conſider'd, that one day I ſhould be obliged with the Sword to diſpute my
'Life and the Crown with my Brothers? Is not that the deſtiny almoſt of all the Sons
'of *Indoſtan*? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn, what 'tis to beſiege a
'Town, or to ſet an Army in Array? For theſe things I am obliged to others, not at
'all to you. Go, and retire to the Village whence you are come, and let no body know
'who you are, or what is become of you.

At that time there aroſe a kind of Tempeſt againſt *Aſtrologers*, which did not diſ-pleaſe me. Moſt people of *Aſia* are ſo infatuated by *Judiciary Aſtrology*, that they believe there is nothing done here below, but 'tis written above (for ſo they ſpeak.) In all their Undertakings therefore they conſult Aſtrologers. When two Armies are ready to give Battel, they beware of falling on, till the Aſtrologer hath taken and de-termined the moment he fancies propitious for the beginning of the Combat. And ſo, when the matter is about electing a Captain-General of an Army, of diſpatching an Ambaſſador, of concluding a Marriage, of beginning a Voyage, and of doing any other thing, as buying a Slave, putting on new Apparel, *&c.* nothing of all that is done, without the ſentence of *Mr. Star-Gazer*; which is an incredible vexation, and a cuſtom drawing after it ſuch important conſequences, that I know not how it can ſub-ſiſt ſo long: For the Aſtrologer muſt needs have knowledge of all that paſſeth, and of all that is undertaken, from the greateſt Affairs to the leaſt.

But behold, it happen'd, that the prime Aſtrologer of the King was drown'd, which occaſioned a great noiſe at Court, and was a great diſcredit to Aſtrology: For he be-ing the perſon that determined the moments of all Enterprizes and Actions for the King, and the *Omrahs*, every one wondred, how a man ſo experienced, and that for ſo long time had diſpenſed good Adventures to others, could not foreſee his own miſ-fortune. There were not wanting thoſe, who pretended to be wiſer than others, and ſaid, that in *Frangiſtan*, where Sciences did flouriſh, the Grandees do ſuſpect all ſuch kind of people, and that ſome hold them even no better than Mountebanks, that 'tis much doubted, whether this knowledge is grounded upon good and ſolid reaſons, and that it may very well be ſome fancy of Aſtrologers, or rather an Artifice to make them-ſelves neceſſary to the great ones, and to make them in ſome meaſure to depend on them.

All theſe Diſcourſes very much diſpleaſed the Aſtrologers; but nothing angred them ſo much as this Story, become very famous, *viz.* That the great *Chah-Abas* King of *Per-ſia*, commanded to be digged and prepared a little place in his *Seraglio* to make a Gar-den; that the young Trees were all ready, and that the Gardener made account to plant them the next day. Mean time the Aſtrologer taking upon him, ſaid, *That a good nick of time was to be obſerved for planting them, to make them proſper.* *Chah-Abas* being content it ſhould be ſo, the *Star Gazer* took his Inſtruments, turned over his Books, made his Calculation, and concluded, *That by reaſon of ſuch and ſuch a Conjunction and Aſpect of the Planets, it was neceſſary they ſhould be ſet preſently.* The Maſter-Gardener, who minded nothing leſs than this Aſtrologer, was not then at hand; yet for all that, they fell to work immediately, making holes, and planting the Trees; *Chah-Abas* him-ſelf ſetting them, that it might be ſaid, that they were Trees ſet with *Chah-Abas*'s own hands. The Gardener returning at Night, was ſufficiently amazed when he ſaw

the work done; and finding that the right place and order designed by him, was not taken; that, for Example, an Apricock-Tree stood where an Apple-Tree should stand, and a Pear-Tree where an Almond-Tree; being heartily angry with the Astrologer, caused all the Trees to be plucked up again, and laid them down, with some Earth about them, for next morning, the time chosen by himself. The News hereof came soon to the Ears of the Astrologer, who presently told *Chah-Abas* of it: He forthwith sent for the Gardner, and with some indignation asked him, *What had made him so bold, as to pull up those Young Trees he had planted with his own hand? That the time had been so exactly taken for them, that so good an one would never be had again; and that so he had marred all.* The rude Gardener, who had a Cup of *Chiras*-Wine in his head, look'd aside upon the Astrologer, and grumbling and swearing, said to him these words, *Billah, Billah, that must needs be an admirable point of time which thou hast taken for these Trees, Unhappy Astrologer! They were planted this day Noon, and this Evening they have been plucked up again.* When *Chah-Abas* heard this, he fell a laughing, turned his back upon the Astrologer, and went away.

I shall here add two Particulars, though hapned in the time of *Chah-Jehan*, because such things fall out often enough, and do withall give occasion to observe that ancient and barbarous custom, which makes the Kings of *India* Heirs of the Goods of those that die in their Service. The first was of *Neiknam-kan*, one of the most ancient *Omrahs* of the Court, and who for the space of 40 or 50 years, wherein he had always been employ'd in considerable Offices, had heaped up great store of Gold and Silver. This Lord seeing himself near his End, and thinking upon this unreasonable custom, which often renders the Wife of a great Man, upon his decease, poor and miserable in an instant, and necessitates her to present a Petition, begging some small Pension for her subsistence, and for that of her Children, who are constrained to list themselves for common Soldiers under some *Omrah*, who, I say, considering this with himself, secretly distributed all his Treasure to indigent Knights, and poor Widows, filled his Trunks with old pieces of Iron, old Shoes, Rags and Bones, and locked and sealed them, telling every body that they were Goods belonging to *Chah-Jehan* the King. These Trunks, after his death, were brought before *Chah-Jehan*, when he was in the Assembly, and by his command instantly opened in the presence of all the *Omrahs*, that saw all this fine Stuff, which so provoked and discomposed *Chah-Jehan*, that he rose in great fury, and went away.

The *other* is only a piece of Gallantry. A rich *Banean*, or Heathen Merchant, being a great Usurer, (as most of them are) who had always been in Employment, and in the Pay of the King, came to dye. Some years after his death, his Son did extremely importune the Widow, his Mother, to let him have some Money: She finding him to be a prodigal and debauched Youth, gave him as little as she could. This young Fool, by the perswasion of others like himself, made his Complaints to *Chah-Jehan*, and was so silly, as to discover to him all the Goods his Father had left, which amounted to Two hundred thousand *Rupies*, or Hundred thousand Crowns. *Chah-Jehan*, who soon got an itch for this Treasure, sent for the Widow, and commanded her in the open Assembly to send him an Hundred thousand *Rupies*, and to give Fifty thousand to her Son, giving order at the same time to put her away. The old Woman, though surprized at this Command, and perplext enough, that she was so suddenly thrust out, without the liberty of speaking, yet lost not her judgment, but with a loud voice gave out, That she had something of moment to discover to his Majesty: Whereupon being brought in again, she said, *God save your Majesty; I find that my Son hath some reason to demand of me the Goods of his Father, as being of his and my flesh and blood, and therefore our Heir; but I would gladly know, what Kindred your Majesty is to my deceased Husband, to be his Heir.* When *Chah-Jehan* heard so plain a piece of Rallery, and a discourse of Parentage of the King of the *Indies*, with a *She-Banian*, or Idolatrous She-Merchant, he could not hold laughing, and commanded she should be gone, and that nothing should be asked of her.

But to return, I shall not relate all the other considerable things that have happened since the end of the War, that is, since 1660. unto my departure, which was above six years after; though doubtless that would tend much to the design I had in relating the other Particulars, which is, to make known the Genius and Temper of the *Mogols* and *Indians*. This I may do in another place: Here I shall only give an Account of five or six Particulars, which those that shall have read this Relation, will doubtless be curious of.

The *first*, that though *Aureng-Zebe* made *Chah-Jehan* his Father, to be kept in the Fortreſs of *Agra* with all imaginable care and caution; yet notwithſtanding he ſtill left him in his old Apartment with *Begum-Saheb*, his eldeſt Daughter, his other Women, Singers, Dancers, Cooks, and others, nothing of that kind was wanting to him. There were alſo certain *Mullahs*, that were permitted to come and to read the *Alcoran* to him (for he was become very devout.) And when he thought fit, there were brought before him brave Horſes, and tamed *Gazelles* (which is a kind of Goat) to make them fight with one another; as alſo divers ſorts of Birds of Prey, and ſeveral other rare Animals, to divert him as formerly. *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf uſed an Art to overcome at laſt his fierceneſs and obſtinacy, which he had hitherto kept, though a Priſoner. And this was the effect of the obliging Letters, full of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, which he often wrote to his Father, conſulting him often as his Oracle, and expreſſing a thouſand cares for him; ſending him alſo unceſſantly ſome pretty Preſent or other, whereby *Chah-Jehan* was ſo much gained, that he alſo wrote very often to *Aureng-Zebe* touching the Government and State Affairs, and of his own Accord ſent him ſome of thoſe Jewels, which before he had told him of, that Hammers were ready to beat them to Powder the firſt time he ſhould again ask for them. Beſides, he conſented that the Daughter of *Dara*, which he had ſo peremptorily denied, ſhould be deliver'd to him; and granted him at length that pardon and paternal bleſſing which he had ſo often deſired without obtaining it. Yet, under all this, *Aureng-Zebe* did not always flatter him; on the contrary, he ſometimes return'd ſharp Anſwers, when he met with ſtrains in his Fathers Letters that were pregnant, or expreſſed ſomething of his former height and authority. Of this we may judge by the Letter, which I know from a very good hand was once written to him by *Aureng-Zebe*, to this effect:

Sir, You would have me indiſpenſably follow thoſe ancient Cuſtoms, and make my ſelf Heir to all thoſe that are in my Pay with the wonted rigor: An Omrah, and even a Merchant can no ſooner dye, and ſometimes even before his death, but we ſeal up his Trunks, and ſeize on his Goods, and make a ſtrict enquiry into his Eſtate, impriſoning and ill-treating the Officers of the Houſe to diſcover to us all he hath, even to the leaſt Jewels. I will believe that there is ſome policy in doing ſo, but it cannot be denied, that 'tis very rigorous, and ſometimes very unjuſt; and to ſpeak the very truth, we may deſerve well enough, that the ſame ſhould befall us every day, what hapned to you from your Neikman-kan, *and from the Widow of your rich* Indian *Merchant. Moreover* (ſaid he) *it ſeems, I am by you reputed proud and haughty now I am King: As if you knew not by the experience of more than Forty years of your Reign, how heavy an Ornament a Crown is, and how many ſad and reſtleſs Nights it paſſeth through: as if I could forget that excellent paſſage of* Mir-Timur, (*commonly called* Tamberlan) *which is ſo ſeriouſly delivered to us by that great Grandfather of ours,* Ekbar, *to the end that we might the more weigh the importance and value of it, and conſider, whether we have cauſe to pride our ſelves ſo much in a Crown. You well know, that he ſaid, that the ſame day when* Timur *took* Bajazet, *he made him come before him, and having fixed his eyes on him, fell a laughing; at which* Bajazet *being highly offended, fiercely ſaid to him,* Laugh not at my Fortune, *Timur*; know that 'tis God that is the Diſpenſer of Kingdoms and Empires; and that the ſame can befall you to morrow, that hath befallen me to day. *Whereupon* Timur *made this ſerious and brave Anſwer,* I know as well as you, *Bajazet*, that 'tis God that diſtributeth Kingdoms and Empires; I laugh not at your ill Fortune, God forbid I ſhould do ſo: But beholding your face, I ſmiled, and had this thought, That certainly theſe Kingdoms and Empires muſt in themſelves be very little and contemptible things in the eyes of God, ſince he giveth them to perſons ſo ill made as you and I both are; a deformed one-ey'd man, as you; and a lame wretch, as my ſelf. *You require alſo, that abandoning all my other Employments, which I believe very neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment and happineſs of this State, I ſhould think on nothing but Conqueſts, and the enlargement of the Empire. I muſt confeſs that this is indeed the buſineſs of a great Monarch, and of a Soul truly Royal, and that I ſhould not deſerve to be of the Blood of the Great* Timur, *if I were not of that mind, and had not ſuch inclinations. Mean time, I think I ſit not idle, and my Armies are not uſeleſs in the Kingdoms of* Decan *and* Bengale: *But we muſt alſo aver, that the greateſt Conquerors are not always the greateſt Kings; that we too often ſee a* Barbarian *making Conqueſts, and that thoſe great Bodies of Conqueſts do ordinarily fall of themſelves, and by their own weight. He is a great King, that knows to acquit himſelf worthily of that Great and Auguſt Employment and Charge of Kings, which is to diſpenſe Juſtice to their Subjects,* &c. The reſt is not come to my hands.

The *second* is in regard of the *Emir-Jemla*. It were to injure this great Man, to pass by with silence his deportment to *Aureng-Zebe* after the War, and the manner of ending his days. This eminent person after he had dispatched the Affair of *Bengale*, with *Sultan Sujah* (the second of these four Brothers) not like *Gionkan*, that infamous *Patan* with *Dara*; nor like the *Raja* of *Serenguer* with *Soliman-Chekuh*; but like a Great Captain and dextrous Polititian, pursuing him as far as the Sea-side, and necessitating him to fly and to escape out of his hands; after, I say, he had done these things, he sent an Eunuch to *Aureng-Zebe*, intreating him, that he would give him leave to transport his Family to *Bengale*; that now that the War was at an end, and he broken with Age, he hoped he would grant him the advantage of ending his life in the company of his Wife and Children.

But *Aureng-Zebe* is too sharp-sighted, not to pierce into the designs of *Emir*. He seeth him triumphing over *Sujah*; he knows his great credit and reputation, and that he hath the esteem of a very wise, undertaking, valiant and rich man; and that the Kingdom of *Bengale* is not only the best of all *Indostan*, but strong of it self, and further, that this *Emir* is in the head of a well disciplin'd Army, which both honours and fears him. Besides, he is not ignorant of his ambition, and foreseeth well enough, that if he should have with him his Son *Mahmet-Emirkan*, he would aspire to the Crown, and at least take full possession of *Bengale*, if he should not be able to advance things further. At the same time he is also well aware, that there is danger in refusing him, and that he may possibly prove such a man, as in case of denial, may run into some dangerous extream, as he had done in *Golkonda*. How then, think ye, did he carry himself in this conjuncture? He sends to him his Wife and Daughter, and all the Children of his Son: He maketh the *Emir* a *Mir-Ul Omrah*, which is in that Empire the greatest degree of honour that a Favourite can be raised to: And as to *Mahmet-Emirkan*, he maketh him the *Great-Bakchis*, which is a dignity and charge like that of our Great Master of the Horse, the second or third Office in the State, but such an one as absolutely obligeth the possessor of it to be always at the Court, not suffering him, but very difficultly, to be absent from the person of the King.

The *Emir* soon perceived, that *Aureng-Zebe* had skilfully put by the stroke, that it would be in vain the second time to ask of him his Son; that he could not do it without offending him; and that therefore the safest way would be to rest contented with all the testimonies of Friendship, and with all the Honours, together with the Government of *Bengale*; being in the mean time always upon his guard, and in such a posture, that since he could attempt nothing against *Aureng-Zebe*, *Aureng-Zebe* should not be able to attempt any thing against him.

Thus have we seen these two Great Men carry themselves to one another: And in this condition did affairs remain for almost a year; till *Aureng-Zebe*, too well knowing that a great Captain cannot be long at rest, and that, if he be not employed in a Foreign War, he will at length raise a Domestick one; proposed to him to make War upon that rich and potent Raja of *Acham*, whose Territories are on the North of *Dake*, upon the Gulf of *Bengale*. The *Emir*, who in all appearance had already designed this same thing of himself, and who believed, that the Conquest of this Country, would make way for his Immortal Honour, and be an occasion of carrying his Arms as far as *China*, declared himself ready for this Enterprize. He embarked at *Dake* with a puissant Army, upon a River which comes from those parts; upon which having gone about an hundred Leagues North-Eastward, he arrived at a Castle called *Azo*, which the Raja of *Acham* had usurped from the Kingdom of *Bengale*, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in less than fifteen days; thence marching over Land towards *Chamdara*, which is the Inlet into the Country of that Raja; he entred into it after 26 days journey, still Northward: There a Battel was fought, in which the Raja of *Acham* was worsted, and obliged to retreat to *Guerguon*, the *Metropolis* of his Kingdom, four miles distant from *Chamdara*. The *Emir* pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to fortifie himself in *Guerguon*: For he arrived in sight of that Town in five days, which constrained the *Raja*, seeing the *Emir*'s Army, to fly towards the Mountains of the Kingdom of *Lassa*, and to abandon *Guerguon*, which was pillaged, as had been *Chamdara*. They found there vast riches, it being a great, very fair and Merchant-like Town, and where the Women are extraordinarily beautiful. Mean time, the season of the Rains came in sooner

ſooner than uſually; and they being exceſſive in thoſe parts, and overflowing all the Countrey, except ſuch Villages as ſtand on raiſed ground, the *Emir* was much embaraſſed. For the *Raja* made his people of the Mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the proviſions of the Field; whereby the *Emir*'s Army (as rich as 'twas) before the end of the rains fell into great ſtreights, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance, by reaſon of the Mountains very difficult to paſs, and continually peſter'd with great Rains; nor retreat, becauſe of the like Rains and deep wayes; the *Raja* alſo having cauſed the way to be digged up as far as to *Chamdara*: So that the *Emir* was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the Rain; after which, when he found his Army diſtaſted, tired out, and half ſtarved, he was neceſſitated to give over the Deſign he had of advancing, and to return the ſame way he was come. But this Retreat was made with ſo much pains, and ſo great inconveniencies, by reaſon of the dirt, the want of Victuals, and the purſuit of the *Raja* falling on the Rear, that every body (but he) that had not known how to remedy the diſorder of ſuch a March, nor had the patience to be ſometimes five or ſix hours at one paſſage to make the Souldiery get over it without confuſion, would have utterly periſh'd, himſelf, Army, and all; yet he, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties and obſtacles, made a ſhift to come back with great honour and vaſt riches. He deſign'd to return thither again the next year, and to purſue his undertaking, ſuppoſing that *Azo*, which he had fortified, and where he left a ſtrong Garriſon, would be able to hold out the reſt of the year againſt the *Raja*. But he was no ſooner arrived there, but Fluxes began to rage in his Army: Neither had himſelf a body of Steel more than the reſt; he fell ſick and died, whereby Fortune ended the juſt apprehenſions of *Aureng-Zebe*. I ſay, the *Juſt* apprehenſions; for there was none of thoſe that knew this great man, and the ſtate of the affairs of *Indoſtan*, who did not ſay, 'Tis this day that *Aureng-Zebe* is King of *Bengale*. And himſelf could not forbear to expreſs ſome ſuch thing; for he publickly ſaid to *Mahmet-Emir-kan*; You have loſt your Father, and I the greateſt and the moſt dangerous Friend I had; yet notwithſtanding he comforted this Son, and withal aſſured him, that he would ever be a Father to him. And whereas 'twas thought, that he would at leaſt cut off his Salary, and make Inquiſition into his Treaſury, he confirmed him in his Office of *Bakchis*, augmented his Penſion to a thouſand Rupies a month, and left him Heir of all the Eſtate of his Father, although the Cuſtom of the Country empower'd him to ſeize on all.

The *third* is concerning *Chab-beſt-kan*, whom *Aureng-Zebe* made firſt Governour of *Agra*, when he went out to the Battel of *Kadjoue* againſt *Sultan Sujah*; and afterward, Governour and General of the Army in *Decan*; and at laſt, after the death of *Emir-Jemla*, Governour and General of the Army in *Bengale*, together with the charge of *Mirul Omrah* which *Emir-Jemla* had poſſeſſed. This *Chab-beſt-kan* is he, whom in our Hiſtory we have mention'd as Uncle to *Aureng-Zebe*, and one that hath ſo much contributed to his happineſs by his eloquent and skilful pen, as well as by his intrigues and counſels. It would be injurious to his Renown alſo, to be ſilent of the important enterpriſe, which he undertook preſently when he entred upon his Government; and that the rather, becauſe *Emir-Jemla*, whether out of Policy, or for another cauſe, had no mind to tempt him; as alſo, becauſe the particularities, which I am going to relate, will ſhew not only the paſſed and preſent ſtate of the Kingdoms of *Bengale* and *Rakan*, which hitherto hath not been well deſcribed to us by any; but alſo ſome other things that are worth knowing.

To the end therefore that the importance of *Chab-beſt-kan*'s attempt may be well underſtood, and a good Idea be had of what paſſeth about the Gulf of *Bengale*, we are to know, that theſe many years there have always been in the Kingdom of *Rakan* or *Moy*, ſome *Portugueſes*, and with them a great number of their *Chriſtian* Slaves, and other *Franguis*, gather'd from all parts. *That* was the refuge of the Run-aways from *Goa*, *Ceilan*, *Cochin*, *Malague*, and all thoſe other places, which the *Portugueſes* formerly held in the *Indies*; and they were ſuch as had abandoned their Monaſteries, men that had been twice or thrice Married, Murtherers: In a word, ſuch as had deſerved the Rope, were moſt welcome and moſt eſteem'd there, leading in that Country a life that was very deteſtable, and altogether unworthy of Chriſtians, inſomuch that they impunely butchered and poiſoned one another, and aſſaſſinated their

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become so potent and considerable, that he married one of the Kings Daughters; being unwilling that it should be said, that a man of so mean Extraction as this *Bastian* was, had done such a Master-piece. But it may be said on this occasion, that this is not much to be wondred at, considering that the *Portugueses* in the *Indies* by such a conduct have divers times been faulty on the like occations, in *Japan*, in *Pegu*, in *Ethiopia*, and other places; not to mention, that by this way, and that perhaps by a just Divine chastisement (as they all frankly confess themselves) they are become a prey to their Enemies, and fallen so low in the *Indies*, that I know not whether they will ever recover there; whereas formerly, before they were corrupted by vice, and degenerated through pleasure, they made all others tremble in those parts; forasmuch as then they were brave and generous men, zealous for the Christian Religion, considerable for gallant exploits and for riches; all the *Indian* Kings seeking their friendship.

Besides this, the same Pyrates seized at that time on the Isle of *Sondiva*, an advantageous Post to command a part of the Mouth of *Ganges*: In which Isle a certain *Augustin* Frier, a very famous man, acted the King for many years, having taken a course, God knows how, to rid himself of the Commander of that place.

Moreover, the same Robbers took *Sultan-Sujah* at *Daka*, to carry him away in their Galeasses to *Rakan*, as we related above, and found means to open his Coffers, and to rob him of good store of Jewels, which afterwards were secretly, and at a very cheap rate, sold in *Rakan*, most of them being fallen into the hands of people that had no skill in them, and afterwards into the hands of the *Hollanders*, and others, who knew how to buy them up quickly, making those fellows believe, that they were soft Diamonds, and that they would pay them according to the *degrees* of their hardness.

Lastly, They are they that for many years have given exercise to the Great *Mogol* in *Bengale*; having obliged him there to keep always Garrisons every where upon the Passes, and a great Militia, and a Fleet also of Galeasses to oppose their courses, and who, notwithstanding all this, have made shift to make strange devastations, and often to enter far into the Country, and to laugh at all the Souldiery of the *Mogols*; in regard they were become so bold, and so dextrous at their Weapons, and so skilful in piloting their Galeasses, that four or five of them stuck not to set upon fourteen or fifteen *Mogolians*, which they also actually worsted, and took or run aground. And upon these Pyrates *Chab best-kan* cast his eyes as soon as he came into *Bengale*, taking a resolution to deliver the Country of this plague of people, that had so long waited it; and designing afterwards to pass on, and to attack the King of *Rakan*, according to the order of *Aurenge-Zebe*, who at any price had a mind to revenge the blood of *Sultan-Sujah*, and all his Family, that had been so cruelly handled, and to teach that Barbarian, how the Blood Royal was to be regarded and esteemed on any occasion whatsoever: Behold now with what dexterity *Chab best-kan* carrieth on this design!

Knowing that 'tis impossible to pass any Cavalry by Land, no not so much as any Infantry, from *Bengale* into *Rakan*, because of the many channels and rivers upon the Frontiers; and also that on the other side, those Pyrates of *Chatigon*, whom we just now were speaking of, would be powerful enough to hinder him from transporting them by Sea; he thought upon this experiment, *viz.* to engage the *Hollanders* in his design. He therefore sent a kind of Ambassador to *Batavia*, empowering him to treat upon certain Conditions, with the General of that Company, jointly to subdue the whole Kingdom of *Rakan*; as formerly *Chah-Abbas* subdued that of *Ormus*, in conjunction with the *English*. The General of *Batavia* seeing the thing to be possible, and that it was a means more and more to break the *Portugueses* in the *Indies*, and that it would turn to a very good account to the Company, dispatch'd away two Men of War for *Bengale*, to favour the transportation of the *Mogolian* Troops in spight of those Pyrates. But observe what *Chah-best-kan* did before these Men of War arrived: He equipped a great number of Galeasses, and many large Vessels to transport the Army; threatned the Pyrates, utterly to spoil and ruin them; acquainted them with the design of *Aureng-Zebe* upon *Rakan*; that a potent Army of the *Dutch* was near; that they should think on themselves and their families, if they were wise; and in a word, if they would abandon the service of the King of *Rakan*, and take that of

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Aureng-Zebe, he would procure very good conditions for them, distribute amongst them as much Land in *Bengale* as they desired, and pay them the double of what they had now.

'Tis doubtful, whether these Menaces and Promises made impression upon them, or whether it was not an Accident that moved them, they having about that time assassinated one of the chief Officers of the King of *Rakan*, and apprehending a punishment for that Crime: However it be, they were caught, and they were one day struck with such a panick terror, that they shipp'd themselves all at once in forty or fifty of their Galeasses, and wafted over to *Bengale* to *Chah-hest-kan*, and that with so much precipitation, that they hardly took time to embark their Wives and Children, and what else was most precious to them. *Chah-hest-kan* receiv'd them with open Arms, courted them exceedingly, gave them very considerable Pay, and without letting them cool, made them, jointly with his whole Army, to attack and take the Isle of *Sondiva*, which was fallen into the hands of the King of *Rakan*, and thence to pass with all his Horse and Foot to *Chatigon*. About this time the two *Holland* Vessels arrived, but *Chah-hest-kan*, who thought that henceforth it would be easie for him to compass his design, thanked them. I saw these Ships in *Bengale*, and their Commanders, who were but little contented with such thanks and liberalities of *Chah-hest-kan*. As to the Pyrates, since now he holds them fast, and hopeless of ever returning to *Chatigon*, and hath no more need of them, he makes nothing of all those large Promises he made them, and treats them not as he should, but as they deserve, leaving them whole months without Pay, and not looking upon them otherwise than Traytors, and infamous men, unfit to be trusted, after they have so vilely deserted him, whose Salt they had eaten so many years. After this manner did *Chah-hest-kan* put an end to this Rabble, which, as I said, have ruined and dispoiled all the lower *Bengale*. Time will shew whether he will be as happy in the remainder of his Enterprize against the King of *Rakan*.

The *fourth* Particular is concerning the two Sons of *Aureng-Zebe*, viz. *Sultan Mahmoud*, and *Sultan Mazum*. He still keeps the first of them in *Gonalcar*, but (if one may believe the common report) without making him take the *Pouft*, which is the ordinary Drink of those that are put into that place. As to the *other*, though he hath always been a pattern of reservedness and moderation, yet one knows not whether he was not too forward in making a Party, when his Father was so extremely sick; or whether *Aureng-Zebe* have not upon other occasions perceiv'd something that might give him cause of jealousie; or whether he had not a mind to make an authentick proof of both his Obedience and Courage. However it be, one day he commanded him in an unconcerned manner, in a full Assembly of the *Omrahs*, to go and kill a *Lyon* that was come down to the Mountains, and had made great havock and waste in the Countrey; and this he did, without giving order to furnish him with those strong and large Nets, which they are wont to employ in this dangerous kind of hunting in a real mood; telling the great Hunting-Master, who presently call'd for those Nets, that when he was Prince, he did not look for such Formalities. It was the good fortune of *Sultan Mazum*, that he prosper'd in this Attempt, not losing any more than two or three men, and some Horses that were wounded; although, on the other hand, the matter went not off so pleasantly, the wounded *Lyon* having leapt up to the head of the Sultan's Elephant. Since that time, *Aureng-Zebe* hath not been backward to express much Affection to him; he hath given him even the Government of *Decan*, though with so little power and treasure, that there is no great cause to apprehend any thing upon that Account.

The *fifth* thing toucheth *Mohabet-kan*, the Governor of *Kaboul*, whom *Aureng-Zebe* took from his Government, and generously pardon'd; not willing, as he said, to lose so brave a Captain, and that had stuck so close to his Benefactor *Chah-Jehan*. He made him even Governor of *Guzuratte*, in the place of *Jessonseignr*, whom he sent to make War in *Decan*. It may very well be, that some considerable Presents he made to *Rauchenara-Begum*, and a good number of excellent *Persian* Horse and Camels, wherewith he presented *Aureng-Zebe*, together with fifteen or sixteen thousand *Rupies* of Gold, did contribute to make his peace.

On this occasion of mentioning the Government of *Kaboul*, which borders upon the Kingdom of *Kandahar*, which is now in the hands of the *Persians*, I shall here briefly

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Kings, that often were so powerful, that they subdued the *Indies* as far as *China*.

'Tis true, that *Aureng-Zebe* dismissed *Nejabat-kan*, who did very well in the two Battels of *Samonguer* and *Kadjoue*, but then 'tis not fit at all, that a Subject should ever reproach his King, as he did, with the services done him.

As to those infamous men, *Gion-kan* and *Nazer*, 'tis known, that the former hath been recompenced as he deserved; but the other no man knows what is become of him.

What concerns *Jessomseigne* and *Jesseigne*, there is something as to them that is intricate, which I shall endeavour to unfold. There is a certain Heathen revolted from the King of *Visapour*, who knew how to possess himself of many important Fortresses, and of some Sea-ports of that King. His name is *Seva-Gi*, that is, Lord *Seva*. He is a stout man, vigilant, bold, and undertaking in the highest degree, who gave *Chah-best-kan* more work and trouble in *Decan*, than the King of *Visapour* with all his Forces, and all his *Raja's* joined with him for their common defence: Insomuch that having designed to take away *Chah-best-kan* and his Treasures out of the midst of his Army, and of the Town *Aurenge-Abad*, he carried on his design so far, that he had effected it, if he had not been discover'd a little too soon; for one night, accompanied with a number of resolute Fellows he hath about him, he was got into the very apartment of *Chah-best-kan*, where his Son, who was forward in the defence, was killed, and himself grievously wounded; *Seva-Gi* in the mean time getting away as well as he came: Who for all this was so far from being daunted, that he undertook another very bold and very dangerous Enterprise, which succeeded much better. He took two or three Thousand chosen men of his Army, with whom he took the Field without noise, spreading a report by the way, that it was a *Raja* going to the Court. When he was near *Suratte*, that famous and rich Port of the *Indies*, instead of marching further, (as he made the great Provost of that Country, whom he met, believe) he fell into that Town, where he staid about three days, cutting off the Arms and Legs of the Inhabitants, to make them confess where were the Treasures; searching, digging, and loading away, or burning what he could not carry with him. Which done, he returned, none opposing his return, loaden with millions of Gold, Silver, Pearls, Silken Stuffs, Fine Linnen, and other rich Merchandise. *Jessomseigne* was suspected to have had since intelligence with this *Seva-Gi*, which was the cause that *Aureng-Zebe* called him away from *Decan*; but he, instead of going to *Debli*, went to his own Territory.

I forgot to mention, that in the plunder of *Suratte*, that Ringleader *Seva-Gi*, like a Saint, had so much respect to the House of the Reverend Father *Ambrose*, a Missionary *Capucian*, that he gave order it should not be plundered; because, said he, I know that the Fathers *Franguis* are good men. He had also regard to the House of the deceased *de Lale*, because he understood that he had been great Almoner. He also consider'd the Houses of the *English* and *Dutch*, not from Devotion, as he did the former, but because they were in a good posture of defence; especially the *English*, who having had time to send for assistance from some of their ships that lay near the Town, behaved themselves gallantly, and saved, besides their own, several other houses near them. But a certain *Jew* of *Constantinople*, who had brought Rubies of a very great value, to sell them to *Aureng-Zebe*, carried away the Bell from all, by saving himself from the hands of *Seva-Gi*; for, rather than to confess that he had any Jewels, he was brought thrice upon his Knees, and the Knife held up to cut his Throat: But it became none save a *Jew*, hardly in Avarice, to escape in such a manner.

Touching *Jesseigne*, King *Aureng-Zebe* made him content to go General of the Army in *Decan*, sending *Sultan-Mazum* with him, without any power. He presently and vigorously besieged the principal Fortress of *Seva-Gi*, and knowing more than all the rest in matter of Negotiation and Treaty, he so order'd the business, that *Seva-Gi* surrendred before it came to extremity; and then he drew him to *Aureng-Zebe's* party against *Visapour*, King *Aureng-Zebe* declaring him a *Raja*, taking him under his protection, and giving the Pension of a very considerable *Omrah* to his Son. Some time after, *Aureng-Zebe* designing to make War against *Persia*, wrote to *Seva-Gi* such obliging Letters touching his Generosity, Ability and Conduct, that he made him resolve, upon the faith of *Jesseigne*, to come to him to *Debli*. There a Kinswoman of *Aureng-Zebe*, the Wife of *Chah-best-kan*, (who was then at Court) by the influence she had upon the spirit of *Aureng-Zebe*, persuaded him to arrest him that had murder'd her Son,

Son, wounded her Husband, and sacked *Suratte:* So that one evening *Seva-Gi* saw his Pavilions beset with three or four *Omrahs*; but he made shift to get away in the night. This escape made a great noise at Court, every one accusing the eldest Son of the *Raja Jesseigne* to have assisted him in it. *Jesseigne*, who presently had news that *Aureng-Zebe* was very angry with him and his Son, and was advised no more to go to the Court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending lest *Aureng-Zebe* should take this for a pretence to fall upon his Lands, and possess himself of them. Whereupon he also soon left *Decan* to secure his Estate; but when he was at *Brampour*, he died. Yet notwithstanding *Aureng-Zebe* was so far from expressing any coldness or resentment to the Son of *Jesseigne*, that he sent to condole with him for the death of his Father, and continued to him his Pension; which confirms what many say, that it was by the consent of *Aureng-Zebe* himself, that *Seva-Gi* escaped, forasmuch as he could retain him no longer at Court, because all the Women there had too great a spleen against him, and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his Kinsmen.

But to return to *Decan*, we are to consider, that that is a Kingdom, which these Forty years hath constantly been the Theater of War, and upon the score whereof the *Mogol* hath much to do with the Kings of *Golkonda*, and of *Visapour*, and divers little Soveraigns, which is not to be understood, unless it be known, what considerable things have passed in those Parts, and the condition of the Princes that govern them.

All this great Peninsule of *Indostan*, cutting it from the Bay of *Cambaja* unto that of *Bengale*, near *Jagannate*, and passing thence to Cape *Comori*, was scarce two hundred years since entirely (some mountainous Parts excepted) under the Dominion of one only Prince, who consequently was a very great and very potent Monarch: But now it is divided among many different Soveraigns, that are also of different Religions. The cause of this division was, that the King *Ramras*, the last of those that have possessed this mighty State entirely, did imprudently raise three Slaves, *Gurgis*, he had about him too high, so as to make them all three Governors of places: The *first*, of the greatest part of those Countries, which at present are possessed by the *Mogol* in *Decan*, about *Daulet-Abad*, from *Bider*, *Paranda*, *Suratte*, unto *Narbadar:* The *second*, of all the other Lands, now comprehended under the Kingdom of *Visapour*: And the *third*, of all that is contained under the Kingdom of *Golkonda*. These three Slaves grew very rich, and found themselves supported by a good number of the *Mogols*, that were in the service of *Ramras*, because they were all three *Mahumetans*, of the Sect *Chyas*, like the *Persians*. And at length they all revolted together with one accord, killed King *Ramras*, and return'd to their Government, each taking upon him the Title of *Chah* or King. The Issue of *Ramras*, not finding themselves strong enough for them, were content to keep themselves in a corner, *viz.* in that Country which is commonly call'd *Karnatek*, in our Maps, *Bisnaguer*, where they are still *Raja's* to this very day. All the rest of the State was also at the same time divided into all those *Raja's Naiques*, and petty Kings, such as we see there. These three Slaves and their Posterity have always defended themselves very well in their Kingdoms, whil'st they kept a good mutual Correspondence, and assisted one another in their grievous Wars against the *Mogols*. But when they once came to think every one to defend their Lands apart, they soon found the effects of their division. For the *Mogol* so well knew to take his time upon that occasion, (which is now about Thirty five, or Forty years since) that he possess'd himself within a little time of all the Country of *Nejam-Chah*, or King *Nejam*, the fifth or sixth of the Family of the first Slave, and at last took him Prisoner in *Daulet-Abad*, the Capital, where he died.

After that time, the Kings of *Golkonda* have maintain'd themselves well enough; not as if they could compare with the power of the *Mogol*, but because the *Mogol* hath always been employ'd against the two others; from whom he was to take *Amber*, *Paranda*, *Bider*, and some other places, before he could conveniently march towards *Golkonda*. And because they have always been so politick, being very opulent, as to furnish under-hand the King of *Visapour* with Money, and thereby to help him to maintain a War against the *Mogol:* Besides that, they ever have a considerable Army on foot, which is always ready, and never fails to take the Field, and to approach to the Frontiers, at the time when there is News that that of the *Mogol* marches against *Visapour*; to let the *Mogol* see, not only that they are always ready to defend themselves, but also that they could easily assist the King of *Visapour*, in case he should be reduced to any ex-

tremity. Next, which is very conſiderable, they know alſo how to convey Mony underhand to the Chieftains of the *Mogolian* Army; who thereupon adviſe the Court, that it is more to purpoſe to attack *Viſapour*, as being nearer to *Daulet-Abad*. Further, They ſend every year very conſiderable Preſents to the Great *Mogol*, by way of Tribute, which conſiſt partly in ſome rare Manufactures of the Country; partly in Elephants, which they ſend for from *Pegu*, *Siam*, and *Ceilan*, partly in fair ready mony. Laſtly, The *Mogol* conſiders that Kingdom as his own, not only becauſe he looks upon the King thereof as his Tributary, but chiefly ſince that Agreement heretofore ſpoken of, which the preſent King made with *Aureng-Zebe*, when he beſieg'd *Golkonda*, and there being alſo no place able to reſiſt, even from *Daulet-Abad* unto *Golkonda*, he judgeth, that when he ſhall think fit to puſh for it, he may take in the whole Kingdom in one Campagne; which, in my opinion, he would certainly have done, if he did not apprehend, leſt ſending his Forces towaids *Golkonda*, the King of *Viſapour* ſhould enter into *Decan*; as, no doubt, he would do, knowing it to be very important to his Conſervation, that that Kingdom may always ſubſiſt as now it is.

From all which, ſomething may be underſtood of the Intereſts and Government of the King of *Golkonda* with the *Mogol*, and what way he taketh to ſupport himſelf againſt him. Yet notwithſtanding all this, I find this State much ſhaken, in regard that the King that now is, ſince that unhappy Affair of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Emir-Jemla*, ſeems to have loſt heart, and as 'twere abandon'd the reins of the Kingdom, not daring any more to go forth of this Fortreſs of *Golkonda*, nor ſo much as appear in publick to give Audience to his People, and to render Juſtice according to the cuſtom of the Country: Which diſcompoſeth things very much, and occaſions the Grandees to tyrannize over the meaner ſort of People, and to loſe even their reſpect to the King, often ſlighting his Commands, and conſidering him no more than a Woman; and the People, weary of the injuſtice and ill treatment, breathing after nothing but *Aureng-Zebe*. 'Tis eaſie to judge of the ſtreights this poor King is in, by four or five Particulars I am about to relate.

The firſt, that *Anno* 1667. when I was at *Golkonda*, King *Aureng-Zebe* having ſent an Ambaſſador Extraordinary to declare War to that King, unleſs he would furniſh him with Ten thouſand Horſe againſt *Viſapour*, he did extraordinary honour, and give exceſſive Preſents to that Ambaſſador, as well for him in particular, as for *Aureng-Zebe*, and made an agreement with him, to ſend him, not Ten thouſand Horſe, but as much Mony as is neceſſary to maintain ſo many; which was all that *Aureng-Zebe* looked for.

The ſecond is, That *Aureng-Zebe*'s Ambaſſador in Ordinary, that is conſtantly at *Golkonda*, commands, threatens, ſtriketh, gives Paſs-ports, and ſaith and doth whatſoever he will, no man daring with the leaſt word to croſs him.

The third is, That *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, the Son of *Emir-Jemla*, though he be no more than a ſimple *Omrah* of *Aureng-Zebe*, is yet ſo much reſpected through that whole Kingdom, and eſpecially in *Maſlipatan*, that the *Taptata*, his Commiſſioner, is, as 'twere, Maſter thereof, buying and ſelling, bringing in and ſending abroad his Merchants Ships, no Body daring to contradict him in any thing, nor to demand any Cuſtoms. So great was once the power of *Emir-Jemla* his Father in this Kingdom, which time hath not yet been able to root out.

The fourth is, That the *Hollanders* ſcruple not to threaten him ſometimes, to lay an Embargo upon all the Merchants Ships of the Country that are in that Port, and not to let them go out, until their demands be granted; as alſo to put in Proteſtations againſt him: which I have ſeen actually done, upon the account of an *Engliſh* Veſſel, which they had a mind to take by force in the Port of *Maſlipatan* it ſelf, the Governor having hindred it, by arming the whole Town againſt them, and threatning to put Fire to their Factory, and to put them all to death.

A fifth is, That the *Portugueſes*, as poor, and miſerable, and decayed, as they are in the *Indies*, yet ſtick not to threaten that King alſo with War; and that they will come and ſack *Maſlipatan*, and all that Coaſt, if he will not render them that place of St. *Thomas*, which ſome years ago they choſe to put into his hands, rather than to be conſtrained to yield it up to the *Dutch*.

Yet for all this, I have been informed in *Golkonda*, by very intelligent perſons, that this King is a Prince of very great judgment, and that whatever he ſo does and ſuffers, is only in policy, to the end to provoke no body, and principally to remove all

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ſuſpition from *Aureng-Zebe*, and to give him to underſtand, that he hath in a manner no ſhare any more in the Kingdom: But that in the mean time a Son of his, that is kept hid, grows up, the Father watching for a fit time to declare him King, and ſo to laugh at the Agreement made with *Aureng-Zebe*. Of this, time will ſhew us more; in the mean time, let us conſider ſomewhat of the Intereſts of *Viſapour*.

The Kingdom of *Viſapour* hath alſo not been wanting to ſupport it ſelf, though the *Mogol* do almoſt continually make War againſt it; not ſo much as if he of *Viſapour* were able to bid head to the *Mogolian* Forces, but becauſe there is never any great effort uſed againſt him. For it is not very frequent there, no more than 'tis elſewhere, for Generals of Armies to deſire the end of a War; there being nothing ſo charming, as to be in the head of an Army, commanding like little Kings, remote from the Court. It is alſo grown to a Proverb, That *Decan* is the Bread and Life of the Soldiers of *Indoſtan*. Beſides, the Country of *Viſapour* is on the ſide of the *Mogol*'s Dominions of a very difficult acceſs, upon the account of the ſcarcity of good Waters, Forage, and Victuals; and becauſe *Viſapour*, the Capital City, is very ſtrong, and ſituate in a dry and ſteril Country, there being almoſt no good Water but in the Town. And laſtly, becauſe there are many Fortreſſes in that Country, ſeated on Hills hard to climb.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, that State is much ſhaken, if conſidering that the *Mogol* hath taken *Paranda*, the Key, as 'twere, of that Kingdom; as alſo that fair and ſtrong Town *Bider*, and ſome other very important places: But principally, becauſe the laſt King of *Viſapour* died without Heirs Males, and he that now calls himſelf King, is a Youth, whom the Queen, Siſter of the King of *Golkonda*, hath raiſed, and taken for her Son (a favour for which he hath made an ill return, having ſhew'd no eſteem for this Queen after her return from *Mecca*, under the pretext of ſome ill demeanor in her on a *Dutch* Veſſel that carried her to *Moka*:) Laſtly, becauſe that in the diſorders of that Kingdom, the Heathen-Rebel, *Seva-Gi*, above diſcourſed of, found means to ſeize on many ſtrong Holds, moſtly ſeated on ſteep Mountains, where he now acteth the King, laughing at the *Viſapour*, and the *Mogol*, and ravaging the Country every where, from *Suratte*, even to the Gates of *Goa*. This notwithſtanding, if he wrongs *Viſapour* one way, he helps to ſupport it another, foraſmuch as he is reſolutely bent againſt the *Mogol*, preparing always ſome Ambuſh, and cutting ſo much work for his Army, that there is no diſcourſe, no apprehention but of *Seva-Gi*; inſomuch that he hath come and ſacked *Suratte*, and pillaged the Iſle of *Burdes*, which belongs to the *Portugueſe*, and is near the Gates of *Goa*.

The *ſeventh* Particular, which I learn'd at *Golkonda*, when I was come away from *Dehli*, is the death of *Chah-Jehan*; and that *Aureng-Zebe* had been exceedingly affected therewith, having diſcover'd all the marks of grief, that a Son can expreſs for the loſs of his Father: That at the very hour of receiving that News, he went towards *Agra*; that *Begum-Sabeh* cauſed the Moſquee, and a certain place, where he was at firſt to ſtop, before he entred the Fortreſs, to be hung with richly embroider'd Tapiſteries: That at his entring into the *Seraglio*, ſhe preſented him with a great Golden Baſon, wherein were all her Jewels, and all thoſe of *Chah-Jehan*; and in ſhort, that ſhe knew to receive him with ſo much Magnificence, and to entertain him with that dexterity and craft, that ſhe obtain'd his pardon, gain'd his favour, and grew very confident with him.

To conclude, I doubt not, but moſt of thoſe, who ſhall have read my Hiſtory, will judge the ways taken by *Aureng-Zebe*, for getting the Empire, very violent and horrid. I pretend not at all to plead for him, but deſire only, that before he be altogether condemned, reflection be made on that unhappy cuſtom of this State, which leaving the ſucceſſion of the Crown undecided, for want of good Laws, ſetling it, as amongſt us, upon the eldeſt Son, expoſeth it to the Conqueſt of the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt fortunate, ſubjecting at the ſame time all the Princes born in the Royal Family, by the condition of their Birth, to the cruel neceſſity either to overcome, or to reign, by deſtroying all the reſt, for the aſſurance of their power and life, or to periſh themſelves, for the ſecurity of that of others: For I am apt to believe, that upon this Conſideration, the Reader will not find *Aureng-Zebe*'s Conduct ſo ſtrange as at firſt it appear'd. However I am perſuaded, that thoſe who ſhall a little weigh this whole Hiſtory, will not take *Aureng-Zebe* for a *Barbarian*, but for a great and rare *Genius*, a Great States-man, and a Great King.

A Letter

A Letter to the Lord *COLBERT*, of the Extent of *INDOSTAN*; the Circulation of Gold and Silver, coming at length to be swallowed up, there, as in an Abyss; the Riches, Forces, Justice, and the principal Cause of the Decay of the States of *ASIA*.

My Lord,

SInce it is the Custom of *Asia*, never to approach Great Persons with Empty Hands, when I had the Honour to kiss the Vest of the Great *Mogol Aureng Zebe*, I presented him with eight *Roupies*, [*A Roupy is about Half a Crown*] as an expression of respect; and the illustrious *Fazel-kan*, the prime Minister of State, and he that was to establish my Pension as Physitian, with a Case of Knives garnished with Amber. *My Lord*, though I intend not to introduce new Customs in *France*, yet I cannot forget this upon my Return from those Parts; being perswaded, that I ought not to appear before the *King*, for whom I have a far deeper Veneration, than for *Aureng-Zebe*; nor before *You*, *my Lord*, for whom I have a much higher Esteem, than for *Fazel-kan*, without some little Present to both, which is rare, at least, for its Novelty, though it be not so upon the account of the presenting hand. The Revolution of *Indostan*, by reason of its extraordinary Occurrences and Events, hath to me seemed worthy of the Greatness of our Monarch, and this Discourse, for the quality of the matters therein contained, sutable *to* the rank you hold in his Counsels; *to* that Conduct, which at my Return appear'd to me so admirable in the Order, which I found setled in so many things, that I thought incapable of it; and *to* the passion you entertain to make it known to the Ends of the Earth, what a Monarch we have, and that the *French* are fit to undertake, and with Honour to atchieve, whatsoever you shall have design'd for their Honour and Advantage.

'Tis in the *Indies*, *my Lord* (whence I am lately return'd, after twelve years absence) where I learn'd the felicity of *France*, and how much this Kingdom is oblig'd to your cares; and where your Name is so diffused, and so well known. This were a fair Theme for me to enlarge upon; but my Design being no other than to discourse of things *New*, I must forbear to speak of those that are already so notorious to all the World. I shall doubtless please you better, by endeavouring to give you some *Idea* of the state of the *Indies*, which I have engaged my self to give you an account of.

My Lord, You may have seen before this, by the Maps of *Asia*, how great every way is the Extent of the Empire of the Great *Mogol*, which is commonly call'd *India*, or *Indostan*. I have not measur'd it Mathematically; but to speak of it according to the ordinary Journeys of the Country, after the rate of three whole months march, traversing from the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Golkonda*, as far as beyond *Kazni* near *Kandahar*, which is the first Town of *Persia*, I cannot perswade my self otherwise, but that it is at least five times as far as from *Paris* to *Lyons*, that is, about Five hundred common Leagues.

Next, You may please to take notice, that of that vast Extent of Land, there are large Countries that are very fertil, and some of them to that degree, (for Example, that whole great Kingdom of *Bengale*) that they exceed those of *Egypt*, not only upon the account of the abundance of Rice, Corn, and all other things necessary for life, but also upon the score of all those Commodities so considerable, which *Egypt* is destitute of, as Silks, Cottons, Indigo, and so many others, sufficiently related by Authors.

Moreover, That of these same Countries there are many that are well enough peopled and cultivated, and where Tradesmen, though naturally very lazy there, are not wanting, either from Necessity, or other Causes, to apply themselves to work, as to Tapisseries, Embroideries, Cloth of Gold and Silver, and to all those kinds of Silk

Silk and Cotton Manufactures, that are used in the Country, or transported to other Parts.

You may further observe, how that Gold and Silver circulating as it were upon the Earth, comes at last, in part, to be swallow'd up in this *Indostan*. For of that which comes out of *America*, and is dispersed through the several Kingdoms of our *Europe*, we know, that one part is carried into *Turky* many ways, for the Commodities drawn thence; and that another part is conveyed into *Persia*, by the way of *Smyrna*, for the Silks afforded there: That all *Turky* generally needs *Coffee*, which comes out of *Hyeman*, or *Happy Arabia*, and is the common Drink of the *Turks*: That the same *Turky* as well as *Hyeman* and *Persia* cannot be without the Commodities of *India*; and that thus all those Countries are obliged to carry to *Moka* over the Red-Sea, near *Babel-mandel*; and to *Bassora* the utmost part of the *Persian-Gulf*; and to *Bandar-Abbasi*, or *Gomoron* near to *Ormus*, a part of that Gold and Silver, that had been brought into their Country, to be thence transported into *Indostan*, in Vessels, that yearly, in the season of the *Mounsons*, come purposely to those three famous Parts: That on the other hand, all those Ships of *India*, whether they be *Indian* ones, or *Dutch*, or *English*, or *Portugueze*, that every year transport Merchandise out of *Indostan* to *Pegu*, *Tanasseri*, *Siam*, *Ceilan*, *Achem*, *Macasser*, the *Maldives*, *Mosambic*, and other places, bring back also much Gold and Silver from all those Countries, which meets with the same Destiny, that the other doth: That of that quantity of Gold and Silver which the *Hollanders* draw from *Japan*, (which is stored with Mines) a part also comes to be at length discharged in this *Indostan*: And that lastly, what is carried thither directly by Sea, whether from *Portugal*, *England*, or *France*, seldom comes back from thence but in Merchandise, the rest remaining there, as the former.

I very well know, that it may be said, that this *Indostan* needs Copper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinamon, Elephants, and sundry other things, which the *Hollanders* carry thither from *Japan*, the *Molucques*, *Ceilan*, and *Europe*; as also that it hath occasion for Lead, which in part, it is furnish'd with out of *England*; likewise for Scarlet, which it hath from *France*: Moreover, that it stands in need of a good number of Horses, it being certain, that from the side of *Usbec* it receives yearly more than 2500. That out of *Persia* also it is furnished with abundance of the same; as also out of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, the Ports of *Moka*, *Bassora*, and *Bander-abbasy*: Besides, that it needs that store of fresh Fruit, which comes thither from *Samarkand*, *Bal-bocara*, and *Persia*, as Melons, Apples, Pears, and Grapes, that are spent at *Dehli*, and bought at great Rates, almost all the Winter long; as well as dry Fruit, which are had there all the year long, and come from the same Countries, as Almonds, Pistaches, Nuts, Prunes, Abricots, Raisins, and the like. And that lastly, it wants those little Sea-cockles of the *Maldives*, which serve for common Coyn in *Bengale*, and in some other places; as also Ambergriece, carried thither from the said *Maldives* and *Mosambic*, Rhinoceros-horns, Elephants-teeth, Musk, China-dishes, Pearls of *Babaren*, and *Tutucoury* near *Ceilan*; and, I know not of how many other things of this kind.

But all this makes not the Gold and Silver to go out of that Empire, because the Merchants at their return freight their Ships with the Commodities of the Country, finding a better account by so doing, than if they should bring back Mony, so that that hinders not, but that *Indostan* proves, as we have said, a kind of Abyss for a great part of the Gold and Silver of the World, which finds many ways to enter there, and almost none to issue thence.

In a word, you may take notice, that this *Great Mogol* makes himself Heir of the *Omrahs* or Lords, and of the *Mansch-dars*, or petty Lords, that are in his Pay; and (which is of very great consequence) that all the Lands of that Empire are his Propriety, excepting some Houses and Gardens, which he giveth leave to his Subjects to sell, divide, or buy amongst them, as they shall think fit.

These are the things, which sufficiently show, *both* that there must needs be a very great store of Gold and Silver in *Indostan*, though there be no Mines; *and* also that the *Great Mogol*, the Soveraign of the same, at least, of the best part of it, hath immense Revenues and Riches.

But on the other hand, there are also many things to be observed, which are a poise to these Riches. The *first*, that among those vast tracts of Land there is much, which is nothing but sand and steril Mountains, little Tilled or Peopled: That even of those that would be fertile, there is much, that is not used for want of Workmen, some of which

which have perish'd by the too evil treatment of the Governors, who often take from them their necessary livelihood, and sometimes their very Children whom they make Slaves when they are not able, or are unwilling to pay: Others have abandon'd the Field for the same reason, and desponding out of the consideration that they labour'd only for others, have cast themselves into Towns, or into Armies, to serve there for Porters, or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the *Rajas*, because there they found less tyranny, and more kindness.

The *second* is, That in this same Extent of Country there are sundry Nations, which the *Mogol* is not full Master of, most of them retaining yet their particular Soveraigns and Lords, that obey him not, nor pay him Tribute but from constraint; many, that do little; some, that do nothing at all; and some also, that receive Tribute from him, as we shall see anon. Such are those petty Soveraigns, that are seated on the Frontiers of *Persia*, who almost never pay him any thing, no more than they do to the King of *Persia*: As also the *Balouches* and *Augans*, and other Mountineers, of whom also the greatest part pay him but a small matter, and even care but very little for him: witness the Affront they did him, when they stopp'd his whole Army by cutting off the Water, which they kept back within the Mountains, when he passed from *Atek* on the River *Indus* to *Caboul*, to lay siege to *Kandahar*; not suffering the Water to run down into the Fields, where was the Highway, 'till they had receiv'd Presents, although they ask'd them by way of Alms. Such are also the *Patans*, a *Mahumetan* People, issued from the side of the River *Ganges* towards *Bengale*; who before the Invasion of the *Mogols* in *India*, had taken their time to make themselves potent in many places, and chiefly at *Debli*, and to render many *Rajas* thereabout their Tributaries. These *Patans* are fierce and warlike, and even the meanest of them, though they be waiting Men and Porters, are still of a very high spirit, being often heard to say by way of swearing, *Let me never be King of* Dehli, *if it be not so:* A People that despise the *Indians*, *Heathen*, and *Mogols*, and mortally hate the last, still remembring what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large Principalities, and constrained to retire hither and thither, far from *Debli*, and *Agra*, into the Mountains, where now they are setled, and where some of them have made themselves petty Soveraigns, like *Rajas*, but of small strength.

Such an one also is the King of *Visapour*, who pays to the *Mogol* nothing, and is always in War with him; maintaining himself in his Country, partly by his own Forces, partly because he is very remote from *Agra* and *Debli*, the ordinary places of Residence of the *Great Mogol*; partly also, because his Capital City *Visapour* is strong, and of difficult access to an Army, by reason of the ill Waters, and the want of Forage on the way; and partly because many *Rajas* join with him for their common defence, as did the famous *Seva-Gi*, who, not long since, came pillaging and burning that rich Sea-port, *Suratte*, and who sometimes will pay little or no Tribute.

Such is likewise that potent and rich King of *Golkonda*, who underhand gives Mony to the King of *Visapour*, and hath always an Army ready on the Frontiers for his own defence, and for the assistance of *Visapour*, in case he find him too much prest.

Of the like sort are more than an hundred *Rajas*, or considerable *Heathen* Soveraigns, dispersed through the whole Empire, some near to, others remote from *Agra* and *Debli*: amongst whom there are about fifteen or sixteen that are very rich and puissant; such as is *Rana* (who formerly was, as 'twere, Emperor of the *Rajas*; and who is said to be of the Progeny of King *Porus*;) *Jessegnæ* and *Jessomsegnæ*, which are so great and powerful, that if they three alone should combine, they would hold him tack; each of them being able, in a very short time, to raise and bring into the Field Twenty five thousand Horse, better Troops than the *Mogols*. These Cavaliers are call'd *Ragipouts*, or the Children of *Rajas*. They are men, who, as I have elsewhere said, carry Swords from Father to Son, and to whom the *Rajas* allot Land, on condition to be always ready to appear on Horseback, when the *Raja* commands. They can endure much hardship, and they want nothing to make them good Soldiers, but good Order and Discipline.

The *third* thing to be noted is, That the *Mogol* is a *Mahumetan*, not of the Sect called *Chias*, who follow *Aly* and his Off-spring, (such as the *Persians* are, and consequently the greatest part of his Court;) but of that, which follows *Osman*, and thence are call'd *Osmanlys*, such as the *Turks* are. Besides, that he is a stranger, being of the Race of *Tamerlan*, who was the Head of those *Mogols*, that about the year 1401, over-ran

India,

India, where they made themselves Masters: so that he is in a Country, almost all hostile; and that the more, because not only for one *Mogol*, but in general, for one *Mahometan*, there are hundreds of *Gentiles* or *Heathen*; which obligeth him, constantly to entertain (for his defence amongst so many domestick and potent Enemies, and against the *Persians* and *Usbecks*, his Neighbours) very great Armies, whether in time of Peace or War, as well about his Person, as in the Field; as well of the People of the Country, (*Rajas* and *Patans*,) as chiefly *Mogolians*, or at least esteemed such, because they are White, and *Mahumetans*; which sufficeth at present; his Court being no more now as 'twas at first, consisting altogether of true *Mogols*; but a mixture of all sorts of strangers, *Usbecks*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, and *Turks*, or their Children; but with this distinction, that the Children of the third or fourth Generation, and that have taken the Brown colour, and the soft humor of the Country, are not so much esteem'd as the new comers; being also seldom rais'd to publick Offices, but counting themselves happy, if they may serve as simple Horsemen or Foot.

Of these Armies I am now going to give you some description, that thereby knowing the great Expences, which the *Grand Mogol* is oblig'd to be at, you may the better judge of his true Riches; let us first take a view of the Field Militia, he is necessitated to maintain.

The chief thereof are the *Rajas*, such as *Jesseigne*, *Jessomseigne*, and many others to whom he allows very great Pensions, to have them always ready with a certain number of *Ragipouts*, esteeming them like *Omrahs*, that is, like other Strangers, and *Mahumetan* Lords; both in the Army, that is always about his person, and in those also, that are in the Field. These *Rajas* are generally oblig'd to the same things, that the *Omrahs* are, even to the point of keeping Guard; yet with this distinction, that they keep not the Guard within the Fortress, as those, but without, under their Tents; they not liking to be shut up Twenty four hours in a Fortress, nor so much as ever to go thither, but well attended with Men, resolute to be cut in pieces for their service; as hath appear'd, when they have been ill dealt withal.

The *Mogol* is oblig'd to keep these *Rajas* in his service for sundry reasons.

The *first*, because the Militia of the *Rajas* is very good (as was said above) and because there are *Rajas*, (as was intimated also) one of whom can bring into the Field above 25000 men.

The *second*, the better to bridle the other *Rajas*, and to reduce them to reason when they cantonize, or when they refuse to pay Tribute, or when out of fear or other cause, they will not go out of their Country to the Army, when the *Mogol* requireth it.

The *third*, the better to nourish jealousies and keenness amongst them, by favouring and caressing the one more than the other, which is done to that degree, that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

The *fourth*, to employ them against the *Patans*, or against his own *Omrahs* and Governors, in case any of them should rise.

The *fifth*, to employ them against the King of *Golkonda*, when he refuseth to pay his Tribute, or when he will defend the King of *Visapour*, or some *Rajas* his Neighbours, which the *Mogol* hath a mind to rifle, or to make his Tributaries; the *Mogol* in those cases not daring to trust his *Omrahs* overmuch, who most are *Persians*, and not of the same Religion with him, but *Chias*, like the Kings of *Persia* and *Golkonda*.

The *sixth*, and the most considerable of all, is, to employ them against the *Persians* upon occasion; not daring then also to confide in his *Omrahs*, who, for the greatest part, as was just now said, are *Persians*, and consequently have no stomach to fight against their natural King; and the less, because they believe him to be their *Imam*, their *Caliph* or High Priest, descended from *Aly*, and against whom therefore they believe they cannot make War without a Crime, or a great Sin.

The *Mogol* is farther oblig'd to entertain some *Patans* for the same, or somewhat like reasons, that he doth the *Rajas*.

At last he must entertain that stranger Militia of the *Mogols*, that we have taken notice of: And as this is the main strength of his State, and which obliges him to incredible charges, methinks it will not be amiss to describe to you, of what nature it is, though I should be somewhat long in doing it.

Let us therefore consider, if you please, this stranger Militia, both Cavalry and Infantry, as divided into two; the *one*, being always near the *Mogol*'s Person; the *other*,

diſperſed up and down in the ſeveral Provinces. And in the Cavalry that is about his Perſon, let us firſt take notice of the *Omrahs*; then, of the *Manſebdars*; next, of the *Rouſindars*; laſt of all, of the ſimple Horſemen. From thence let us proceed to the Infantry, in which we ſhall conſider the Muſquetiers, and all thoſe men on foot that attend the Ordnance, where ſomething will occur to be ſaid of their Artillery.

It is not to be thought, that the *Omrahs* or Lords of the *Mogol*'s Court are Sons of great Families, as in *France*; All the Lands of that Empire being the *Mogol*'s Propriety, it follows, that there are neither Dutchies, nor Marquiſats, nor any Family rich in Land, and ſubſiſting of its own Income and Patrimony. And often enough they are not ſo much as *Omrah*'s Sons, becauſe the King being Heir of all their Eſtates, it is conſequent that the Houſes cannot ſubſiſt long in their greatneſs; on the contrary, they often fall, and that on a ſudden, inſomuch that the Sons, or at leaſt the Grandſons of a potent *Omrah* are frequently, after the death of their Father, reduced, in a manner, to Beggary, and oblig'd to liſt themſelves under ſome *Omrah* for ſimple Horſemen. 'Tis true, that ordinarily the *Mogol* leaves ſome ſmall Penſion to the Widow, and often alſo to the Children; or, if the Father liveth too long, he may by particular favour advance them ſooner, eſpecially if they be proper men, white of Face, having as yet not too much of the *Indian* Complexion and temper, and ſo paſſing yet for true *Mogols*: Though this advancement by favour do always proceed in a ſlow pace; it being almoſt a general cuſtom, that a man muſt paſs from ſmall Pays and ſmall Places, to great ones. Theſe *Omrahs* then are commonly but Adventurers and Strangers of all ſorts of Nations, ſuch as I have ſaid; which draw one another to this Court; men of a mean deſcent, ſome of them ſlaves; moſt of them without inſtruction, which the *Mogol* thus raiſeth to Dignities as he thinks good, and degrades them again, as he pleaſeth.

Amongſt theſe *Omrahs*, ſome are *Hazary*, others *Dou Hazary*, others *Penge*, *Hecht*, and *Deh Hazary*, and even (ſuch was the King's eldeſt Son) *Dovazdeh Hazary*, that is to ſay, Lord of a thouſand Horſe, of two thouſand, five thouſand, ſeven, ten, and twelve thouſand; their Pay being leſs or more in proportion to the number of Horſes; I ſay, of Horſes, becauſe they are not paid in reſpect of the Horſemen, but of the Horſes the *Omrahs* having power to entertain Horſemen of two Horſes a man, to be the better able to ſerve in the hot Countries, where 'tis a common ſaying, *That the Horſeman that hath but one Horſe, is more than half a Footman.* Yet we muſt not think, that they are oblig'd to entertain, or that the King effectively pays ſo many Horſe, as theſe great names of *Dovazdeh* or *Hecht Hazary* do impart, that is, 12000, or 8000 Horſe. Theſe are ſpecious Names, to amuſe and attract Strangers; the King determines the number of Horſes in actual ſervice, which they are bound to entertain, pays them according to this number; and beſides that, he pays them a certain number which they are not bound to entertain; and this is that which ordinarily makes the principal part of their Penſions; not to ſpeak of what they finger out of the Pay of every Horſeman, and of the number of the Horſes; which certainly amounts to very conſiderable Penſions; eſpecially if they can obtain good *Jah-ghirs*, that is, good Lands for their Penſion. For I ſaw, that the Lord, under whom I was, that was a *Penge-hazary*, or one of five thouſand Horſe, and who was only obliged to entertain five hundred in effect, had, after all his Cavalry was paid, remaining for his Penſion near Five thouſand Crowns a month; though he was *Nagdy*, that is, paid in Mony drawn out of the Treaſury, as all thoſe are, that have not Lands. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe great Penſions, I ſee none but very few that are rich, but many that are uneaſie and indebted: Not that they are ruin'd by keeping too plentiful Tables, as elſewhere great Lords frequently are; but that which exhauſteth them, are the great Preſents which they are oblig'd to make to the King at certain Feſtivals of the year, every one after the rate of his Pay; next, the vaſt Expences they muſt be at for entertaining their Wives, Servants, Camels, and many Horſes of great value, which they keep in their particular Stables.

The number of the *Omrahs*, as well of thoſe, that are in the Field in the Provinces and Armies, as of thoſe that are at the Court, is very great. I never could preciſely learn it; nor is it determined: But I have never ſeen leſs of them at Court, than twenty five or thirty, that are thus Penſionaries according to a greater or leſſer number of Horſes to be entertain'd by them, from 12000 downward to 1000. Theſe are the *Omrahs*, that arrive to the Governments and principal Offices of the Court and Armies; that are, as they ſpeak, the Pillars of the Empire, and that keep up the ſplendor of the Court; never going abroad, but richly deck'd, ſometimes riding on Elephants,

sometimes on Horseback, sometimes carried in a *Paleky* or Chair, commonly attended by a good number of Horsemen, to wit, of those that have the Guard at that time, as also by many Footmen marching before, and on his sides, to make way, to drive away the Flies, to take off the dust with Peacocks tails, to carry water for drink, and sometimes Books of Accompts, or other Papers.

All those that are at Court, are oblig'd, under a considerable Penalty, to come twice every day to salute the King in the Assembly, once about Ten or eleven a clock in the morning, when he renders Justice; and the second time, about six hours at night. They are also oblig'd by turns to keep the Guard in the Castle once a week, during twenty four hours. Thither they carry at that time their Beds, Tapisseries and other Moveables, the King furnishing them with nothing but Provisions of Meat and Drink, which they receive with great reverence, making a treble obeisance, with their face turn'd to his Apartment, their hands down to the ground, and then lifted up upon their heads. Besides, they are oblig'd on Horseback to follow the King whithersoever he marcheth in any weather, rainy or dusty, whether he be carried in his Chair, or on an Elephant, or a Field-Throne, which last is done by eight men carrying him on their shoulders, eight others marching on his side, to relieve the others; himself being in all Marches well cover'd from the inconveniencies of the Weather, whether he go to War, or to Hunt, or to exercise his Soldiery. And this attendance those *Omrahs* are to give, except some of them be exempted by the *Mogol*, because of their peculiar Offices, or upon the account of sickness or old age, or to avoid embarasment, as commonly 'tis practised, when he goeth only to some neighbouring Town to hunt, or to some house of Pleasure, or to the Mosquee, there being then seldom any about him but those that keep the Guard that day.

Mansebdars are Cavaliers of *Mansib*, which is particular and honourable Pay; not so great indeed as that of the *Omrahs*, but much greater than that of the others; they being esteemed as little *Omrahs*, and of the rank of those, that are raised to that dignity.

These acknowledge also none for their Head but the King, and they are generally obliged to whatever we have said the *Omrahs* are. In a word, they would be true *Omrahs*, if they had, as divers heretofore have had, some Horsemen under them; whereas they have ordinarily but two, four, or six Horses, having the King's mark, and their Pay goes no higher than from 200, to 600 or 700 *Roupies* a month. Their number also is not fixed, but much exceeds that of the *Omrahs*, there being of them at the Court always two or three hundred, besides those that are in the Provinces and Armies.

Rouzindars are also a sort of Cavaliers, but such as have their Pay by the day, (as the word it self imports) which yet sometimes is greater than that of many *Mansebdars*, but not so honourable; but then they are not bound, as the *Mansebdars*, to take at a set price (which sometimes is not too reasonable) of those Tapisseries and other Houshold-stuff, that hath serv'd for the King's Palace. Their number is very great; they enter into the meaner Offices, many of them being Clerks, Under-Clerks, Signet-Men, and the like.

Simple Cavaliers, are those, that are under the *Omrahs*; amongst whom the most considerable, and having most Pay, are those that have two Horses marked on the Leg with the mark of their *Omrah*. Their Pay is not absolutely fixed, but depends chiefly from the generosity of the *Omrah*, who may favour whom he pleaseth. Yet the *Mogol*'s intention is, that the Pay of a simple Cavalier or Horseman be no less than twenty five *Roupies*, or thereabout a Month, stating his account with the *Omrahs* upon that Foot.

The Pay of the Foot is the least; and their Musquetiers are pitiful men, unless they discharge when their Musquet leans on that small wooden Fork hanging to it; yet even then they are afraid of singeing their great Beards, and of burning their Eyes, but most of all, least some *Dgen* or evil Spirit burst their Musquet. Some of these have 20 *Roupies* a Month, some 15, some 10. But yet there are some Gunners that have great Pay, especially those of the *Franguis* or *Christians*, as *Portugueses*, *Englisb*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, *French*, that retire thither from *Goa*, flying from *Englisb* and *Dutch* Companies. Heretofore when the *Mogols* did not yet know how to manage Artillery, their Pay was very great. And there are yet some of that time, who have 200 *Roupies* a Month; but now they will receive none for more than thirty two.

Their Artillery is of two ſorts; the one is the great and heavy Artillery, the other the light. As for the former, I remember, that when the King after his Sickneſs went with his whole Army abroad into the Country, diverting himſelf every day in Hunting, ſometimes of Cranes, ſometimes of the gray Oxen, (a kind of Elks) ſometimes of Gazels, Leopards and Lions, and making his progreſs towards *Labor* and *Kachmire* (that little Paradiſe of *India*) there to paſs the Summer, the Army had Seventy pieces of Cannon, moſt of them caſt, not counting the two or three hundred Camels, carrying each a ſmall Field-piece of the bigneſs of a good double Muſquet, faſtned to thoſe Animals. The other light Artillery is very brave and well order'd, conſiſting of fifty or ſixty ſmall Field-pieces all of Braſs, each mounted on a little Chariot, very fine and well painted, with a ſmall Coffer before and behind for the Powder, drawn by two very fair Horſes, driven by a Coachman like a *Caleche*, adorned with a number of ſmall red Streamers, each having a third Horſe led by the Chariot for relief.

The great Artillery could not always follow the King, who often left the Highway, and turn'd ſometimes to the right, ſometimes to the left hand, croſſing the fields, to find the true places for Game, and to follow the courſe of the Rivers. That therefore was to keep the Highway to go the more eaſily, and to avoid the embaraſments, which it would have met with in the ill paſſages, eſpecially in thoſe Boat-Bridges made to paſs Rivers. The light Artillery is inſeparable from the perſon of the King, it marcheth away in the morning, when the King comes out of his Tent; and whereas he commonly goes a little aſide into the places for Game, this Artillery paſſeth on ſtraight with all poſſible ſpeed, to be in time at the Rendezvous, and there to appear before the King's Tent, which is there made ready the day before; as are alſo the Tents of the great *Omrahs*: And this whole Artillery giveth a Volley juſt when the King enters into his Tent, thereby to give notice to the Army of his arrival.

The Militia of the Field is not different from that which is about the King: There are everywhere *Omrahs*, *Manſebdars*, *Rouſindars*, ſimple Horſemen, and Foot and Artillery where-ever any War is made. The difference is only in the number, which is much greater in the Field-Army, than in the other. For that Army alone, which the *Mogol* is conſtrain'd perpetually to maintain in *Decan*, to bridle the potent King of *Golkonda*, and to make War upon the King of *Viſapour*, and upon all the *Raja's* that join with him, muſt conſiſt at leaſt of twenty, or twenty five thouſand Horſe, ſometimes of thirty.

The Kingdom of *Kaboul*, for its ordinary Guard againſt the *Perſians*, *Augans*, *Baloueches*, and I know not how many Mounteniers, requireth at leaſt Fifteen thouſand. The Kingdom of *Kachmire*, more than Four thouſand; and the Kingdom of *Bengale*, much more; not counting thoſe that are employ'd in the War, which muſt almoſt always be maintain'd on that ſide; nor thoſe which the Governors of the ſeveral Provinces do need for their defence, according to the particular extent and ſituation of their Governments, which maketh an incredible number.

Not to mention the Infantry, (which is inconſiderable) I am apt to believe with many others, well inform'd of theſe matters, that the number of the Horſe in actual ſervice about the King's Perſon, comprehending the Cavalry of the *Raja's* and *Patans*, mounteth to Thirty five or forty thouſand; and that this number, joined to thoſe that is abroad in the Field, may make Two hundred thouſand, and better.

I ſay, that the Infantry is inconſiderable; for I can hardly believe, that in the Army which is about the King, compriſing the Muſquetiers, and all the Gunners and their Mates, and whatever ſerves in this Artillery, can amount to much more than Fifteen thouſand; whence you may make a near gueſs, what the number of the Foot muſt be in the Field. So that I know not whence to take that prodigious number of Foot, which ſome do reckon in the Armies of the *Great Mogol*, unleſs it be, that with this true Soldiery they confound all the Serving-men and Victuallers that follow the Army; for in that ſenſe I ſhould eaſily believe, that they had reaſon to reckon two or three hundred thouſand men in that Army alone which is with the King, and ſometimes more; eſpecially when 'tis certain, that he is to be long abſent from the Capital City: which will not ſeem ſo ſtrange to him, that conſiders the multitude and confuſion of Tents, Kitchens, Baggage, Women, Elephants, Camels, Oxen, Horſes, Waiting-men, Porters, Forragers, Victuallers, Merchants of all ſorts, that muſt follow the Army; nor to him, that knows the State and particular Government of that Country, wherein the King is the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Kingdom; whence it neceſſarily follows, that a whole Metropolitan City, ſuch as *Debly* and *Agra*, liveth of almoſt nothing but of the Soldiery,

Soldiery, and is consequently oblig'd to follow the King when he taketh the Field; those Towns being nothing less than *Paris*, but indeed no otherwise govern'd than a Camp of Armies a little better and more conveniently lodg'd than in the open Field.

Besides all these things, you may also consider, if you please, that generally all this Militia, which I have been representing to you, from the greatest *Omrah*, to the meanest Soldier, is indispensibly paid every two months, the King's Pay being its sole refuge and relief; nor can its Pay be deferred there, as 'tis sometimes with us; where, when there are pressing occasions of the State, a Gentleman, an Officer, and even a simple Cavalier, can stay awhile, and maintain himself of his own Stock, Rents, and the Incomes of his Land. But in the *Mogol*'s Country, all must be paid at the time prefix'd, or all disbands and starves, after they have sold that little they have; as I saw in this last War, that many were going to do, if it had not soon ceased. And this the more, because that in all this Militia, there is almost no Soldier that hath not Wife and Children, Servants and Slaves, that look for this Pay, and have no other hope of relief. And hence it is, that many wonder, considering the huge number of persons living of Pay (which amounts to millions) whence such vast Revenues can be had for such excessive Charges: Although this need not to be so much wondred at, considering the Riches of the Empire, the peculiar Government of the State, and the said universal Propriety of the Sovereign.

You may add to all this, That the *Grand Mogol* keeps nigh him at *Dehly* and *Agra*, and thereabout, two or three thousand brave Horses, to be always ready upon occasion; as also eight or nine hundred Elephants, and a vast number of Mules, Horses, and Porters, to carry all the great Tents and their Cabinets, to carry his Wives, Kitchens, Houshold-stuff, *Ganges*-Water, and all the other Necessaries for the Field, which he hath always about him as if he were at home; things not absolutely necessary in our Kingdoms.

To this may be added those incredible Expences upon the *Seraglio*, more indispensible than will be easily believ'd; that vast store of fine Linnen, Cloth of Gold, Embroideries, Silks, Musk, Amber, Pearls, sweet Essences, *&c.* consumed there.

All these Charges being put together, and compar'd with the Revenues the *Mogol* may be thought to have, it will be easie to judge, whether he be indeed so very rich, as he is made to be. As for me, I very well know, that it cannot be denied, that he hath very great Revenues; I believe, he hath more alone than the *Grand Seignior*, and the King of *Persia*, both together: But then, to believe all those extravagant Stories made of the vastness of his Revenues, is a thing I could never do: And if I should believe the best part of them, yet should I not believe him in effect and truly so rich, as the World rings of him; unless a man would say, that a Treasurer, who receiveth great Sums of mony from one hand at the same time when he is oblig'd to disburse them to another, were therefore truly rich. For my part, I should count that King rich indeed, who, without oppressing and impoverishing his People too much, should have a Revenue sufficient to keep a great and gallant Court, (after the manner of that of ours, or otherwise) and a Militia sufficient both to guard his Kingdom, and to make an important War for divers years against his Neighbours; as also to shew Liberality, to build some Royal Edifices, and to make those other Expences which Kings are wont to make according to their particular Inclinations; and who, besides all this, should be able to put up in his Treasury, for a Reserve, Sums big enough to undertake and maintain a good War for some years. Now I am apt enough to believe, that the *Great Mogol* enjoyeth very near these Advantages, but I cannot perswade my self, that he hath them in that excess, as is thought and pretended. Those vast and inevitable Expences, that I have taken notice of, will certainly incline you to my Opinion without any other consideration; but you will, doubtless, be altogether of my mind, when I shall have represented to you these two things, which I am very well informed of.

The *one* is, that the *Great Mogol*, now reigning, about the end of this last Revolution, though the Kingdom was everywhere in peace (except in *Bengale*, where *Sultan-Sujah* yet held out) was much perplexed where to find means for the subsistence of his Armies, though they were not so well paid as at other times, and the War lasted no longer than five years, or thereabout, and though also he had laid hold of a good part of the Treasury of his Father *Chah-Jehan*.

The *other* is, That all this Treasure of *Chah-Jehan*, who was very frugal, and had Reigned above Forty years without considerable Wars, never mounted to six *Konrours*

of

of *Roupies*. A *Roupy* is about twenty nine pence. An hundred thousand of them make a *Leeque*, and an hundred *Leeques* make one *Kourour*. [*So that the six* Kourours *would make about seven Millions and an half* English *Money.*] 'Tis true, I do not comprehend in this great Treasure that great abundance of Goldsmiths work, so variously wrought in Gold and Silver; nor that vast store of precious Stones and Pearls of a very high value. I doubt, whether there be any King in the World that hath more. The Throne alone, cover'd with them, is valu'd at least three *Kourors*, if I remember aright: But then, it is to be consider'd also, that they are the spoils of those ancient Princes, the *Patans* and *Rajas*, gather'd and piled up from immemorial times, and still increasing from one King to another, by the Presents which the *Omrahs* are obliged yearly at certain Festival-days to make him; and which are esteemed to be the Jewels of the Crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a King of *Mogol* in case of necessity would find it very hard to procure the least Sum.

But before I conclude, I shall take notice, whence it may proceed, that though this Empire of *Mogol* be thus an Abyss of Gold and Silver, (as hath been said,) yet notwithstanding there appears no more of it among the people, than elsewhere; yea, rather that the People is there less Monied than in other places.

The *first* reason is, that much of it is consumed in melting over and over all those Nose and Ear-rings, Chains, Finger-rings, Bracelets of Hands and Feet, which the Women wear, but chiefly in that incredible quantity of Manufactures, wherein so much is spent, which is lost, as in all those Embroideries, Silk-stuffs, enterwoven with Gold and Silver, Cloth, Scarf, Turbants, &c. of the same. For generally all that *Militia* loveth to be guided from the *Omrahs* to the meanest Soldiers with their Wives and Children, though they should starve at home.

The *second*, That all the Lands of the Kingdom being the Kings propriety, they are given either as Benefices, which they call *Jah-ghirs*, or, as in *Turky*, *Timars*, to men of the *Militia* for their Pay or Pension (as the word *Jah-ghir* imports:) Or else they are given to the Governours for their Pension, and the entertainment of their Troops, on condition that of the surplus of those Land-revenues they give yearly a certain sum to the King, as Farmers; Or lastly, the King reserveth them for himself as a particular Domaine of his House, which never or very seldom are given as *Jah-ghirs*, and upon which he keeps Farmers, who also must give him a yearly sum; which is to say, that the *Timariots*, *Governours* and *Farmers* have an absolute Authority over the Country-men, and even a very great one over the Tradesmen and *Merchants* of the Towns, Boroughs, and Villages, depending from them: so that in those Parts there are neither great Lords nor Parliaments, nor Presidial Courts, as amongst us, to keep these People in awe: nor *Kadis* or Judges, powerful enough to hinder and repress their violence; Nor, in a word, any person, to whom a Country-man, Tradesman, or Merchant, can make his complaints to, in cases of extortion and tyranny, often practised upon them, by the Soldiery and Governors, who every where do impunely abuse the Authority Royal, which they have in hand, unless it be perhaps a little in those places that are near to Capital Cities, as *Dehli* and *Agra*, and in great Towns and considerable Sea-ports of the Provinces, whence they know that the complaints can be more easily conveyed to the Court. Whence it is, that all and every one stand in continual fear of these people, especially of the Governors more than any Slave doth of his *Master*: that ordinarily they affect to appear poor and money-less, very mean in their Apparel, Lodging, Houshold-stuff, and yet more in meat and drink; that often they apprehend even to meddle with Trade, lest they should be thought Rich, and so fall into the danger of being ruined: So that at last they find no other remedy to secure their Wealth, than to hide and dig their money deep under Ground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of men, and so Dying, neither the King nor the State having any benefit by it. Which is a thing not only happens among the Peasants and Artizans, but (which is far more considerable) amongst all sorts of *Merchants*, whether *Mahumetans* or *Heathens*, except some that are in the Kings, or some *Omrahs* Pay, or that have some particular Patron and support in power: But principally among the *Heathen*, which are almost the only *Masters* of the Trade and *Money*, infatuated with the belief, that the Gold and Silver, which they hide in their life-time, shall serve them after death. And this, in my opinion, is the true reason, why there appears so little money in Trade among the People.

But thence ariseth a Question very considerable, *viz.* Whether it were not more expedient,

dient, not only for the Subjects, but for the State it *self*, and for the Sovereign, not to have the Prince such a Proprietor of the Lands of the Kingdom, as to take away the *Meum* and *Tuum* amongst private persons; as 'tis with us; For my part, after a strict comparing the State of our Kingdoms, where that *Meum* and *Tuum* holds, with that of those other Kingdoms, where it is not, I am thoroughly perswaded, that it is much better and more beneficial for the Sovereign himself, to have it so as 'tis in our parts. Because that in those parts where 'tis otherwise, the Gold and Silver is lost, as I was just now observing: There is almost no person secure from the violences of those Timariors, Governours, and Farmers: The Kings, how well soever they be disposed toward their people, are never almost in a condition (as I lately noted) to get Justice administred to them, and to hinder tyrannies; especially in those great Dominions, and in the Provinces remote from the Capital Towns; Which yet ought to be, as doubtless it is, one of the chief employments and considerations of a King. Besides, this tyranny often grows to that excess, that it takes away what is necessary to the life of a Peasant or Tradesman, who is starved for hunger and misery; who gets no Children, or if he does, sees them die young for want of food; or that abandons his Land, and turns some Cavalier's man, or flies whither he may to his Neighbours, in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word, the Land is not tilled but almost by force, and consequently very ill, and much of it is quite spoiled and ruined, there being none to be found, that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the course of waters to be convey'd to necessary places; nor any body that care to build Houses, or to repair those that are ruinous; the Peasant reasoning thus with himself: Why should I toil so much for a Tyrant that may come to morrow to take all away from me, or at least all the best of what I have, and not leave, if the fancy taketh him, so much as to sustain my life even very poorly? And the Timariot, the Governor and the Farmer, will reason thus with himself; Why should I bestow mony, and take pains of bettering or maintaining this Land, since I must every hour expect to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for my self, nor for my Children; and that place which I have this year, I may, perhaps, have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilst we possess it, though the Peasant should break or starve, though the Land should become a Desart, when I am gone!

And for this very reason it is, that we see those vast Estates in *Asia* go so wretchedly and palpably to ruine. Thence it is, that throughout those Parts we see almost no other Towns but made up of earth and dirt; nothing but ruin'd and deserted Towns and Villages, or such as are going to ruine. Even thence it is, that we see (for Example) those *Mesopotamia's*, *Anatolia's*, *Palestina's*, those admirable Plains of *Antioch*, and so many other Lands, anciently so well tilled, so fertile, and so well peopled, at the present half deserted, untill'd and bandon'd, or become pestilent and uninhabitable Bogs. Thence it is also, that of those incomparable Lands of *Egypt* it is observ'd, that within less than *fourscore* years, more than the *tenth* part of it is lost, no people being to be found, that will expend what is necessary to maintain all the Channels, and to restrain the River *Nile* from violently overflowing on one hand, and so drowning too much the low Lands, or from covering them with Sand, which cannot be remov'd from thence but with great pains and charges. From the same root it comes, that Arts are languishing in those Countries, or at least flourish much less than else they would do, or do with Us. For what heart and spirit can an Artizan have to study well, and to apply his mind to his work, when he sees, that among the people, which is for the most part beggarly, or will appear so, there is none that considers the goodness and neatness of his Work, every body looking for what is cheap, and that the Grandees pay them but very ill, and when they please. The poor Tradesman often thinking himself happy, that he can get clear from them without the *Korrah*, which is that terrible Whip that hangs nigh the Gate of the *Omrahs*. Further, when he seeth that there is no help at all ever to come to any thing, as to buy an Office, or some Land for himself and Children, and that even he dares not appear to have a Penny in Cash, or to wear good Cloaths, or to eat a good Meal, for fear he should be thought rich. And indeed the beauty and exactness of Arts had been quite lost in those Parts long ago, if it were not that the Kings and Grandees there did give Wages to certain Workmen, that work in their Houses, and there teach their Children, and endeavour to make themselves able in order to be a little more consider'd, and to escape the *Korrah*; and if also it were not, that those great and rich Merchants of Towns, who are protected by good and

powerful

powerful Patrons, pay'd those Workmen a little better: I say, *a little Better*; for, what fine stuffs soever we see come from those Countries, we must not imagine, that the Workman is there in any honour, or comes to any thing; 'tis nothing but meer Necessity, or the Cudgel, that makes him work, he never grows rich; it is no small matter, when he hath wherewith to live, and to cloath himself narrowly. If there be any mony to gain of the Work, that is not for him, but for those great Merchants of Towns, I was just now speaking of; and even these themselves find it often difficult enough to maintain themselves, and to prevent Extortion.

'Tis from the same cause also, that a gross and profound Ignorance reigns in those States. For, how is it possible, there should be Academies and Colleges well founded, where are such Founders to be met with? And if there were any, Whence were the Scholars to be had? Where are those that have means sufficient to maintain their Children in Colleges? And if there were, who would appear to be so rich? And if they would, Where are those Benefices, Preferments, and Dignities, that require Knowledg and Abilities, and that may animate young men to study?

Thence it is likewise, that Traffick languishes in all that Country, in comparison of ours. For how many are there, that care to take pains, to run up and down, to write much, and to run danger for another, for a Governor, that shall extort, if he be not in league with some considerable Sword-man, whose Slave he in a manner is, and that makes his own Conditions with him?

It is not there, that the Kings find for their service, Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, Sons of rich and good Families, Officers, Citizens, Merchants, and even Tradesmen, well born, well educated, and well instructed; men of Courage, that have a true affection and respect for their King, that often live a great while at the Court, and in the Army, at their own Expences, entertaining themselves with good hopes, and content with the favourable aspect of the Prince; and who, upon occasion, fight manfully, covetous to uphold the honour of their Ancestors and Families. Those Kings, I say, never see about them, but men of nothing, Slaves, Ignorants, Brutes, and such Courtizans as are raised from the Dust to Dignities; and that for want of good Education and Instruction, almost always retain somewhat of their Offspring, of the temper of Beggars, enriched, proud, unsufferable, heartless, insensible of honour, disingenuous, and void of affection and regard for the honour of their King and Country. Here it is, where those Kings must ruine all, to find means to defray all those prodigious Charges, which they cannot avoid for entertaining their great Court, which hath no other source to subsist but their Coffers and Treasure, and for maintaining constantly the vast number of Soldiers, necessary for them to keep the People in subjection, to prevent their running away, to make them work, and to get what is exacted from them, they being so many Desperado's, for being perpetually under hatches, and for labouring only for others.

Thence it is also, that in an important War that may happen (which may be almost at all times) they must almost of necessity sell the Government for ready Mony, and immense Sums, whence chiefly that ruine and desolation comes to pass which we see. For the Governor, which is the Buyer, must not he be re-imbursed of all those great Sums of mony, which he hath taken up, perhaps the third or fourth part, at high interest? Must not a Governor also, whether he have bought the Government or not, find means as well as a Timariot and a Farmer, to make every year great Presents to a *Visir*, an *Eunuch*, a Lady of the *Seraglio*, and to those other persons that support him at Court? Must he not pay to the King his usual Tributes, and withal enrich himself, that wretched Slave, half famish'd, and deeply indebted when he first appear'd, without Goods, Lands, and Revenues of his House, such as they all are. Do not they ruine all, and lay all waste? I mean those, that in the Provinces are like so many small Tyrants with a boundless and unmeasur'd Authority, there being no body there, as hath been already said, that can restrain them, or to whom a Subject can have refuge, to save himself from their Tyranny, and to obtain Justice?

'Tis true, that in the Empire of the *Mogol*, the *Vakea-nevis*, that is, those Persons, whom he sends into the Provinces to write to him whatever passeth there, do a little keep the Officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (as it almost always happens) to devour all; as also that the Governments are not there so often sold, nor so openly as in *Turky*; I say, *not so openly* (for those great Presents, they are from time to time obliged to make, are almost equivalent to Sales) and that the Governors ordinarily remain longer in their Governments; which maketh them not so hungry, so beggarly,

garly, and so deep in debt, as those new Comers, and that consequently they do not always tyrannize over the people with so much cruelty; even apprehending, lest they should run away to the *Raja's*; which yet falls out very often.

'Tis also true, that in *Persia* the Governments are not so frequently nor so publickly sold as in *Turky*; the Sons of the Governors also succeeding often enough to their Fathers; which is also the cause, that the people there is often not so ill treated as in *Turky*, and occasions withal, that there is more politeness, and that even some there are that addict themselves to study. But all that is really but a slight matter; those three States of *Turky*, *Persia* and *Indostan*, forasmuch as they have all three taken away the *Meum* and *Tuum* as to Land, and propriety of Possessions (which is the foundation of whatever is good and regular in the World) cannot but very near resemble one another: they have the same defect, they must at last, sooner or later, needs fall into the same inconveniencies, which are the necessary consequences of it, *viz.* Tyranny, Ruine, and Desolation.

Far be it therefore, that our Monarchs of *Europe* should thus be Proprietors of all the Lands which their Subjects possess. Their Kingdoms would be very far from being so well cultivated and peopled, so well built, so rich, so polite and flourishing as we see them. Our Kings are otherwise rich and powerful; and we must avow that we are much better and more royally served. There would be Kings of Desarts and Solitudes, of Beggars and *Barbarians*, such as those are whom I have been representing; who, because they will have all, at last lose all; and who, because they will make themselves too rich, at length find themselves without riches; or, at least, very far from that which they covet after, out of their blind Ambition and Passion, of being more absolute than the Laws of God and Nature do permit. For, where would be those Princes, those Prelates, those Nobles, those rich Citizens, and great Merchants, and those famous Artizans, those Towns of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Thoulouse*, *Rouen*, *London*, and so many others? Where would be that infinite number of Burroughs and Villages, all those fair Country-houses and Fields, and Hillocks, tilled and maintained with so much Industry, Care and Labour? And where would consequently be all those vast Revenues drawn thence, which at last enrich the Subjects and the Sovereign both? We should find the great Cities, and the great Boroughs rendred inhabitable, because of the ill Air, and to fall to ruine without any bodies taking care of repairing them; the Hillocks abandoned, and the Fields overspread with the Bushes, or filled with pestilential Marishes, as hath been already intimated.

A word to our dear and experienc'd Travellers: They would not find those fair conveniencies of Travelling; they would be obliged to carry all things with them, like the *Bohemians*; and all those good Inns, for example, that are found between *Paris* and *Lyons*, would be like ten or twelve wretched *Caravans-serrahs*, that is, great Barns, raised and paved, such as our *Pont-neuf* is, where hundreds of men are found pel-mel together with their Horses, Mules and Camels, where one is stifled with heat in Summer, and starved of cold in Winter, if it were not for the breathing of those Animals, that warm the place a little.

But it will be said, we see some States, where the *Meum* and *Tuum* is not, (as for example, that of the *Grand Seignior*, which we know better than any, without going so far as the *Indies*) that do not only subsist, but are also very powerful, and encrease daily.

'Tis true, that that State of the *Gr. Seignior*, of such a prodigious Extent as it is, having so vast a quantity of Lands, the Soil of which is so excellent, that it cannot be destroyed but very difficultly, and in a long time, is yet rich and populous; but it is certain also, that if it were cultivated and peopled proportionably to ours, (which it would be, if there were propriety among the Subjects throughout) it would be a quite different thing; it would have people enough to raise such prodigious Armies as in old times, and rich enough to maintain them. We have travelled through almost all the parts of it; we have seen how strangely it is ruined and unpeopled; and how in the Capital City there now need three whole months to raise five or six thousand men. We know also, what it would have come to ere this, if it had not been for the great number of Christian Slaves that are brought into it from all Parts. And no doubt but that, if the same Government were continued there for a number of years, that State would destroy it self, and at last, fall it by its own Weakness, as it seems that already it is hardly maintained but only by that means, I mean, by the frequent change of Governors;

there being not one Governor, nor any one man in the vvhole Empire, that hath a penny to enable him to maintain the leaſt thing, or that can almoſt find any men, if he had money. A ſtrange manner to make States to ſubſiſt! There vvould need no more for making an end of the Seditions, than a *Brama* of *Pegu*, who killed the half of the Kingdom with hunger, and turned it into Foreſts, hindring for ſome years the Lands from being tilled, though yet he hath not ſucceeded in his Deſign, and the State have afterwards been divided, and that even lately *Ava*, the Capital Town, was upon the point of being taken by an handful of *China* Fugitives. Mean time, we muſt confeſs, that we are not like to ſee in our days that total ruine and deſtruction of this Empire we are ſpeaking of, (if ſo be we ſee not ſomething worſe) becauſe it hath Neighbors, that are ſo far from being able to undertake any thing againſt him, that they are not ſo much as in a condition to reſiſt him, unleſs it be by thoſe ſuccours of ſtrangers, which the remoteneſs and jealouſie would make ſlow, ſmall, and ſuſpect.

But it might be yet further objected, that it appears not, why ſuch States as theſe might not have good Laws, and why the People in the Provinces might not be enabled to come and make their Complaints to a Grand *Viſir*, or to the King himſelf. 'Tis true, that they are not altogether deſtitute of good Laws, and that, if thoſe which are amongſt them were obſerved, there would be as good living there, as in any part of the World. But what are thoſe Laws good for, if they be not obſerved, and if there be no means to make them to be executed? Is it not the Grand *Viſir*, or the King that appoints for the People ſuch beggarly Tyrants, and that hath no others to ſet over them? Is it not He that ſells thoſe Governments? Hath a poor Peaſant or Tradeſman means to make great Journies, and to come and ſeek for Juſtice in the Capital City, remote, perhaps, 150 or 200 Leagues from the place of his Abode? Will not the Governor cauſe him to be made away in his journy (as it hath often hapned) or catch him ſooner or later? And will he not provide his Friends at Court, to ſupport him there, and to repreſent things quite otherwiſe than they are? In a word, this Governor, hungry as well as the Timariots and Farmers (that are all men for drawing Oyl out of Sand, as the *Perſian* ſpeaks, and for ruining a World, with their heap of Women-harpies, Children and Slaves) this Governor, I ſay, is he not the abſolute Maſter, the Superintendant of Juſtice, the Parliament, the Receiver, and all?

It may perhaps be added, That the Lands, which our Kings hold in *Domaine*, are no leſs well tilled and peopled, than other Land. But there is a great difference between the having in propriety ſome Lands here and there in a great Kingdom (which changes not the Conſtitution of the State and Government) and the having them all in propriety, which would alter it altogether. And then we in theſe Parts have Laws ſo rational, which our Kings are willing to be the firſt to obſerve, and according to which they will that their particular Lands ſhall be governed as thoſe of their Subjects are, ſo as to give way, that Actions of Law may be laid againſt their own Farmers and Officers, ſo that a Peaſant or Tradeſman may have means to obtain Juſtice, and to find remedy againſt the unjuſt violence of thoſe that would oppreſs him: Whereas in thoſe Parts of *Aſia*, I ſee almoſt not any refuge for thoſe poor People; the Cudgel and the Hammer of the Governor being in a manner the only Law that rules, and decides all Controverſies there.

Laſtly, It may be ſaid, that 'tis at leaſt certain, that in ſuch States there is not ſuch a multitude of long-laſting Suits of Law, as in theſe Parts, nor ſo many Lawyers of all ſorts, as amongſt us. It is in my opinion, very true, that one cannot too much applaud that old *Perſian* Saying, *Na-bac Kouta Beter-Ez hac Deraz*, that is, *Short Injuſtice is better than long Juſtice*; and that the length of Law-Suits is unſufferable in a State, and that it is the indiſpenſable duty of the Sovereign, by all good means, to endeavor a remedy againſt them. And 'tis certain, that by taking away this *Meum* and *Tuum*, the Root would be cut of an infinite number of Law-Proceſſes, and eſpecially of almoſt all thoſe that are of importance, and long and perplexed; and conſequently there would not need ſo great a number of Magiſtrates, which our Sovereigns do employ to adminiſter Juſtice to their Subjects, nor that ſwarm of men, which ſubſiſt only by that way. But 'tis alſo manifeſt, that the Remedy would be an hundred times worſe than the Diſeaſe, conſidering thoſe great inconveniences that would follow thereupon, and that in all probability the Magiſtrates would become ſuch as thoſe of the *Aſiatick* States, who deſerve not that Name; for, in a word, our Kings have yet cauſe to glory upon the account of good Magiſtracy under them. In thoſe Parts, ſome Merchants

chants excepted, Juſtice is only among the meaneſt ſort of People, that are poor, and of an unequal condition, who have not the means of corrupting the Judges, and to buy falſe Witneſſes, that are there in great numbers, and very cheap, and never puniſhed. And this I have learn'd every where by the experience of many years, and by my ſolicitous Enquiries made among the People of the Country, and our old Merchants that are in thoſe Parts, as alſo of Ambaſſadors, Conſuls and Interpreters; whatever our common Travellers may ſay, who, upon their having ſeen by chance, when they paſſed by, two or three Porters, or others of the like Gang, about a *Kady*, quickly diſpatching one or other of the Parties, and ſometimes both, with ſome laſhes under the ſole of their Feet, or with a *Maybalé Baba*, ſome mild words, when there is no Wool to ſheer; who, I ſay, upon ſight of this, come hither, and cry out, O the good and ſhort Juſtice! O what honeſt Judges are thoſe in reſpect of ours! Not conſidering in the mean time, that if one of thoſe Wretches, that is in the wrong, had a couple of Crowns to corrupt the *Kady*, or his Clerks, and as much to buy two falſe Witneſſes, he might either win his Proceſs, or prolong it as long as he pleaſed.

In concluſion, to be ſhort, I ſay, That the taking away this Propriety of Lands among private men, would be infallibly to introduce at the ſame time Tyranny, Slavery, Injuſtice, Beggary, Barbariſm, Deſolation, and to open a Highway for the ruine and deſtruction of Mankind, and even of Kings and States: And that on the contrary, this *Meum* and *Tuum*, accompanied with the hopes that every one ſhall keep, what he works and labours for, for himſelf and his Children, as his own, is the main foundation of whatever is regular and good in the World: Inſomuch that whoſoever ſhall caſt his eyes upon the different Countries and Kingdoms, and taketh good notice of what follows upon this Propriety of Sovereigns, or that of the People, will ſoon find the true ſource and chief cauſe of that great difference we ſee in the ſeveral States and Empires of the World, and avow, that this is in a manner that which changes and diverſifieth the Face of the whole Earth.

The End of the SECOND TOME.

A LETTER

TO

Monsieur de la MOTHE le VAYER,

WRITTEN

At DEHLI, *JULY* 1. 1663.

CONTAINING

The Description of DEHLI *and* AGRA, *and divers Particulars discovering the* Court *and* Genius *of the* Mogols *and* Indians.

SIR,

I Know that one of the first Questions you are like to ask me, at my return in *France*, will be, Whether *Dehli* and *Agra* are Cities as fair and large, and as well peopled as *Paris*. Concerning its *Beauty*, I shall tell you by way of Preface, that I have sometimes wonder'd to hear our *Europeans*, that are here, despising the Towns of the *Indies*, as not coming near ours, in respect of the Edifices. Certainly they ought not to resemble them; and if *Paris*, *London*, and *Amsterdam*, stood in the place where *Dehli* is, the greatest part of them must be thrown down, to build them after another manner. Our Cities indeed have great Beauties and Embellishments, but they are such that are proper to them, and accommodated to a cold Climat. *Dehli* also may have its Beauties peculiar to it, and sutable to a very hot Climat: For you are to know, that the heat here obligeth all People, even the great Lords, and the King himself, to go without Stockings, in a kind of Slippers only, a fine and slight Turbant on their Heads, and the other Garments accordingly; that there are months in the Summer so excessively hot, that in the Chambers one can hardly hold ones hands against a Wall, nor ones head on a Cushion: And that People are oblig'd for the space of more than six months to lie without covering, at the door of their Chamber, as the Rabble doth in the open Streets, or as the Merchants, and other People of some Quality do, in some airy Hall or Garden, or upon some Terrass well watered at Night: thence you may judge, whether if there were such streets as that of St. *Jacques*, or St. *Denis*, with their Houses shut, and of so many Stories high, they would be habitable? And whether in the Night, especially when the heats are without wind and stuffing, it would be possible to sleep there? And who is there (I pray) that would have a mind in Summer, when he returns on Horseback from the City half dead, and in a manner stifled of the heat and dust, and all in a Sweat, (for so it is) to go climbing up an high pair of Stairs, which often is narrow and dark, to a fourth or fifth Story, and to abide in this hot and suffocating Air? On such occasions they desire nothing, but to throw down into the Stomack a Pint of fresh Water, or Lemonade, to undress, to wash the Face, Hands and Feet, to lie down in some cool and shady place all along, having a Servant or two to fan one by turns, with their great *Panbas*, or Fans. But, to leave this, we shall now endeavour to entertain you with the representation of *Dehli* as it is, that so you may judge, whether it be truly said, that it is a fair City.

It

It is now about forty years that *Chah-Jehan*, Father of the Grand-Mogol *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, to eternize his memory, cauſed to be built a Town contiguous to old *Debli*, which he called after his Name *Chah-Jean-Abad*, and by way of abbreviation *Jean-Abad*; that is to ſay, a Colony of *Chah-Jehan*, deſigning to make it the Capital of the Empire, inſtead of *Agra*, where he ſaid, that the Summer heats were too violent. This nearneſs hath occaſioned, that the ruines of old *Debli* have ſerved to build a new City; and in the *Indies* they ſcarce ſpeak any more of *Debli*, but only of *Jehan-Abad*. Yet notwithſtanding, ſince the City of *Jehan-Abad* is not yet known amongſt us, I intend to ſpeak of it under the old name of *Debli*, which is familiar to us.

Debli then is a Town altogether new, ſeated in a plain Campagne, upon a River like our *Loire*, called *Gemna*, and built along one ſide of the River only; there being but one Boat-bridge to paſs over into the Plain. This Town is ſurrounded with Walls, except the River ſide: theſe Walls are of Bricks, and without a conſiderable defence, they being without a Ditch, and having nothing to flank them but round Towers after the old way, diſtant from each other an hundred common paces, and a rampart behind them, four or five foot thick. The compaſs of theſe Walls, comprizing the Fortreſs, is not ſo big as is commonly believed: I have gone it round with eaſe in three hours; and I believe not, though I was on Horſeback, that I diſpatched more than one league in an hour: 'tis true, that if you will take into the Town a very long Suburb, which goeth towards *Labor*, as alſo what remains inhabited of old *Debli*, which is likewiſe a great and very long Suburb, and beſides, three or four ſmall Suburbs more, all that would make in a direct line above a league and a half, and ſuch a compaſs which I cannot well determine, becauſe that between the Suburbs are great Gardens, and large ſpaces not built; but I may ſay, that thus taken it would be of a prodigious bigneſs.

The Fortreſs, in which is the *Mehalle*, or *Seraglio*, and the other Royal Apartments, which I ſhall hereafter ſpeak of, is built round upon the River; yet there is between the Water and the Walls a pretty large and long ſandy ſpace, where commonly Elephants are exerciſed, and where frequently the *Militia* of the *Omrahs* and *Rajas* is muſtered in the King's preſence, who looks out of the Windows of one of his Apartments. The Walls of the Fortreſs, as to their round antick Towers, are very near like thoſe of the Town, but they are partly of Bricks, and partly of a certain red Stone reſembling Marble, which maketh them look fairer than thoſe of the Town; beſides that, they are much higher, ſtronger and thicker, being able to bear ſome Field-pieces that are there planted towards the Town; and incompaſſed alſo, excepting that ſide which reſpects the River, with a fair Ditch, walled up with Free-ſtone, full of Water and Fiſh. But yet whether they are conſiderable for ſtrength; a battery of ſome middle ſized Canons would, in my opinion, ſoon caſt them down.

Round about the Ditch there is a pretty large Garden, at all times full of Flowers and green Apricocks, which together with thoſe great Walls all red, maketh a very fine ſight.

About this Garden is the great Street, or rather the great Place Royal, to which the two great and principal Gates of the Fortreſs do anſwer, and to theſe Gates the two chief Streets of the Town.

In this great Place it is, where the Tents of the *Rajas* are, that are in the King's Pay, to keep there every one in his turn their weekly Guard; whereas the *Omrahs* and the *Manſebdars*, or ſmall *Omrahs*, keep it within the Fortreſs. Theſe little Soveraigns are not pleaſed to ſee themſelves thus and ſo long ſhut up in a Fort.

In this very Place it is, where at the break of day are exerciſed the Horſes of a long Royal Stable, near it. And here 'tis alſo, that the *Kobat-kan*, or great Commiſſioner of the Cavalry, carefully vieweth the Horſes of thoſe Cavaliers, that have been received into Service, to the end that if theſe Horſes are of *Turkiſtan*, or *Tartary*, and large and ſtrong enough for Service, the King's Mark, and that of the *Omrahs*, under whom ſuch Cavaliers are to be liſted, may be branded upon them: A thing not ill deviſed, to prevent the mutual Loan of Horſes in the Muſters.

This ſame Place is alſo a kind of *Bazar*, or Market, of an hundred things ſold there, and a Rendezvous of Players, and Juglers of all ſorts, as the *Pont-neuf* at *Paris*. It is no leſs the Meeting-place of the poor *Aſtrologers*, as well *Mahumetan* as *Heathen*. Theſe Doctors (forſooth) ſit there in the Sun upon a piece of Tapeſtry, all covered with duſt, having about them ſome old Mathematical Inſtruments, which they make ſhew of to draw Paſſengers, and a great open Book repreſenting the Animals of the *Zodiack*. Theſe

men are the Oracles, but rather the Affronters of the Vulgar, to whom they pretend to give, for one *Payſſa*, that is, a penny, good Luck; and they are they, that looking upon the Hands and the Face, turning over their Books, and making a ſhew of Calculation, determine the fortunate moment when a Buſineſs is to be begun to make it ſucceſsful. The mean Women, wrapt up in a white Sheet from Head to Foot, come to find them out, telling them in their Ear their moſt ſecret Concerns, as if they were their Confeſſors, and (which ſmells very ſtrongly of Stupidity and Folly) entreat them to render the Stars propitious to them ſuitable to their Deſigns; as if they could abſolutely diſpoſe of their Influences.

The moſt ridiculous of all theſe Aſtrologers, in my opinion, was that mongrel *Portugueſe*, fugitive from *Goa*, who ſate in that Place with much Gravity upon his piece of Tapeſtry, like the reſt, and had a great deal of Cuſtom, though he could neither write nor read, and as for Inſtruments and Books, was furniſhed with nothing elſe but an old Sea-Compaſs, and an old *Romiſh* Prayer-Book in the *Portugueſe* Language, of which he ſhewed the Pictures for Figures of the *Zodiack: A tal Beſtias, tal Aſtrologuo:* For ſuch Beaſts, ſuch Aſtrologer, ſaid he to the Reverend Father *Buzè*, a Jeſuit, who met him in that Place.

I here ſpeak only of the pitiful Aſtrologers of the *Bazar*; for there are others in theſe Parts, that are in the Courts of the Grandees, and are conſidered as great Clerks, and are very rich; whole *Aſia* being overſpread with this Superſtition. The Kings and the great Lords, who would not undertake the leaſt things without conſulting them, allow them great Salaries, that they may read to them what is written in the Heavens, (for ſo they ſpeak here) and take out for them that fortunate moment, I was lately ſpeaking of; or find out, at the opening of the *Alcoran*, the deciſion of all their Doubts.

To return; theſe two principal Streets, which I ſaid do anſwer to the two Gates of the Fortreſs, and to the Place, may have twenty five or thirty common paces in breadth, and they run in a ſtreight line as far as you are able to ſee: Yet that which leads to the Gate of *Labor*, is much longer than the other; but they are both alike as to the Houſes. There is on both ſides nothing but Arches, as in our *Place Royal*; yet with this difference, that they are but of Bricks, and that there is not any Building upon them, but only the Terraſs. There is alſo this difference, that they are not continued Galleries. Theſe Arches are generally ſevered by Rails that make Shops which are not to be ſhut, where Tradeſ-men work in the day, where Bankers ſit for their Buſineſs, and where Merchants ſet out their Wares, which at night they lock up in a Magazin, the little Door of which, to be ſhut, is in the bottom of every Arch.

It is upon this Magazin, which is in the back-part of the Arches, that the Houſes of Merchants are built and raiſed, which make a Shew good enough towards the Street, and are alſo pretty convenient, being well aired, out of the way of the duſt, and having for their Floor the terraſſes of the Arches, upon which they can walk to look out upon the Street, and to ſleep at night in *freſco*. But excepting theſe Houſes of the chief Streets, and a few others, there are not many of theſe fair Houſes, that are thus raiſed upon Terraſſes; nor are even theſe two Streets univerſally furniſht with them, there being moſtly upon the Magazin, or on the ſide, nothing but a ſmall Building, not ſeen from the Street, the great Merchants having their Houſes ſomewhere elſe, whither they retire at night.

Beſides theſe *two* principal Streets, there are yet *five* others, which indeed are not ſo long nor ſo ſtreight, but for the reſt are altogether like them. There are alſo a great many other Streets croſſing thoſe on all ſides, whereof there are alſo ſome furniſht with Arches; but becauſe they have been built piece-meal by ſuch particular perſons, as have not obſerved the Symmetry that was requiſite, they are, for the moſt part, neither ſo large nor ſo ſtreight, nor ſo well built as the others.

Amongſt all theſe Streets are ſpread every where the Houſes of the *Manſebdars*, or little *Omrahs*, and thoſe of the men of the Law, as alſo of many great Merchants, and other private men; of which there is a good number that are paſſable. It is true, there are but few that are all of Brick or Stone, and there is even a good number of theſe, that are made all of Earth only, and thatched; but for all that, they are convenient, becauſe they are generally airy, being furniſhed with Courts and Gardens. Nor are they diſagreeable within, foraſmuch as beſides the fine moveables, theſe thatched Coverings are ſupported by a layer of certain long Canes, that are hard and ſtrong, and very pretty, and becauſe alſo theſe earthen Walls are plaſtered over with very fine and very white Chalk.

Amongſt

Amongst these Houses I have been speaking of, that are tolerable, there is also a prodigious number of other small ones, that are only made up of Earth and Straw, where all the simple Cavaliers, and their Servants, and all those little people of the Market, that follow the Court and the Army are lodged.

It is from these thatched Houses that *Debli* is so subject to Fires. This last year there were burnt above sixty thousand such, at two or three times that they took Fire, when there blew certain impetuous Winds, that rise chiefly in Summer. The Fire was so quick and so violent, that it surprised the Houses, and many Horses also that could not be time enough loosened; and there were even some of these poor Women burnt, that never had been out of the *Seraglio*, and that are so weak and shamefaced when they see people, that they know nothing else but to hide their Faces.

And it is upon the account of these pitiful Houses of Earth and Straw, that I look upon *Debli* almost no otherwise than as many Villages joyned together, and (which I have already said in another place) as a Camp of an Army, a little better and more commodiously placed, than in the Field.

As to the Houses of the *Omrahs*, that are also up and down in this City, and principally upon the River, and even in the Suburbs: You are to know that in these hot Countries, to entitle an House to the name of Good and Fair, it is required it should be commodious, seated in a Place well aired, and capable to receive the Wind from all sides, and principally from the North; having Courts, Gardens, Trees, Conservatories, and little jets of Waters in the Halls, or at least at the Entry; furnished also with good Cellars with great Flaps to stir the Air, for reposing in the fresh Air from twelve till four or five of the Clock, when the Air of these Cellars begins to be hot and stuffing: of having in lieu of Cellarage certain *Kas-kanays*, that is, little Houses of Straw, or rather of odoriferous Roots, that are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midst of a *Parterre* near some Conservatory, that so the Servants may easily, with their Pompion-bottles, water them from without. Moreover it is required for the beauty of an House, that it be seated in the midst of some great *Parterre*, that it have four great Divans or Ways raised from the ground to the height of a man, or thereabout, and exposed to the four Parts of the World, to receive the Wind and the Cold from all the Parts it may come from. Lastly, it is requisite for a good House to have raised *Terrasses*, to sleep upon in the night, such as are of the same Floor with some great Chamber, to draw in ones Bed-stead upon occasion; that is to say, when there comes some Tempest of Rain or Dust, or when that rousing freshness of the break of day awakens you, and obliges you to look for a Covering: or else when you apprehend that small and light Dew of the morning, which pierceth, and causeth sometimes benumming and paralitical Symptoms in the Limbs.

As to the interior part of an House, it is requisite that the whole Floor be covered with a mattereſs of Cotton four inches thick, covered with a white fine linnen Sheet during Summer, and with a piece of silk Tapestry in Winter: That in the most conspicuous part of the Chamber, near the Wall, there be one or two cotton Quilts, with fine flowered Coverings, and set about with small and fine embroidery of Silk, wrought with Gold and Silver, for the Master of the House, or Persons of Quality coming in, to sit upon; and that every Quilt have its cross Board, purfled with God, to lean upon: that round about the Chamber, along the Walls, there be several of these cross Boards, as I just now mentioned, handsomly covered with Velvet or flowred Sattin, for Bystanders also to lean upon. The Walls five or six foot from the Floor, must be almost all with *Niches*, or little Windows, cut in an hundred different manners, or shapes, very fine, well measured and proportioned to one another, with some porcelain Vessels and Flower-pots in them; and the Ground must be painted and guilded, yet without any figure of Man or Beast, their Religion not allowing thereof.

This is as near as I know, the Idea of a handsom and convenient House in these Parts: And as there is a good number of them in *Debli*, that have all these Qualities mentioned, or at least in part, according to which they are more or less fair and gallant: I believe one may say, without any injury to our Towns, that *Debli* is not without Houses that are truly handsom, although they be not like ours in *Europe*.

Concerning the Appearance and Riches of the Shops, (which is the thing that contributeth most to the beauty of our Towns in *Europe*) although *Debli* be the Seat of a very potent and magnificent Court, and consequently the resort of infinite quantities and varieties of rich Wares; yet we are not to imagine, that you shall find there our Streets

of St. *Denis*; I know not whether there be any such in all *Asia*. And even as to the most fine and the most rich Stuffs, they are commonly but in the Magazins, their Shops are not furnisht with them: So that for one Shop that maketh any shew, that is, where there are sold those fine sorts of Linnen, those Stuffs of Silk streaked with Gold and Silver, Cloth of Gold, Turbands embroidered with Gold, and other Commodities of great price; you shall always find five and twenty and more, that are filled with nothing but Pots of Oyl and Butter, and Panniers one upon another full of Rice, Barley, Pease, Corn, and many other sorts of Grain and Legume; which are the ordinary Food not only of all the *Gentiles*, that never eat any meat, but also of the meaner sort of the *Mahumetans*, and of a good part of those of the Souldiery.

It is true that there is a Fruit-market that maketh some shew. One may there see in Summer abundance of Shops full of dry Fruit, that come out of *Persia*, *Balk*, *Bokara*, and *Samarkand*, as Almonds, Pistaches, small Nuts, Raisins, Prunes, Apricocks, and the like. And in Winter there are found excellent Raisins fresh, black and white, brought from the same Countries, well wrapt up in Cotton; also Apples and Pears of three or four sorts, and of these admirable Melons that last all Winter. But all this Fruit is very dear; I have seen Melons sold even for a Crown and an half a piece. And they are indeed the great delicacy and expence of the *Omrahs*. I have often seen in the House of my *Aga*, that there was eaten in Melons in one morning for more than twenty Crowns. There are none but the Melons of the Country that are cheap in Summer, but those are not so good. The Grandees only, that take care to send for Seed out of *Persia*, and to get the Ground well fitted for them, may eat good ones; yet that but rarely neither, the Ground being not so proper but that the Seed degenerateth the very first year.

It is true, there is yet another Fruit called *Amba*, or *Mangue*, which in its season, during two Summer months, is found in great plenty and very cheap; but those of *Dehli* are none of the best, being very loose and flashly: those of *Bengala*, *Golkonda*, and *Goa*, are admirable. It hath a certain sweetness so peculiar, that I doubt whether there be any Comfit in the World so pleasant. There are also *Pateques*, or Water-Melons in abundance, and almost all the year long; but they also do not thrive well at *Dehli*; they never have their meat so ruddy, firm and suggary; and if there be any good, they are not to be found but amongst the Great ones, who take the pains of making them grow as Melons, with extraordinary care and cost.

There be also up and down in *Dehli* Shops of *Comfit-makers*; but all their Comfits are very ill done, being full of Dust and Flyes.

There are besides many Shops of *Bread* every where, but because they have no Ovens like ours, it is never well baked: yet in the Fortress there is sold some that is reasonably good; and the *Omrahs* cause such to be made in their Houses that is very delicate, sparing no new Butter, Milk, nor Eggs: yet though they leaven it, it is always much inferior in goodness to our Bread of *Gonesse*, and to those other sorts of excellent Bread of *Paris*, it savouring always of the Cake or Simnel.

In these *Bazars* there are also some Tents, where they trade in Rost-meat, and in dressing I know not how many sorts of Dishes; but all that is but beggarly, nasty, and ill meat. I fear you sometimes meet with the flesh of Camels, Horses, or Oxen, dead of sickness: I do not much trust them; so that if you will eat any thing worth eating, you must have it dressed at home.

There are also many Shops every where where they sell Flesh; but you must take heed, lest they give you Mutton for Kid; the Mutton and Beef, but especially Mutton, though well enough tasted, being here very hot, windy, and of ill digestion. The best meat here is young Kid, but it is very rarely sold in the Market by Quarters; so that if you have a mind to eat any, you must buy a whole and a live one; which is inconvenient enough, because the meat is spoiled between one morning and evening, and is commonly so lean, that it is tasteless. Ordinarily you find in the Shambles nothing but the quarters of great Kids, which often also are very lean and hard. It is true, that since I have learned something of the manner of the Country, I find both Meat and Bread good enough, because I send my Servant to the Fortress to the King's Caterers, who are very ready to let him have what is good for good payment, though it cost them nothing. And it was in reference to this, that one day I made my *Agah* smile, when I told him that I had I know not how many years lived by artifice and stealing, and that for all the 150 Crowns pay he monthly allowed me, I was ready to be starved; whereas in *France* for half a Roupy, I could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King.

They

They have no Capons, all that People being too tender-hearted towards all Animals but Men, whom they need for their *Seraglios*. But the Markets are full of Hens, that are very good and cheap: Among the rest there is one sort of little ones, that I called *Æthiopian* Hens, because they have their skin black like the *Æthiopians*, which are very tender and very delicate.

Pidgeons there are, but no young ones, because they will not kill them young; they would be (say they) too small, and it were ill done to kill such poor little Animals.

There are also Partridges, but smaller than ours, and generally (seeing they bring them afar off alive, knowing how to take them with Nets) they are worse than our Pullets. The like may be said of their Ducks and Hares, of which they also bring whole Cages full alive.

Concerning *Fish*, the People here are no great Fish-mongers; yet at times one meets with very good Fish, especially of two sorts, the one resembleth our Pike, and the other our Carp; but that is only when it is not cold, for the *Indians* fear that much more than we *Europeans* apprehend heat. And if at any time you meet accidentally with any, the Eunuchs, who love them excessively, (I know not why) carry them presently away. None but the *Omrahs* have power to make men fish when they please, which they do with the *Korrah*, that great common Whip always hanging at their Gates.

From all that I have said, you may by the By see, whether a man ought to leave *Paris* to come to *Dehli* to make good cheer. Certainly the Grandees have all things, but that is upon the account of their many Servants, of the *Korrah*, and of the plenty of Money. And thence it was I once said, that at *Dehli* there is no *mean*; there you must either be a great Lord, or live miserably: for I have experienced it my self, in a manner dying of Hunger this good while, though I have had considerable Pay, and was resolved to spare nothing that way, because commonly there is found nothing in the Markets but the refuse of the Grandees. Besides that, the soul of a Feast which is good Wine, is not there; not that no Grapes do grow there to make Wine, (for I have drunk some at *Amadevad* and *Golkonda*, in the Houses of *English* men and *Hollanders*, that was not ill) but because it is prohibited to make Wine, in regard that not only by the Law of *Mahomet*, but also by that of the *Heathen*, it is not permitted to drink any: So that it is very rare to find Wine, and that which we find comes out of *Persia* from *Chiras* by Land to *Banderabassy*, from thence by Sea to *Suratte*, and from *Suratte* hither by Land in forty six days: or it comes from the *Canaries*, brought also over Sea to *Suratte* by the *Dutch*. And both are so dear, that the cost (as the saying is) maketh it lose the taste; for a Bottle holding about three *Parisian* pints cometh often to six or seven Crowns, and more. That which is of this Countreys growth is called *Arac*, a strong Water made of Sugar not refined, and even this is expresly prohibited to be sold, and there are none but *Christians* that dare drink of it, except others do it by stealth. This is a Drink very hot and penetrant, like the Brandy made of Corn in *Poland*. It so falls upon the Nerves, that it often causeth shaking Hands in those that drink a little too much of it, and casts them into incurable Maladies. Here we must accustom our selves to fair and good Water, and to Lemonade, which is excellent, and may be made with small charges, and doth not spoil the Stomach. But to say all, a man hath no great inclination, in such hot Countries as these to drink Wine; and I am willing notice should be here taken together with me, that the abstinence from Wine in these Parts, joyned to the general sobriety of the Natives, and to the sweats and perpetual transpiration made by the pores, are the cause (in my opinion) that we almost know not what is the Gout, the Stone, Aches of the Kidneys, Rheumatisms, Quartans; and that those that bring any of these Sicknesses hither, as I did, are at length totally freed from them: and further, that the Pox it self, though very frequent, is not so cruel nor so pernicious here as in *Europe*: so that People generally live here more healthily than with us. But then on the other hand, there is not so much vigour here in People, as in our cold Climat; and this feebleness and languor of body is a kind of perpetual malady, very troublesom to all, especially in the great heats of Summer, and especially to the *Europeans*, whose bodies are not yet inured to heat.

As for Shops of excellent Handy-craftsmen, that is also a thing we must not look for here: all we find is but very little; not that the *Indians* have not wit enough to make them successful in Arts, they doing very well (as to some of them) in many Parts of *India*, and it being found that they have inclination enough for them, and that some of them make (even without a Master) very pretty workmanship, and imitate so well

our

our Work of *Europe*, that the difference thereof will hardly be discerned. I have seen amongst them even of our kind of Guns, very fine and very good; and pieces of Goldsmiths Work so well done, that I doubt whether in *Europe* they could be made better. I have also seen in *Picture* and *Miniature* such curious and delicate pieces, that I admired them. Amongst others, I have seen the Combats of *Eckbar*, represented upon a Buckler by a famous Painter, who was said to have been seven years working at it, which seemed to me an admirable piece of Work. It is manifest, that they want nothing but good Masters, and the precepts of Art to give them just proportions; and above all, that life of the Face, to which they have not yet been able to attain. The Reason therefore why in the Shops of *Dehli* there are rarely found good Handy-craftsmen, is not want of Wit, but contempt of the Workmen, who are ill treated, and whose Work is debased to too low a price. If some *Omrah*, or *Mansebdar*, will have any thing made by a Workman of the *Bazar*, he will send for him, and make him work in a manner by force, and afterwards pay him as he pleaseth; and the man will think himself happy too, if in part of payment he receive not the *Korrah*. What heart then can a poor Workman have to take pains to succeed in his Workmanship? He considers nothing but to dispatch his Work, thereby to earn something to put Bread into his Mouth. So that if there be any of them that succeed, they are of those whom the great Lords entertain in their Service, and that work only for them.

Touching the things within the Fortress, where are the *Seraglio*, and some other Royal Edifices, you must not look for a *Louvre*, or an *Escurial*; those Buildings do not resemble ours, nor by what I have said, ought they to resemble them: it is enough that they have that stateliness, which is proper to the Climat.

I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two great Elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the Gates. Upon one of them is the Statue of *Jamel*, that famous *Raja* of *Chitar*, and upon the other, that of *Polta* his Brother. These are those two gallant Men, that together with their Mother, who was yet braver than they, cut so much Work for *Eckbar*; and who in the Sieges of Towns, which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their Generosity, that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls with their Mother, than submit: and for this Gallantry it is, that even their Enemies thought them worthy to have these Statues erected for them. These two great Elephants, together with the two resolute Men sitting on them, do at the first entry into this Fortress make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror.

After you have passed this Gate, you find a long and large Street, divided into two by a Channel of running Water, and having on both sides, as our Pont-neuf, a long raised Wall five or six foot high, and four broad; and further off some Arches shut, that follow one another all along in the form of Gates. It is upon this long raised Place that those Clerks, Controllers, and other small Officers sit to do their Office, without being incommoded by the Horses and People that pass along beneath. And it is there also where the *Mansebdars*, or little *Omrahs*, are at night to keep the Guard. The Water of the Channel runneth dividing it self through the whole *Seraglio*, and at length falleth into the Ditches to fill them. It is drawn out of the River by a Channel opened five or six leagues above *Dehli*, and conveyed cross the Field, and that through some Rocks that have cost great pains to be cut in divers places. And this is very near what may be seen at the entry into one of the two principal Gates, that answer to the great *Piazza*.

If you enter at the other Gate, you also find presently a pretty long and large Street, having its risings on the sides as the other, together with Shops upon them in lieu of the Arches. This Street is properly a *Bazar*, which is very commodious during the season of the Rains and Summer, because it is covered by a long and large Vault, which hath on the top great openings to let in light.

Besides these two Streets, there are many other small ones on the right and left hand, that lead to the Apartments, where the *Omrahs* keep their Guard, each in his turn, once a week, for twenty four hours. These Places are stately ones for *Corps de Gardes*, the *Omrahs* striving to beautifie them at their own charges. These are ordinarily great raised Places respecting a *Parterre*, that hath its little Channels of running Water, small Conservatories and Jets of Water. The *Omrahs* during the twenty four hours of Guard, take no care for their Table, the King sending them all their Meat ready dressed, and they being but to receive it, as they do, with very much Ceremony and Respect,

spect, making three obeysances of thanks, by elevating their Hand upon their Head, and bowing down to the ground, their Face turned toward the King.

There are also found many raised Walks and Tents in sundry Places, that are the Offices of several Officers. Besides, there are many great Halls that are the *Kar-kanays*, or Places where Handy-craftsmen do work. In one of these Halls you shall find Embroiderers at work, together with their Chief that inspects them; in another you shall see Gold-smiths; in a third Picture-drawers; in a fourth Workmen in *Lacca*; in others, Joyners, Turners, Taylors, Shoo-makers; in others, Workmen in Silk and purfled Gold, and in all those sorts of fine Cloth, of which they make Turbands, Girdles with golden flowers, and those Drawers of Ladies, that are so fine and delicate, as that sometimes they last them but one night, though they often cost them ten or twelve Crowns, when they are of that fashion, as I have mentioned; I mean, enriched with those fine Embroideries of Needle-work.

All these Handy-craftsmen come in the morning to those *Kar-kanays*, and work there all day long, and at night return to their several homes, every one passing his Life quietly, without aspiring above his condition: for the Embroiderer maketh his Son an Embroiderer, the Gold-smith maketh his Son a Gold-smith, and a Physician in a Town maketh his Son a Physician; and no body marrieth but with those that are of his Trade: which is religiously observed, not only among the *Heathen*, that are obliged to it by their Law, but almost always among the *Mahometans* themselves: Whence it is that you may often see very handsom young Women, that remain unmarried, passing their time as well as they can, though they might meet with good Matches, if their Parents would or could marry them into another Family, esteemed less noble than their own.

After all these Apartments, we come at length to the *Am-kas*, which is something very Royal. This is a great square Court with Arches, as may be our *Place Royal*: with this difference, that there are no Buildings atop, and that the Arches are severed from one another by a Wall, yet so that there is a small Gate to pass from one to the other. Over the great Gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides of this Square, there is a large raised Place, all open on the side of the Court, which is called *Nagar-kanay*, because that is the Place where the Trumpets are, or rather the Hoboys and Timbals, that play together in consort at certain hours of the day and night: but this is a very odd consort in the Ears of an *European* that is a new comer, not yet accustomed to it: for sometimes there are ten or twelve of those Hoboys, and as many Timbals, that sound altogether at once; and there is an Hoboy which is called *Karna*, a fathom and an half long, and of half a foot aperture below; as there are Timbals of Brass or Iron, that have no less than a fathom in diameter: whence it is easie to judge, what a noise they must needs make. Indeed this Musick in the beginning did so pierce and stun me, that it was unsufferable for me; yet I know not what strange power custom hath, for I now find it very pleasing, especially in the night, when I hear it afar off in my bed upon my Terrass; then it seemeth to me to carry with it something that is grave, majestical and very melodious. And there is some Reason for this melody; for seeing it hath its Rules and Measures, and that there are excellent Masters taught from their youth to manage it, and perfectly know how to qualifie and temper those strong sounds of the Hoboys and Timbals, it cannot be otherwise, but they must thence obtain some sympathy that cannot be displeasing to the Ear, provided (as I said) that it be heard at a distance. And even for this Reason it is, that they have placed the *Nagar-kanay* very high, and remote from the Ears of the King, as you will hear by and by.

Over against the great Gate of the Court, upon which is the *Nagar-kanay*, beyond the whole Court, there is a great and stately Hall, with many ranks of Pillars high raised, very airy, open on three sides, looking to the Court, and having its Pillars and Ground painted and guilded. In the midst of the Wall, which separateth this Hall from the *Seraglio*, there is an opening, or a kind of great Window high and large, and so high that a Man cannot reach to it from below with his hand: There it is where the King appears seated upon his Throne, having his Sons on his sides, and some Eunuchs standing, some of which drive away the Flyes with Peacocks-tails, others fan him with great Fans, others stand there ready with great respect and humility for several Services. Thence he seeth beneath him all the *Omrahs*, *Rajas*, and Ambassadors, who are also all of them standing upon a raised Ground encompassed with silver Rails, with their Eyes downwards, and their Hands crossing their Stomachs: somewhat further off he

seeth

ſeeth the *Manſebdars*, or leſſer *Omrahs*, which are alſo all ſtanding in the ſame poſture and reſpect as the *Omrahs* do: and ſomewhat further off, in the remaining part of the Hall, and in the Court, he ſeeth a great crowd of all ſorts of People. For there it is where the King every day about noon giveth a general Audience to all; which is the Reaſon that this great Hall is called *Am-kas*, that is, Place of Audience, or a Place of Meeting common to great and ſmall.

During an hour and an half, or thereabouts, whilſt this Aſſembly laſteth, the King is diverted by ſeeing paſs before him a certain number of the handſomeſt Horſes of his Stables, to ſee whether they be well dreſſed, and in good plight. So he doth ſee a good number of Elephants paſſing alſo before him, whoſe dirty bodies are then well waſhed and cleanſed, and painted black like Ink, except that they have two great ſtreaks painted red, which from the top of their Head come down to their Trunk, where they meet. Theſe Elephants have then alſo certain deckings embroidred with a couple of ſilver Bells hanging down on the ſides, faſtened to the two ends of a great ſilver Chain, paſſing over their Shoulders; as alſo certain Cow-tails of the great *Tibet*, white and very dear, hanging at their Ears like great Muſtachoes: and two little Elephants well accoutred going by their ſides, as if they were their Slaves and appointed to ſerve them. Theſe great Coloſſes, as if they were proud to ſee themſelves ſo bravely adorned and attended, march with much gravity; and when they are come before the King, the Conductor that ſits upon their Shoulders, with a pointed Iron in his Hand pricketh them, and ſpeaketh to them, and maketh them bow with one Knee, and lift up the Trunk into the Air and make a noiſe, which the People take for a *Taſlim*, or deep Salute.

After theſe Elephants there are brought divers tamed *Gazelles*, which are made to fight with one another; as alſo ſome *Nilgaux*, or grey Oxen, which in my opinion are a kind of *Elands* and *Rhinoceroſs*, and thoſe great *Buffalos* of *Bengala* with their prodigious Horns to combat with a Lion or Tiger; likewiſe *Leopards*, or Panthers tamed, which he uſeth in the hunting of *Gazelles*: further, ſome of thoſe handſom hunting *Dogs* of *Uſbeck* of all ſorts, every one with his little red Cover; ſtore of *Birds* of prey of all kinds, ſome of which are for Partridges, others for Cranes, others to fall upon Hares, and, as they ſay, upon the very Gazelles, beating their Heads and blinding them with their Wings and Claws.

Often alſo one or two of the *Omrahs* cauſe at that time to paſs their Cavalry for a review before the King: the *Omrahs* coveting that their Horſemen ſhould appear gallant, advantagiouſly decked with extraordinary Garments, and their Horſes trapped with Iron, and harneſſed with I know not how many different and odd faſhions.

The King taketh ſometimes pleaſure himſelf to cauſe Cutlaſes, or ſhort Swords, to be tryed upon dead Sheep, brought to him without the bowels, and very neatly packed up, where the young *Omrahs*, *Manſeb-dars* and *Gourze-berdars*, or Mace-bearers, ſtrive to ſhew their force and dexterity by cutting aſunder the four Legs joyned together, and the Body of the Sheep all in one ſtroke.

Mean time all theſe Divertiſements are nothing but an Interlude of ſerious Affairs: for as I have ſaid, the King omits not to make a Muſter of his Cavalry, and well to view them himſelf. We have ſeen, that the War being ended, there is not one Cavalier, nor any other Souldier, but He hath ſeen him and examined him, either to increaſe his Pay, or to leſſen it, or quite to caſhier him. Beſides it is ſeen every day, that he commands the Petitions, which are ſhewed him afar off in the crowd of the People, to be brought to him and to be read: ordering the Parties concerned to approach, and examining them, and often cauſing Juſtice to be done them immediately, although he hath the *Adalet-kanay*, the Chamber of Juſtice, where he ordinarily is preſent once a week, attended by his two firſt *Kadys*, or Chief Juſtices: and though alſo at one other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the ſpace of two hours, ten Perſons of the common People, whom a good and rich old Man preſents to him. Whence it appears (to note that by the By) that thoſe Kings, how barbarous ſoever eſteemed by us, do yet conſtantly remember, that they owe Juſtice to their Subjects.

All what I have been relating to you of what is tranſacted in this Aſſembly of the *Am-kas*, ſeems to me great and royal; but that which hath extreamly offended me there, is a kind of Adulation too mean and flat, commonly heard in that Place. For the King cannot ſay a word to any purpoſe, but he is preſently exalted, and ſome of the firſt *Omrahs* lifting up their Hands, as if they were to receive ſome Benediction from Heaven,

cry

cry out, *Karamat ! Karamat !* Wonder ! Wonder ! Neither is there any *Mogolian* but he knoweth and glorieth in reciting this Proverb in *Perſian* Verſe :

Aguer chaeh ronzra Gonyed cheb eſt in
Bubayed Gouſt inek mah-ou peruin.

If the King ſaith at Noon-day, it is Night, you are to ſay, behold the Moon and the Stars. This Vice paſſeth even unto the People. I have ſeen an hundred times People of *Mogol*, who having need of me in ſome Buſineſs, made no ſcruple to come and tell me to my Face for a Preamble, that I was *Ariſtotalis*, *Bocrate*, and *Abouyſina Ulzaman* ; the *Ariſtotle*, the *Hippocrates*, and the *Avicenna* of the Time. At firſt I endeavoured to fence my ſelf againſt it by this ordinary Complement, that I was none ſuch, and was far inferior to the merit of thoſe Men : but that made them worſe ; ſo that I thought it better to accuſtom my Ears to their Flattery, as I have done to their Muſick. I cannot forbear imparting to you this little piece of Flattery, becauſe *that* will let you ſee the more how far they carry it. A *Pendet Brachman*, or *Heathen* Doctor, whom I had put to ſerve my *Agah*, at the entring into his Service would needs make his Panegyrick, and after he had compared him to the greateſt Conquerors that ever were, and told him an hundred groſs and impertinent Flatteries, at laſt concluded ſeriouſly with this ; *When you put your Foot into the Stirrup, my Lord, and when you march on Horſe-back in the front of the Cavalry, the Earth trembleth under your feet, the eight Elephants, that hold it up upon their Heads, not being able to ſupport it.* I could not hold laughing, and I ſtrove ſeriouſly to tell my *Agah*, who could not hold neither, that then he would do well not to go on Horſe-back but very ſeldom, to prevent Earthquakes, which often cauſe ſo great Miſchiefs. Who quickly made this Reparty with a conſtrained Countenance between ſerious and ſmiling : *And it is therefore that I cauſe my ſelf ordinarily to be carried in a Palekey.*

But no more of this : from the great Hall of the *Am-kas* one enters into a more retired Place, called the *Goſelkane*, that is, the Place to waſh in. But few are ſuffered to enter there ; neither is the Court of it ſo great as that of the *Am-kas* : but the Hall is very handſom, ſpacious, painted and guilded, and its Floor raiſed four or five foot high. There it is where the King is ſeated in a Chair, his *Omrahs* ſtanding round about him, and giveth a more particular Audience to his Officers, receiveth their Accompts, and treateth of the moſt important Affairs of State. All the *Omrahs* are obliged to be without fail every evening at this Aſſembly, as in the morning at the *Am-kas* ; elſe ſomething is retrenched of their Pay. There is only my Agah *Danechmend-kan*, that becauſe he is a Perſon of Learning, and perpetually buſie in ſtudying, or in foreign Affairs, is diſpenſed with, except Wedneſday, which is his day of being upon the Guard. Theſe are indiſpenſible Cuſtoms, and it is very juſt they ſhould be ſo in reſpect of the *Omrahs*, becauſe they are in a manner ſo in reſpect of the King : for he almoſt never faileth to be at theſe two Aſſemblies, unleſs ſome urgent Affair do ſupervene, or he be exceeding ſick. And we did ſee, that *Aureng-Zebe*, even in his laſt Sickneſs, which was very dangerous, failed not to make himſelf to be carried thither once a day at leaſt. It is true, he being ſick to extremity, that if he had not been ſeen there, the whole Kingdom would preſently have been in diſorder, and the Shops ſhut up in the City.

Whilſt the King in this Hall of *Goſle-kanay* is buſie, as I was ſaying, they omit not to let paſs before him moſt of the things that are made to paſs at the *Am-kas*. There is only this difference, that this Aſſembly being held in the evening, and the Court being then leſs, the review of the Cavalry of the *Omrahs* is not made, as in the morning at the *Am-kas* : but then there is this of particular, that all the *Manſeb-dars* that are upon the Guard do ſalute the King, and paſs before him with Ceremony enough : before them marcheth with ſufficient Pomp that which is called the *Kours*, which are many Figures of Silver carried at the end of ſome great ſilver Sticks, that are very fine and very artificially made ; of which there are two that repreſent two great Fiſhes, two others that exhibit a phantaſtick Animal of an horrid figure, by them called *Eiedeha* ; others that repreſent two Lions, others two Hands, others Scales, and many more whereof they make Myſteries. Amongſt theſe *Kours* and *Manſeb-dars*, are mixt many *Gourz-berdars*, or Mace-bearers, who are choſen Men, tall of Stature, and of a good Mean, (ſpoken of elſewhere) and appointed to prevent Diſorders in Aſſemblies, and to run about with ſpeed to carry the Orders, and to execute the Commands of the King.

I now wish I could lead you about in the *Seraglio*, as I have done in the rest of the Fortress: but who is the Traveller that can speak of that as an Eye-witness? I have sometimes entred into it when the King was not at *Dehli*, and I think pretty far, upon the occasion of a great Lady, that was so sick that she could not be carried to the Gate, according to custom; but I had always a Covering of *Kachemire* over my Head, which like a great Scarf hung down to my Feet, and an Eunuch conducted me by the Hand, like a blind Man, so that I cannot particularly describe to you what it is. Only in general I can tell you, according to what I have learnt from some Eunuchs, that in it there are very handsom Apartments severed one from another, more or less great and stately, according to the Quality and the Pensions of the Women; that there is almost no Chamber but it hath at its Door a Store-house of running Water; that 'tis full of Parterres, pleasant Walks, shady Places, Rivolets, Fountains, Jets of Water, Grotta's, great Caves against the heat of the day, and great Terrasses raised high, and very airy, to sleep upon in the cool: in a word, you know not there what 'tis to be hot. They principally boast of a little Tower respecting the River, being, say they, covered with Plates of Gold, as those two that are at *Agra*, and within all Gold and Azure, very handsom and rich Pictures and Looking-glasses.

This is very near what I can tell you of the Fortress, yet before we leave it, let us return once more to the *Am-kas*. I am now going to represent it to you after the manner I saw it at certain Festivals of the Year, especially at that which was kept after the War for an extraordinary rejoycing; for this is one of the most remarkable things I have seen.

The King appeared sitting upon his Throne, in the bottom of the great Hall of the *Am-kas*, splendidly apparelled. His Vest was of white Sattin flowred, and raised with a very fine Embroidery of Gold and Silk. His Turban was of Cloth of Gold, having a Fowl wrought upon it like an Heron, whose foot was covered with Diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great Oriental Topas, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little Sun. A Collar of big Pearls hung about his Neck down to his Stomach, after the manner that some Heathens wear here their great Beads. His Throne was supported by six high Pillars, or Feet, said to be of massie Gold, and set with Rubies, Emeralds and Diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious Stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity. Only this I can say, that the big Diamonds are there in confusion, and that the Throne is estimated to be worth four *Koreures* of Roupies, if I remember well. I have said elsewhere, that a *Roupie* is almost equivalent to half a Crown, a *Lecque* to an hundred thousand Roupies, and a *Koreur*, to an hundred Lecques: so that the Throne is valued forty millions of Roupies, which are worth about sixty millions of *French* Livers. *Chah-Jehan*, the Father of *Aureng-Zebe*, is he that caused it to be made, to shew so many precious Stones as successively had been amassed in the Treasury, of the Spoyls of those ancient *Patans* and *Rajas*, and of the Presents which the *Omrahs* are obliged to make yearly upon certain Festival days. The Art and Workmanship of this Throne is not answerable to the Matter: that which I find upon it best devised, are two Peacocks covered with precious Stones and Pearls, which are the work of a *French-man*, called——————that was an admirable Workman, and that after having circumvented many Princes with his Doublets, which he knew how to make admirably well, fled unto this Court, where he made his Fortune. Beneath this Throne there appeared all the *Omrahs* in splendid Apparel, upon a raised Ground covered with a great Canopy of purfled Gold with great golden Fringes, and inclosed by a silver Balistre. The Pillars of the Hall were hung with Tapestries of purfled Gold, having the ground of Gold; and for the roof of the Hall, there was nothing but great Canopies of flowred Sattin, fastened with red silken Cords, that had big tufts of Silk mixt with threads of Gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken Tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the Court there was set abroad a certain Tent they call the *Asper*, as long and large as the Hall and more. It was joyned to the Hall by the upper part, and reached almost as far as to the middle of the Court; mean time it was all inclosed by a great Balistre covered with Plates of Silver. It was supported by three Pillars, being of the thickness and height of a Barge-mast, and by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with Plates of Silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine *Chittes*, or Cloth painted by a Pencil of *Mastipatan*, purposely wrought and contrived

with

with such vivid Colours, and Flowers so natural drawn of an hundred several fashions and shapes, that one would have said, it were an hanging Parterre. Thus was the great Hall of the *Am-kas* adorned and set out.

As to those arched Galleries, which I have spoken of, that are round about the Court, each *Omrah* had received order to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled Gold above and beneath, and rich Tapestries under foot.

The third day of the Feast, the King caused himself to be weighed with great Ceremony, and after him divers *Omrahs*, in great Scales, and with Weights said to be of massie Gold. I remember that all the *Omrahs* expressed a great joy, that the King weighed two pounds more now than the year preceding.

Every year there are held such kind of Festivals, but never any was seen done with so much splendor and charge. It is said, that that which induced *Aureng-Zebe* to celebrate this splendid Feast, was nothing else but to make the Merchants of purfled Gold recover themselves, who had whole Magazins full of it, much spoiled in those four or five years of War, wherein they could not sell them. These Expences of the *Omrahs* were great; but the simple Cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the *Omrahs* after the Feast made them take off that Commodity to make Vests thereof.

There is an ancient Custom accompanying these Feasts, which little pleaseth the *Omrahs*: And it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair Presents to the King in proportion of their Pay. There are some, that to appear brave, or for fear of being searched for the Rapines by them committed in their Offices and Governments; or to purchase the Favour of the King, in the hopes of having their Pensions augmented, make him Presents that are extraordinary. Some (which is ordinary enough) do present fine Vessels of Gold set with precious Stones; others present fair Pearls, Diamonds, Emeralds, or Rubies; others (which also is very common) give him, without other Ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of Gold, that are worth about a Pistol and an half. I remember, that *Aureng-Zebe*, being gone to visit (during this great Festival) his Visir *Jafer-kan*, not as Visir, but as a Kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of Building, which he had caused to be raised anew, *Jafer-kan* presented him in these pieces of Gold, with the value of an hundred thousand Crowns, some good Pearls, and one Ruby valued forty thousand Crowns; but which *Chah-Jehan*, who was admirably well skill'd in Jewels, discovered not to be worth five hundred Crowns; the which perplexed the first Jewellers exceedingly, that had been deceived therein.

There is another thing sometimes attending these Feasts, which is odd enough: And that is a kind of Fair, then held in the *Mehale*, or the King's *Seraglio*. The Women of the *Omrahs* and of the great *Mansib-dars*, or little *Omrahs* (I mean those that are the handsomest and the most gallant) are the She-Merchants that keep the Fair, and sell Commodities; the King is the Merchant that buyeth, as also all those *Begums* or Princesses, and other great Ladies of the *Seraglio*. The Wares are fine purfled Gold, or rich Embroideries of the new fashion, some rich Ribbons well wrought upon Cloth of Gold, or some pieces of that fine Cloth which is worn by the great Ladies, and other such Merchandize of great price. If they have ever a handsom Daughter, they forget not to bring her along with them to let the King see her, and so make her known to those *Begums*. The jest of this Fair is, that the King comes to bargain with those She-Merchants, like a petty Merchant, penny by penny, contesting that they are not in earnest, that it is too dear, that he will give no more than so much; that the Merchandize of such an one is far better, and the like. The Women, on the other hand, do their best to make good their part, and without considering that 'tis the King, (which is the best of the sport) they contend and stand upon their price, till sometimes they come to high words, as that that is to be a Merchant of Snow, (one of their phrases) that he understands nothing in the matter of Wares, that he may go to another Place, that that Commodity is not for him, *&c.* The *Begums* do the like, or worse, for they sometimes fall to downright railing, so that there is such a cry and noise, and bouffonnery, that it cannot be parallel'd. But when any price is agreed on, who ever buyeth on this or that side, the King payeth, and the *Begums* pay, all with ready money: and it also falls out often enough, that the King and the *Begums*, instead of Silver Roupies, let slide (in favour of the handsom She-Merchant, or her Daughter) some Roupies of Gold, as if 'twere by mistake, and without taking notice of any thing. The She-Merchants also

take it in like manner, all passeth with expressions of rallery and gallantry. *Chah-Jehan*, who did not hate the Sex, would still multiply this Fair, and have it at all Festival days, though he knew it did not very well please some *Omrahs*. But there is one thing, which to me seems to be a little too extravagant; which is, that the publick Women, I mean not those of the *Bazar*, but those more retired and considerable ones, that go to the great marriages in the houses of the *Omrahs* and *Mansch-dars* to sing and dance, those that are called *Kenchen*, as if you should say, the *guilded*, the *blossoming* ones; that those, I say, did also enter in the time of *Chah-Jehan* into the *Seraglio* at such Fairs, and there passed even the whole night in singing and dancing. These are not of that sort which prostitute themselves promiscuously to all; and they are most of them handsome and well apparelled, and excellent singers and dancers, after the mode of the Country, surprising in the suppleness of their body, and the nimbleness of their motions, yet in the upshot of the rank of Publick Women. *Chah-Jehan* was not content only to have them come to the Seraglio at those Feasts, but when they came to salute him, according to that antient custom that obligeth them to come every Wednesday to do obeysance to the King in the *Amkas*, he often made them to enter there, and to pass all night with him in such sports and bouffonries, *Aureng-Zebe* is more serious, he suffers them not to come into the Seraglio: he permits only (not to abrogate the custom) that they may ordinarily come every Wednesday to give him the *Salam*, or Salute, in the *Am-kas*, at a distance, but they must presently return home again.

But since we are upon these Feasts and Fairs, and speak of these *Kenchens*, what hurt were it if I should tell you a story to make you merry, of one of our French Men; since *Plutarch* is of opinion, that *little* things are not always to be passed by, and that they often mind us more of the genius and temper of men than the *greatest*. This French Man called *Bernard*, was at this Court about the latter years of King *Jehan-Guire*. He must needs have been some good Physitian, and withal Excellent in Chirurgery, according to the relations that are made of him. He was welcome to *Jehan-Guire*, and became very familiar with him, to that degree that they drank and debauched together. Nor did this *Jehan-Guire* ever think on any thing, but a good cup and merriment, leaving the management of the State to his Wife, the renowned *Nour-Mehale*, or *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, which he used to say, had wit enough to govern the Empire without his giving himself any trouble about it. Besides that this our Country-man had of the King ten Crowns daily pay, he gained yet more by treating those great Ladies of the Seraglio, and the grand Omrahs, that all made use of him, and presented him who could best, because he was both successful in his Cures, and extraordinarily favoured by the King: But he was a man that could keep nothing, what he received with one hand, he at the same time gave away with the other, so that he was known and loved by all, especially by those *Kenchens*, upon whom he made great expences, having always a set of them that passed the night at his house in singing and dancing. Mean time he chanced to fall in love with one of these Women that was young and beautiful, and danced exceeding well; but the Mother apprehending least the Daughter, by prostituting her self, should lose her strength and vigor (as it will fall out) would not let her go out of her sight: so that *Bernard* could never find any other way to compass his ends but this. One day when the King made him a Present in the *Am-kas*, before all the Omrahs, for a considerable Cure he had done in the Seraglio, he very submissively gave his Majesty thanks, waving the Present, but instead of it, begged this favour of him, that he would vouchsafe to give him this young *Kencheny*, which he was amorous of, and which stood behind him, ready to make the usual obeysance to the King. The whole Assembly brake out out into laughter to see him wave the Present, and to hear him make so ridiculous a demand, he being a Christian, and the Woman a Mahometan and a *Kencheny*. But *Jehan-Guire*, who never troubled his head much with Mahometanism, and could not hold laughing aloud, presently commanded that this young Woman should be given him, saying, Lay her on his shoulders, and let him carry her away. So said, so done; and in the presence of the whole Assembly this *Kenchen* was put on *Bernard*'s back, who went away thus charged, and carried her to his house.

I cannot forbear giving you here an account of a divertisement, which usually these Feasts end with, and which is unknown to us in *Europe*: and that is the *combat* of the *Elephants*, which the King, the Ladies of the Court, and the Omrahs do behold from several apartments of the Fortress, and which is shewn before all the people in this great sandy place which looks to the River.

They

They raise a wall of earth three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. The two Elephants that are to fight, meet one another face to face, one on the one side of the wall, the other on the other, each having two Riders upon him, that so, if the first, who sits on his shoulders (having a great pointed iron in his hand, to turn the Beast on the right or left hand) should fall, the other, who sits backward, may cast himself into his place. These four Riders or Guides, do animate their Elephants to the Combat, and vigorously to fall upon their enemy, now flattering them, and by and by chiding them as cowards, and very rudely kicking them with their heels. After they have been a good while thus chafed and pusht on, then you shall see these two bulky masses come to the wall, and bluntly assault one another, and give such cruel blows with their teeth, head and trunk, that you would think they would soon strike one another dead. This fight continues a while, then ceaseth, and begins afresh several times, until the mud-wall being overthrown, the stoutest of the two passeth upon the other, maketh him turn his back, pursueth him with blows of his teeth and trunk, and gets such an hold-fast upon him, that there is no means of seperating them, except it be with the *Cherkys*, that is, certain artificial fires cast betwixt them, this Animal being very fearful of fire: whence it comes, that since Fire-arms have been used in Armies, Elephants do almost no good at all. It is true indeed, that some of those brave ones that come out of *Ceilan*, are not so timerous; but that is not till they have been whole years accustomed to it, by discharging every day Muskets before them, and by casting squibs between their legs. Mean time, this conflict of the Elephants would be no such displeasing sight, if it were not so cruel, it often happening, that some of those poor Guides are trod under foot and perish: for the Elephants in the combat have this malice, that they strive above all things to strike with their trunk, and to pull down the conductor of their adversary; and thence it is, that on the day when these poor Riders know they are to make the Elephants fight, they bid farewel to their Wives and Children, as if they were condemned to death. That which encourages and comforts them, is, that if they escape and quit themselves well of their duty, the King increases their pay, and commands a sack of *Peyssas*, which amounts to about fifty French Livres, to be forthwith given them, or if they be killed upon the spot, he orders that pay to be made to the Widow, and the Office to be given to his Son, if he have any. There is another mischief, which often accompanieth this combat; which is, that in this great throng there are always some persons overthrown by the Elephant, or trod under foot by the Horses and People, that on a sudden run away all at once, and fall one upon another, when the Elephants are enraged, and the one pursueth the other, so that then one cannot at any nearness look on but with danger. For my part, the second time I saw it, I did sufficiently repent for having approached so nigh, and if I had not had a good Horse, and two good Servants, I believe I should have paid for my curiosity as dear as others.

But 'tis time we should leave the Fortress, and return into the City, there to observe to you two things I had forgot. The first is the great *Mosquee*, seen afar off in the midst of the Town, standing upon a rock, flatted to build upon, and to make round about a large place for four long and fair Streets to end upon, and answering to the four sides of the Mosquee, *viz.* one to the principal Gate, or Frontispiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two Gates that are in the middle of the two remaining sides. To come to the Gates, there are twenty five or thirty steps of fair and large Stones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great Quarry-stones to cover the unevenes of the cut Rock: which contributes much to make this Fabrick make a shew. The three Entries are stately, there is nothing but Marble, and their large Gates are covered with Copper Plates exceedingly well wrought. Above the principal Gate, which is much statelier than the two others, there are many small Turrets of white Marble as well without as within; that in the middle is much bigger and higher than the two others. All the rest of the Mosquee, I mean from these three Domes unto the great Gate, is without covering, because of the heat of the Country; and the whole Pavement is of large squares of Marble. I grant willingly, that this structure is not according to the rules and orders of Architecture, which we esteem is indispensably to be followed; yet I observe nothing in it that offends the eye; but rather find all to be well contrived, and well proportioned: And I do even believe, that if in *Paris* we had a Church of this way of Architecture, it would not be disliked, if there were nothing else in it but that 'tis of an extraordinary and surprising aspect, and because that, excepting the three great Domes and all the Turrets, which are of

white

white Marble it appears all red, as if all were nothing else but great Tables of red Marble, though it be nothing else but a stone very easie to cut, and which even flaketh off in time. I shall add by the by, that if it be true what is said of the quarries of this stone, 'tis remarkable, that it grows again every year; whether it be by a petrescent water yearly filling it, or otherwise, I decide not.

This Mosquee it is to which the King repaireth every Friday (which is the Sunday of the Mahumetans) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the Fortress, the Streets he is to pass, are constantly watered because of the heat and dust. Two or three hundred Musquetiers are to stand and make a lane about the Gate of the Fortress, and as many more on the sides of a great Street that ends at the Mosquee. Their Musquets are small, but well wrought, and they have a kind of Scarlet-case with a little streamer upon them. Besides there must be five or six Cavaliers well mounted ready at the Gate, and ride at a good distance before the King, for fear of raising dust; and their office is to keep off the people. Things being thus prepared, the King is seen to come out of the Fortress seated upon an Elephant richly harnassed, under a Canopy with Pillars painted and guilded; or else on a Throne shining of Gold and Azure, upon two beams, covered with Scarlet or purfled Gold, carried by eight chosen and well accoutred men. The King is followed by a body of Omrahs, some of which are on horseback, some in a *Paleky*. Among these Omrahs there are many *Manseb-dars*, and Mace-Bearers, such as I have before spoken of. And though this be not that splendid and magnificent Procession, or rather Mascarade of the Grand Seignior, (I have no properer name for it) nor the warlike order of our Kings, it being altogether of another fashion, yet for all that there is something great and royal in it.

The *other* thing I had forgot to acquaint you with, is an Edifice in the City, called the *Karvansarah* of the Princess; the renowned *Begum-Saheb*, eldest Daughter of *Chah-Jehan*, having caused it to be built at her charges, and willing to contribute something to the decoration of the Town, as all the Omrahs strove to do to please *Chah-Jehan*. This is another great Square, arched like our *Palace-Royal*, but still with this difference, that one Arch is separate from the other by a wall, and that in the bottom of every Arch there is a little Chamber; and besides that, above the Arches there is a Gallery which rangeth round about the building, to enter into as many high Chambers, as there are below. This Place is the Rendezvous of all the great Merchants, *Persians*, *Usbecks*, and other Strangers that ordinarily do *there* find empty Chambers convenient enough, to stay in for some time in great safety, the Gate being shut every night. If there were a score of such Structures in divers parts of *Paris*, Strangers newly arriving would not be in that trouble, as often they are to find safe Lodgings; for *there* they might be until they had seen their Acquaintance, and looked for good Accomodation: besides that they would serve for Magazins of all sorts of Commodities, and for the Rendezvous of all Merchants Strangers.

Before we leave *Dehli*, I shall add a few lines in reference to this question, which doubtless you'l make, *viz.* Whether in *Dehli* there be as much People and Gallantry as at *Paris*? Certainly when I consider those three or four Cities of *Paris* that are one above another, all those Chambers and other Rooms full from top to bottom; when I farther consider that incredible throng and confusion of Men and Women, of Horse-men and Passengers on foot, of Chariots, Sedans and Coaches, and that there are but few great Piazzas and Gardens in *Paris*; this City seems to me a Nursery of the World, and I can hardly believe, that there are as many People in *Dehli*. Yet notwithstanding when I reflect upon that multitude of Shops on one side of *Dehli*, and on the other, upon the vast extent of that City, and that there are never less in it then 35000 Cavaliers, not to speak of the Houses of the *Omrahs*; that of all these Cavaliers, there are very few but have Wives and Children, and a great number of Servants having their Houses apart as their Masters; and that all these Houses swarm with Women and Children: that in many places of *Dehli*, though the Streets be broad, and there be but few Chariots and no Coaches, yet at the hours when the heat suffers People to come abroad for their business, there is great confusion: When (I say) I consider all this on the other hand, I do not well know what to determine about the question, and I imagine, that if there be not altogether so much People in *Dehli* as in *Paris*, at least there wants not much of it.

Concerning the number of gallant People, it must be acknowledged, that there is this difference between those of *Paris* and *Dehli*, that of ten Persons met with upon the Streets of *Paris*, you shall see seven or eight well cloathed and of some fashion, which

no

no Man will count raſcally or beggerly People; whereas in *Debli*, for two or three Perſons that are pretty well covered, you ſhall always find ſeven or eight poor and ragged People; the Army which is there drawing after it all that crew of Beggers and Raſcals. Yet this is to be acknowledged for a truth, that in *Debli*, as well as in *Paris*, one meets with a very great quantity of Perſons well made, gallant, well mounted, well dreſſed, and well attended: And indeed, to be upon the great Place before the Fortreſs at the hours when all thoſe Omrahs, Rajas, and Manſeb-dars go to the Aſſembly and to the Guard, that hath ſomething, great and ſplendid in it: when you ſhall ſee there every where arrive thoſe *Manſeb-dars* well accoutred, ſhining with Gold, and well mounted, a couple of Men going before them to make place, and as many behind; when you ſhall alſo ſee many of thoſe great *Omrahs* and *Rajas* riding upon proud Elephants, and ſome of them on Horſe-back like the *Manſeb-dars*, and moſt of them ſitting in their rich *Palekys*, carried upon the ſhoulders of ſix men, their back leaning againſt ſome thick Cuſhion of purfled Gold, chewing their *Betele*, to have a good breath and vermilion lips, with a Servant on the ſide carrying a Tooth-pick, and a Porcelain or ſilver Spitting-Veſſel; and two more, fanning him and keeping off the flies and duſt from him with Peacocks-tails; and three or four others marching before to put by the People; to which is to be added part of their Cavalry (I mean the braveſt and beſt mounted of them) following after: When, I ſay, all this is ſeen together marching, as hath been ſaid, with the crowd made there as well as at *Paris*, it will not be denied to be ſomething great and very gallant.

As to the Country about *Debli*, it is conſiderable for its fertility; for it beareth Rice, Millet, and three or four other ſorts of Legumes, (which is the ordinary food of the common People) Corn, Sugar, Indigo, and all that in abundance. At two leagues off the City on *Agra's* ſide, in a place by the Mahumetans called *Koja Kotubeddine*, there is a very antient Edifice which hath been a Temple of Idols, where are Inſcriptions that muſt alſo be very antient, the Characters of them being ſuch that no body knows what they are, and different from thoſe of all the Languages of the Indies.

On another ſide, at two or three leagues diſtance from the Town, you ſee an Houſe of pleaſure of the Kings, which indeed is a ſtately and Royal Houſe, but yet you muſt not think it approach to *Fontain-bleau*, or to St. *Germain*, or to *Verſaille*. Neither muſt you imagine that in this Campagne of *Debli* there are any *St. Cloux*, *Chantilly's*, *Meudons*, *Liancourts*, *Vaux*, *Ruelles*, and many ſuch others; or that you ſee there any of thoſe other inferior Houſes of pleaſure belonging to ſimple Gentlemen, Citizens and Merchants. The Maxime, That the Subjects of a Kingdom have no propriety in any thing, hinders all that.

Laſtly, to make you paſs quickly theſe fifty or ſixty leagues, which are betwixt *Debli* and *Agra*, you are not to think, that upon this road you ſhall ſee any ſuch large and rich burroughs as there upon our roads. Set aſide *Maturas*, where you ſee ſtill an antient and ſtately Temple of Idols, and excepting ſome *Karavan-ſarrahs*, that are well enough, found on the high-way to ſerve for night-lodgings, I find nothing conſiderable there, but that Royal Alley of Trees planted by the command of *Jehan-Guire*, and continued by the ſame order for an hundred and fifty leagues, with little Pyramids or Turrets erected every half league, to mark the ways, and with frequent wells to afford drink to Paſſengers, and to water the young Trees.

Of AGRA.

TO paſs to the deſcription of *Agra*, you have the *Idea* of it, if you have well taken that of *Debli*; at leaſt in reſpect of its ſcituation, which is alſo upon the Gemma, and in regard of the Fortreſs, or Royal Houſe, and of moſt of the Buildings. It is true, that *Agra* hath this advantage over *Debli*, that being a City where the Kings have already reſided a long while, *viz.* ſince *Akber*, who cauſed it to be built, and called it after his name *Akber-abad*, it is of greater extent then *Debli*, and hath more of thoſe fine Houſes of the *Omrahs* and *Rajas*, and more of the fair *Karvauſarrahs*, as alſo more of thoſe pretty Houſes of Stone and Brick belonging to particular Perſons; beſides that it hath two famous Tombs, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter: But then it hath theſe diſadvantages, that it wants Walls; that having been built altogether by one deſign, it hath not thoſe fair and large Streets of uniform buildings as *Debli*; and that excepting four or five of thoſe principal Streets of Merchants, which are very long and well

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enough built, all the reſt for the moſt part, is nothing but a number of little Streets, ſtreight without proportion, and nothing but windings and turnings; which cauſes ſtrange confuſions when the Court is there. I ſee no other difference between *Agra* and *Debli*, then that I have been juſt now ſpeaking of; except it be that *Agra* hath more of a Country Town then *Debli*, eſpecially when we look upon it from an higher place: But 'its not ſuch a Country-aſpect as diſgraceth it, but a very agreeable and divertiſing one; for, there being betwixt the Houſes of *Omrahs*, Rajas and others, ſtore of big green Trees mixt, every one having been curious to plant of them in his Garden and in his Court for ſhade; and beſides, thoſe high Houſes of the *Banians*, or Heathen Merchants, appearing here and there between thoſe Trees, as Reliques of old Caſtles of Forreſts; all that cauſeth within the Town very pleaſing ſights and perſpectives, eſpecially in a dry and hot Country, where Peoples eyes ſeem to deſire nothing but verdure and ſhade.

Mean time you need not go out of *Paris*, to find the moſt pleaſing and the moſt gallant ſight in the World. Take onely a walk upon the *Pontneuf*, attentively beholding in the day-time all things ſurrounding you, together with that incredible and ſtrange confuſion of People: and at night the infinite number of lights in the windows, of thoſe high buildings that are round about you; and the ſame confuſion which continues till after mid-night; the good Citizen, and (which you ſhall not ſee in any part of *Aſia*) the fair She-Citizen walking without fear of Robbers, and without the inconvenience of dirt: and then the long files of Stars that brave the wind, the rain and darkneſs. Take only, I ſay, ſuch a walk upon that Bridge, obſerving all thoſe things together, and then (upon my word) you may boldly maintain it, that you are upon the ſpot of the faireſt, braveſt and moſt magnificent artificial view of the Earth, unleſs it be ſome part of *China* or *Japan*, where I have not been. What will it be then when the *Louvre*, that work which was once thought would never be ſeen but in deſigu and upon paper, ſhall be finiſht? I have purpoſely added the word *Artificial*, becauſe ſpeaking of the beſt Perſpectives that are, we muſt always except *Conſtantinople*, when one is in a Boat in the midſt of that great Channel, over againſt the point of the *Seraglio*: For *there* you ſhall find your ſelf altogether ſurprized, as 'twere in the midſt of ſome great and vaſt inchanted Amphitheater; but in this Perſpective the Workmanſhip of *Nature* is moſt conſiderable, whereas in that of *Paris*, *Art* and *Dexterity* is moſt conſpicuous, which doubtleſs renders it more eminent, foraſmuch as thereby it looks more like the Seat of a great King, the Capital of a great Empire, and is really, without flattering our ſelves, and all thoſe beauties of *Debli*, *Agra*, and *Conſtantinople*, well conſidered and compared, the faireſt, the richeſt, and the chieteſt City of the World.

In *Agra* the Reverend Fathers the Jeſuits have a Church and a Colledge, where in private they teach the Children of ſome twenty five or thirty Chriſtian families, that have (I know not how) gathered and ſettled themſelves there by the charity of thoſe Fathers the Chriſtian Doctrine. It was *Ekbar* who (in the time of the great power of the *Portugueezes* in the *Indies*) called them, and gave them a penſion for their ſubſiſtence, permitting them to build Churches in the capital Cities of *Agra* and *Labor*. And his Son *Jehan-Guire* favoured them yet more. But *Chah-Jehan*, Son of *Jehan-Guire*, and Father of *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, took from them their penſion, cauſed their Church at *Labor* to be pulled down, and the greateſt part of that in *Agra*, overthrowing alſo the Steeple of the Church, wherein that Bell was that could be heard over all the Town.

Theſe Fathers the Jeſuits entertained great hopes of the progreſs of Chriſtianity in the time of King *Jehan-Guire*, becauſe of his contempt of the *Mahumetan* Law, and the eſteem he profeſſed to the *Chriſtian*, even giving way to two of his Nephews to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, and to a certain *Mirza-Zul-Karmin* (that had been bred in the Seraglio, and was circumciſed) to turn Chriſtian too, under the pretence that he born of Chriſtian Parents, and Son of the Wife of a rich *Armenian*, which *Jehan-Guire* had cauſed to be brought to him into the Seraglio.

The ſame Fathers ſay, that this King, to begin in good earneſt to countenance the Chriſtian Religion, deſigned to put the whole Court into the habit of the *Franqui*, and that after he had prepared all things for it, and even dreſſed himſelf in that faſhion, he called to him one of the chief Omrahs, asking his opinion of this dreſs; but that this Omrah altogether ſurprized at it, having anſwered him very ſeriouſly, that it was a very dangerous thing, he thought himſelf obliged to change his mind, and turned all into raillery.

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These Fathers affirm further, that he being upon the point of death, comm anded that they should be called to make him a Christian, but that then they were not made acquainted with it. Many say, that this is not so, and that he died as he had lived, without any Religion, and in the design he had, as well as his Father *Ekbar*, to set himself up for a Prophet, and to become the Head of a particular Religion of his own composure. However it be, there is another thing I have learned of a Mahumetan, that was Son to an Officer of *Jehan-Guire*, namely, that this King being one day in a debauche, called to him a certain Religious man of *Florence*, whom he called Father *Atech*, as being a little fiery man; and after he had commanded him to say all he could *against* the Law of Mahumet, and *for* the Law of Christ, in the presence of many knowing *Mullahs*, he would have made this terrible tryal of both those Laws, *viz.* That a great Pit should be made, and a good Fire in it, and that Father *Atech* with the *Gospel* under his arm, and one of those *Mullahs* with the *Alcoran* under his, should cast themselves both together into that fire, and that he would embrace the Law of him that should not burn. But that the sad countenance of the *Mullahs*, altogether astonisht, and the compassion he had of the *Florentine* Father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it. Whatever the truth be of this story; 'tis certain, that whilst *Jehan-Guire* lived, these Fathers were respected and honoured in this Court, and that they conceived great hopes of the advancement of Christianity in those parts; but that since that time they have had no great cause to hope much of it, except perhaps what they received by that familiarity, which our Father *Buzé* had with *Dara*. But I shall say no more of this matter of our Missions, intending to give you a particular long Letter of it another time.

Certainly I cannot but exceedingly approve of Missions, and the good Missionaries, especially our *Capucins* and *Jesuits*, and some others of our neighborhood, because they give meek instructions, without that indiscreet zeal and transport which is expressed by some others, and they charitably entertain the Christians of the Country in their Religion, whether they be Catholicks, or Greeks, or Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, or others; and forasmuch also as they are the refuge and comfort of poor Strangers and Travellers, and by their knowledge, sober and exemplary life, they confound the ignorance and licentious life of the Infidels: which some others do not always practise; who therefore would do better to keep themselves close in their Convents, and not come hither and give us a masquarade of our Religion, and by doing so, and by their ignorance, jealousie, loosness, and the abuse of their authority and character, become a stumbling-block to the Law of *Jesus Christ*. But a particular thing infers no general; and notwithstanding those miscarriages, I very much applaud the Missions, and pious and learned Missionaries, they are absolutely necessary: it is the honour and prerogative of Christianity, to have every where thorow the World Substitutes of the Apostles. But after all that I have seen, and after all the converse and discourse I have so often had with those obstinate Infidels, I may take leave to say, that I almost despair to see struck such great stroaks, as the Apostles did, who converted two or three thousand People in one Sermon: finding by experience, and knowing very well upon other accounts, after I have travelled through all the places of the Missions in the *East*, that all the Missionaries together, not only in the Indies, but in all the Mahumetan Dominions, do indeed by their Instructions, accompanied with Charity and Alms, make some progress among the *Gentils*, but do in ten years not make one Christian of a *Mahumetan*. Truly these *Infidels* have high thoughts of our Religion, they never speak of *Jesus Christ* but with great veneration; and they never pronounce the word *Ayssa*, that is to say, *Jesus*, without adding that of *Azeret*, which is *Majesty*. They even agree with us, that he was miraculously born of a Virgin-Mother, and that he is the *Kelum-Allah*, and the *Roub-Allah*, the Word of God, and the Spirit of God: but 'tis not to be hoped, that they will approve the rest of our Religion, so as to abandon theirs in which they were born, and their false Prophet, to embrace ours, what reasons soever be given them. Our Christians of *Europe* ought to wish, and even to employ their Power, Care and Charity, that Missionaries may be sent over all, such as may be no charge to the People of the Country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reasons already alledged, as for this cause, that they may be ever ready to lay hold on all occasions, always to bear witness to the Truth, and to labour in the Vineyard when it shall please God to give them an overture. But for the rest we ought to be disabused, and not to suffer our selves to be so easily perswaded of so many stories, and not to believe the thing to

be so facil as some make it. The Sect is too much libertine, and too attractive to quit it; it is a pernitious Law, which hath been introduced by Arms and Force, and still gets ground by those means: and I hardly know any other way capable to shake and root it out. If therefore there intervene not some of those grand and extraordinary stroaks of Heaven, and God by his powerful and particular Providence interpose not, (as we ought always to hope, according to the great appearance there have been in *China*, in *Japan*, and in the Person of King *Jehan-Guire*) considering the irreverence of the Christians in their Churches, so dissonant from our belief of the particular presence of God upon our Altars, and so different from that deep and astonishing respect which those Infidels bear to their Mosquees, where they would not so much as turn their heads, or speak the least word to one another; there will alwayes be great obstacles to their Conversion.

In *Agra* the *Hollanders* have also an House, where ordinarily they keep four or five persons. Formerly they had a good trade there in selling Scarlet, great and small Looking-glasses, plain Lace, and Gold and Silver Lace, and some small Wares; and in buying *Indigo*, which is gathered round about *Agra*, but especially at *Biannes*, but two leagues distant from it, and whither they go once a year, having an house there for that purpose; as also in buying those cloths of *Jelapour* and *Lahaun*, at seven or eight days journey from *Agra*, where they also keep an house, and whither they send some Factors once a year. But now they say, that there is little profit for them in that trade, whether it be that the *Armenians* drive the same traffick, or that 'tis so far from *Agra* to *Suratte*, or that commonly some mischief or other befalls their *Caravanes*, which must pass by *Amadavad* over all the Countries of the *Rajas* to avoid the ill ways, and the mountains that are on the side of *Gualeor* and *Brampour*, which is the nearer way. Yet notwithstanding these discouragements, they will never (I believe) abandon this Factory, as the *English* have done theirs in that place, if it were for nothing else but their Spices, which there they sell very well, and for having some of their People near the Court taking care of their concerns: since it cannot be otherwise, but that frequently some trouble will befal their Factories by the tyranny of the Governors and other Officers, now from the side of *Bengala* and *Patna*, another time from *Suratte* and *Amadavad*.

We will conclude this part with those two wonderful *Mausolees*, or Tombs, that give to *Agra* so much advantage over *Dehli*. It was *Jehan-Guire* that caused the first to be erected to honour the memory of his Father *Eckbar*; and *Chah-Jehan* raised the other in honour of *Taje-Mehale* his Wife, that extraordinary and celebrated Beauty of the Indies, whom he loved so passionately, that 'tis said, he never enjoyed any other Woman but her whilst she lived, and that when she died, he was in danger to die himself.

I shall not stay to discourse of the Monument of *Eckbar*, because whatever beauty is there, is found in a far higher degree in that of *Taje-Mehale*, which I am now going to describe unto you. You may therefore represent to your self, that at the going out of the City of *Agra* East-ward, you enter into a long and broad paved street, which riseth gently, and hath on one side an high and long wall, making the side of a square Garden that is much bigger then our *Palace-Royal*; and on the other side a row of new houses arched, such as are those of the principal Streets of *Dehli* above spoken of. Having gone the length of half the Wall, you shall find on the right hand of the side of the Houses a great Gate well made, by which one enters into a *Caravan-serah*, and over against it on the walls side, a stately Gate of a great square Pavilion, by which you enter into the Garden between two Conservatories built up with Freestone. This Pavilion is longer then 'tis large, built of a Stone like red Marble, but not so hard. The Frontispiece seems to me very magnificent after their way, and as high as that of St. *Louys* in the Street of St. *Antony*. It is true, you do not there see Columns, Archi-traves, and Cornishes cut out after the proportion of those Five Orders of Architecture so religiously observed in our Palaces: it is a different and particular kind of structure, but such an one as wants no agreeableness even in the unusualness of its contrivance, and which in my opinion, would very well deserve a place in our Books of Architecture. 'Tis almost nothing but Arches upon Arches, and Galleries over Galleries, disposed and ordered an hundred different ways; and yet all appears stately, well enough contrived and managed. There is nothing that offends the eye; on the contrary all is pleasing, and a man cannot be weary in beholding it. The last time I saw it, I was there with one of our French Merchants, who also could not behold it enough. I durst not tell him my thoughts of it, apprehending I might have spoiled my gust, and framed it according

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ing to that of *Indostan*: but he being lately come from *France*, I was very glad to hear him say, he had never seen any thing so august and bold in *Europe*.

After you are somewhat entred into the Pavilion to pass into the Garden, you find your self under an high Vault made like a Cap, which hath Galleries above round about and below, on the right and left side, two Divans or Causeys, made up of earth of eight or ten foot high. Opposite to the Gate there is a great Arch quite open, by which you enter into an Alley, which cuts almost the whole Garden into two equal parts. This Alley is by way of terrasse so large, as that six Coaches can pass on it abrest, paved with great squares of hard Stone, raised some eight foot high above the Garden-plots, and divided in the middle by a Channel walled up with Free-stone, having jets of water at certain distances. After you have gone twenty five or thirty paces upon this Alley, turning your eye to behold the Entry, you see the other face of the Pavilion, which though it be not comparable to that which looks to the Street, yet wants not its stateliness, being high and of a structure approaching the other. And on both sides of the Pavilion, along the wall of the Garden, you see a long and profound gallery by way of terrasse, supported by many low columns near one another. And in this Gallery 'tis, that during the season of the rains, the Poor are permitted to enter, who come there thrice a week, receiving Alms from a foundation made there by *Chah-Jehan* for ever.

Advancing further in this Alley, you discover at a distance before you a great *Dome*, where is the Sepulchre, and below on the right and left hand you see divers Alleys of a Garden set with Trees, and several Parterres covered with Flowers. At the end of this Alley, besides the Dome before you, you discover on the right and left two great Pavilions, built of the same Stone, and consequently looking all red as the first. These are great and spacious square Edifices, made by way of Terrasse, opening by three Arches, and having at the bottom the wall of the Garden, so that you march under them as if they were high and large Galleries.

I shall not stay to describe unto you the Ornaments within these Pavilions, because in respect of their Walls, Ground-plot, and Pavement, they are not much unlike the Dome, which I am going to delineate unto you, after I shall have observed, that between the end of the Alley (which we have spoken of) and the Dome, there is a pretty large space of a floor, which I call a Water-Parterre, because that the diversly cut and figured Stones you march upon, are there instead of the Box-Wood of *our* Parterres. And 'tis from the midst of this Parterre, that you may conveniently see a part of this Edifice, where the Sepulchre is, which remains now to be considered.

It is a great and vast *Dome* of white Marble, which is near the height of that of our *Val de Grace* in *Paris*, surrounded with many Turrets of the same matter with Stairs in them. Four great Arches support the whole Fabrick, three of which are visible, the fourth is closed in by the wall of an Hall, accompanied with a Gallery, where certain *Mullahs* (entertained for that end) do continually read the *Alcoran*, with a profound respect to the honour of *Taje-Mehalle*. The mould of the Arches is inriched with Tables of white Marble, wherein are seen engraven large *Arabian* Characters of black Marble, which is very agreeable to behold. The interior or concave part of this Dome, and the whole wall from top to bottom is covered with white Marble; and there is no place which is not wrought with Art, and hath not its peculiar Beauty. You see store of Agat, and such sorts of Stones, as are employed to inrich the Chappel of the great Duke of *Florence*; much Jasper, and many other kinds of rare and pretious Stones, set a hundred several ways, mixt and enchased in the Marble that covers the body of the Wall. The Quarries of white and black Marble, that make the floor, are likewise set out with all imaginable beauty and stateliness.

Under this Dome is a little Chamber inclosing the Sepulchre, which I have not seen within, it not being opened but once a year, and that with great Ceremony, not suffering any Christian to enter, for fear (as they say) of Prophaning the Sanctity of the place: but really by what I could learn, because it hath nothing rich or magnificent in it.

There remains nothing else, then to give you occasion to take notice of an Alley in the fashion of a Terrasse, twenty or twenty five ordinary paces large, and as many or more high; which is betwixt the Dome and the extremity of the Garden, whence you see below you, at the foot of it, the River of *Gemna* running along, a great campagne of Gardens, a part of the Town of *Agra*, the Fortress, and all those fair Houses of the *Omrahs* that are built along the water. There remains no more, I say, then to cause you to observe this *Terrasse*, which taketh up almost the whole length of one side of the

Garden, and then to desire you to judge, whether I had reason to say, that the *Mausoleum*, or Tomb of *Taje-Mehale*, is something worthy to be admired. For my part, I do not yet well know, whether I am not somewhat infected still with *Indianisme*; but I must needs say, that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongst the wonders of the World, rather then those unshapen masses of the Ægyptian Pyramids, which I was weary to see after I had seen them twice, and in which I find nothing *without*, but pieces of great Stones ranged in the form of steps one upon another, and *within* nothing but very little Art and Invention.

A Letter written to Mr. *Chapelain*, sent from *Chiras* in *Persia*, *Octob.* 4. 1667. concerning the Superstitions, strange Fashions, and Doctrin of the Native Indies, or Gentiles of *Indostan*. Whence may be seen, that there are no Opinions so ridiculous, and so extravagant, which the spirit of Man is not capable of.

SIR,

IF I should live whole ages, I know not whether I could ever forget those two Eclipses of the Sun, of which I saw one in *France* in the Year 1654. and the other in the *Indies* at *Debli* in the Year 1666. if I remember aright. The former seemed very remarkable to me upon the account of the childish credulity of our common people; and of that pannick terror which had so seized the heart, that some bought Drugs against the Eclipse; others kept themselves close in the dark in their Caves, and their well-closed Chambers; others cast themselves in great multitudes into the Churches: *Those* apprehending some malign and dangerous influence, and *these* believing that they were come to their last day, and that the Eclipse would shake the foundations of Nature, and overturn it, notwithstanding any thing that the *Gassendi's*, *Robervals*, and many other famous Philosophers could say or write against this perswasion, when they demonstrate, that this Eclipse was of the same nature with so many others that had preceded without any mischief, and that it was a known accident, foreseen and ordinary, which had nothing peculiar, but what some cheating Astrological Mountebanks might have devised.

That which I saw at *Debli* seemed also very considerable to me, by reason of the ridiculous Errors and Superstitions of the *Indians*. At the time when the said Eclipse was to appear, I went up to the Terrasse of my house, which was scituate on the side of the River *Gemna*, thence I saw both sides of the River, for near a league in length, covered with the Heathen Idolaters, that stood in the water up to their girdle, demurely looking up into the sky, to the end that they might plunge and wash themselves at the moment when the Eclipse should begin. The little Boys and Girls were stark naked; the men were almost so too, but that they had a kind of scarf round about their thighs to cover their nakedness: and the married Women, together with the young Maids that were not above six or seven years old, were covered with a single cloth. Persons of condition, as the *Rajas*, or soveraign Princes of those Gentils, (who commonly are about the Person, and in the pay of the King) and the *Serrabs* or Exchangers, the Banckers, Jewellers, and other great Merchants, were most of them gone to the other side of the water with all their family, and had there put up their Tents, and fastned in the River certain *Kanates*, which are a kind of skreens, to perform their Ceremonies, and conveniently to wash themselves with there Wives, so as not to be seen by others. These Idolaters no sooner saw the Eclipse begin, but they raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; standgin

ing up afterwards in the water, and lifting up their eyes and hands to Heaven, muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw up towards the Sun, bowing down their heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, and thus continuing their plunging, praying and apiſhneſs unto the end of this Eclipſe; at which time every one retired, caſting ſome pieces of Silver a good way off into the water, and giving alms to the *Brachmans* or men of the Law, who failed not to be at that Ceremony. I took notice, that at their going out of the water, they all took new cloathes that were laid ready for them folded up on the ſand, and that many of the devouter ſort left there their old garments for the Brachmans. And in this manner did I ſee from my Terraſſe this great ſolemnity of the Eclipſe; which was celebrated after the ſame manner in the River *Indus* and *Ganges*, and in all the other Rivers, as alſo in the Receivers of water in the *Indies*, but eſpecially in that of the *Tanaiſer*, where were met together above an hundred and fifty thouſand perſons, come together from all parts of the Indies, becauſe the water of it is on that day reputed more holy and efficacious than on any other.

The great Mogol, though he be a Mahumetan, ſuffers theſe Heathens to go on in theſe old ſuperſtitions, becauſe he will not, or dareth not croſs them in the exerciſe of their Religion, and beſides it is not performed without preſenting him, by the hands of the *Brachmans* as Commiſſioners, a *Leeque* or an hundred thouſand Roupies, which are worth above fifty thouſand Crowns, for which he returns nothing but a few Veſts and an old Elephant. Now you ſhall ſee thoſe ſolid reaſons (forſooth) which they alledge for this Feaſt, and for the Ceremonies by them obſerved in it.

We have (ſay they) our four *Berbs*, that is, Books of the Law, Sacred and Divine Writings, given us by God through the hands of *Brahma*. Theſe Books do teach us that a certain *Deuta*, which is a kind of corporeal Divinity, very malign and miſchievous, very black and very filthy (theſe are their own expreſſions in their language) ſeizeth on the Sun, blackens it as 'twere with ink, and ſo darkens it: *That* this Sun, which is alſo a *Deuta*, but of the beſt and the moſt beneficent and perfect Divinities, is at that time in very great pains and terrible anguiſh, to ſee himſelf thus ſeized on and miſuſed by that black villain: That 'tis a general duty to endeavour to deliver him from this miſerable condition; which cannot be effected but by the force of prayers, waſhings and alms, and that theſe actions are of a very extraordinary merit to ſuch a degree, that an alms given at that time is worth an hundred given at another. Who is there, ſay they, that would not give *cent pour cent?*

Sir, theſe are the two Eclipſes I ſpoke of which I ſhall hardly ever forget, and which miniſter occaſion to me to proceed to ſome other extravagancies of theſe Gentils, whence you may draw what conſequences you ſhall pleaſe.

In the Town of *Jagannat*, which is ſeated upon the Gulf of *Bengala*, and where is that famous Temple of the Idol of the ſame name, there is yearly celebrated a certain Feaſt, which laſts eight or nine days, if I remember well. There is found an incredible number of people, as there was antiently in the Temple of *Hammon*, and as 'tis at this day at *Mecca*. This number, 'tis ſaid, amounts ſometimes to above an hundred and fifty thouſand perſons. They make a ſtately Engin of wood, as I have ſeen of them in many other places of the Indies, with I know not how many extravagant figures, almoſt ſuch as we are wont to paint Monſters with two heads or bodies, half man and half beaſt, or gigantick and terrible heads, Satyrs, Apes or Devils; which Engin is put upon fourteen or ſixteen wheels, ſuch as the Carriages of Cannons may be, which fifty or ſixty perſons more or leſs do draw, or thruſt forwards: Upon the middle of it appears moſt conſpicuouſly the Idol *Jagannat*, richly dreſſed and adorned, which is thus tranſported from one place to another.

The firſt day that they ſhew this Idol with Ceremony in the Temple, the crowd is uſually ſo great to ſee it, that there is not a year, but ſome of thoſe poor Pilgrims, that come afar off, tired, and haraſſed, are ſuffocated there; all the people bleſſing them for having been ſo happy, as to die on ſo holy an occaſion. And when this Helliſh Triumphant Chariot marcheth, there are found (which is no Fable) perſons ſo fooliſhly credulous and ſuperſtitious as to throw themſelves with their bellies under thoſe large and heavy wheels, which bruiſe them to death, having ſuffered themſelves to be perſwaded, that there is no action ſo heroick nor ſo meritorious as that, and that *Jagennat* will at the ſame time receive them as his Children, and cauſe them to be born again in a ſtate of felicity and glory.

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The *Brachmans* for their particular advantage and intereſt, I mean that of Alms and Reſpect given to them as Perſons devoted to theſe Myſteries, do entertain the People in theſe errors and ſuperſtitions, and they proceed even to ſuch infamous cheats and Villanies, that I could never have believed them, if I had not fully informed my ſelf of it. Theſe Impoſtors take a young Maid, of the faireſt they can meet with, to be the Bride (as they ſpeak, and bear the beſotted people in hand) of *Jagannat*, and they leave her all night in the Temple (whither they have carried her) with the Idol, making her believe that *Jagannat* himſelf will come and embrace her, and appointing her to ask him, Whether it will be a fruitful Year, what kind of Proceſſions, Feaſts, Prayers and Alms he demands to be made for it. In the mean time one of theſe luſtful Prieſts enters at night by a little back-door into the Temple, deflowreth this young Maid, and maketh her believe any thing he pleaſeth; and the next day, being tranſported from this Temple into another with the ſame magnificence, ſhe was carried before upon the Chariot of Triumph on the ſide of *Jagannat* her Bridegroom; theſe *Brachmans* make her ſay aloud before all the people, whatſoever ſhe had been taught of theſe Cheats, as if ſhe had learnt it from the very mouth of *Jagannat*. But let us go on (if you pleaſe) to follies of another kind.

Before this Chariot, and often in the very Temples of the Idols, on Feſtival days, you ſhall ſee publick Women dance, making an hundred indecent and extravagant poſtures; and yet the *Brachmans* find a way to accord all that with their Religion. I have ſeen ſome Women, that are not only famous for their beauty, but alſo for great reſervedneſs, which refuſed very conſiderable preſents of certain Mahumetans and Chriſtians, and even of Heathen ſtrangers, as if they were only dedicated to the Miniſtery and the Miniſters of *Deura*, or the Idol Temple to the *Brachmans* and theſe *Fakires*, which are there ſeated moſt of them upon aſhes round about, altogether naked with their fearful hair of *Megera*, and in the poſture I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. But let us ſtay no longer upon theſe follies.

There are ſo many Writers of voyages relating the cuſtom of the *Indian* Women, burning themſelves with their Husbands, that I think ſomething will at laſt be believed of it. For my part, I am going to take my turn alſo, and to write to you of it like others; yet in the mean time obſerving withall, that 'tis not all true what is ſaid of it, and that now they do not burn themſelves in ſo great a number as formerly, becauſe the Mahumetans, that bear ſway at preſent in *Indoſtan*, are enemies to that barbarous cuſtom, and hinder it as much as they can; not oppoſing it abſolutely, becauſe they are willing to leave their idolatrous people, who are far more numerous then themſelves, in the free exerciſe of their Religion, for fear of ſome revolt: but by indirectly preventing it, in that they oblige the Women, ready to burn themſelves, to go and ask permiſſion of the reſpective Governors, who ſend for them, make converſe with their own Women, remonſtrate things to them with annexed promiſes, and never give them this permiſſion, but after they have tryed all theſe gentle ways, and till they find them fixt in their ſottiſh reſolution. Which yet hinders not but that many burn themſelves, eſpecially of thoſe that live upon the Lands of the *Rajas*, where no Mahumetan Governors are. I ſhall not ſtay to give you the hiſtory of all thoſe, which I have ſeen burn themſelves; that would too be long, and too tedious: I ſhall only relate unto you two or three Examples of them, whence you may judge of the reſt; but firſt you ſhall have the relation of a Woman, which I was ſent unto to divert her from ſuch a miſchievous deſign.

A friend of mine, called *Bendidas*, the firſt Clerk of my *Agah Damechmend-kan*, died of an Hectick, having been treated by me above two years. His Wife immediately reſolv'd to burn her ſelf, together with the Body of her Husband; but her Parents, by the order of my *Agah*, whoſe ſervants they were, endeavour'd to diſſwade her from it, repreſenting to her, that though it were indeed a generous and laudable reſolution, and would be a great honour and happineſs in the Family, yet ſhe ought to conſider, that her Children were yet little, that ſhe could not abandon them, and that ſhe was to prefer their good, and the affection ſhe had for them, to the love ſhe had for her Husband, and to her own ſatisfaction. Theſe Parents not having been able to prevail with her by all theſe repreſentments, bethought themſelves to deſire me to go to her, as ſent from my *Agah*, and as an antient friend to the Family. I went and when I came, I did, as ſoon as I came in, ſee a cluſter of ſeven or eight fearful old Women, together with four or 5 infatuated and brain-ſick *Brachmans*, who all cried by turns, beating their hands about

about the dead Corps, and the Widow in her loose hair, looking pale, yet with dry and sparkling Eyes, sitting and crying also aloud, and beating her Hands, as the rest with a kind of Cadency, upon the Feet of her Husband. The out-cry and noise being ended, I approach'd to this Company of people, and addressing my self to the Widow, I gave her softly to understand, that I came from *Danechmend-kan*; that he had appointed a monthly Pension of two Crowns, to each of her two Sons, but on condition that she should not burn her self, to the end, that she might take care of them, and breed them up as was fit; that else we knew ways enow to hinder her from burning her self, if she were obstinate for it, and to make those repent, that should allure and incite her to such an unreasonable resolution, especially since none of her Kindred was satisfied with it, and that she would not be counted infamous, as those are that want the resolution to burn themselves after the death of their Husbands, when they have no Children. I often inculcated to her all these considerations, without hearing a word of answer from her; though at last she said, looking fiercely upon me: Well, if I am hindred to burn my self, I am resolved to break my head against the Wall. Then said I by my self; What Diabolical fury doth possess thee? And to her I answer'd, full of indignation: Then take thy Children, thou unhappy Creature, and cut their Throats, and burn them with thee; for they will be starved, I being now ready to return to *Danechmend-kan*, and to annull their Pension. These words being spoken by me, with the loudest and most menacing tone I could, made impression upon the spirit of this Woman, and upon that of all the assistants: She presently, without any reparty, let her Head sink down upon her knees, and most of the old Women and *Brachmans* went away. Whereupon her Relations, that were come with me, entred and parlied with her. And I, thinking I had done enough, took Horse, and came away to my Lodgings, supposing they would do the rest well enough. In short, about evening, when I was going to give an account to my *Agah* of what I had done, I met with her Parents, who thank'd me, and said, that the dead Corps had been burnt, and the Widow perswaded to remain alive.

Concerning the Women that have actually burn'd themselves, I have so often been present at such dreadful spectacles, that at length I could endure no more to see it, and I retain still some horrour when I think on't. Yet I shall represent to you some of them, but pretend not to express to the life, with what courage and resolution these poor Women atchieved such a direful Tragedy; for there is nothing but the Eye it self that can exhibit a right *idea* thereof.

When I was passing from *Amadevad* to *Agra*, over the Lands of the *Rajas*, that are in those parts, there came news to us in a Burrough, where the Caravane rested under the shade (staying for the cool of the evening, to march on in their journey) that a certain Woman was then upon the point of burning her self with the Body of her Husband. I presently rose and ran to the place where it was to be done, which was a great Pit, with a Pile of wood raised in it, whereon I saw laid a dead Corps, and a Woman, which at a distance seem'd to me pretty fair, sitting near it on the same Pile; besides four or five *Brachmans*, putting the Fire to it from all sides; five Women of a middle age, and well enough dressed, holding one another by the Hand, and dancing about the Pit, and a great Crowd of People, Men and Women, looking on. The Pile of Wood was presently all on fire, because store of Oyl and Butter had been thrown upon it, and I saw at the same time through the flames, that the Fire took hold of the Cloaths of the Woman, that were imbued with well-scented Oyls mingled with Powder of Santal and Saffron. All this I saw, but observed not, that the Woman was at all disturbed; yea, it was said, that she had been heard to pronounce with great force these two words, *Five*, *Two*, to signifie, according to the Opinion of those that hold the Souls Transmigration, that this was the *5th.* time she had burnt her self with the same Husband, and that there remain'd but *two* times for perfection; as if she had at that time this Remembrance, or some Prophetical Spirit. But here ended not this Infernal Tragedy: I thought it was only by way of ceremony, that these five Women sung and danced about the Pit; but I was altogether surprised, when I saw, that the flame having taken hold of the cloaths of one of them, she cast her self with her Head foremost into the Pit, and that, after her, another, being overcome by the flame and smoak did the like: And my astonishment redoubled afterwards, when I saw, that the remaining three took one another again by the Hand, continued their dance without any apparent fear, and that at length they precipitated themselves, one after another into the fire, as their companions had done. It troubled me sufficiently, that I knew not what that

meant;

meant ; but I learnt ſhortly after, that theſe had been five Slaves, who, having ſeen their Miſtreſs extreamly afflicted at the ſickneſs of her Husband, and heard her promiſe him, that ſhe would not ſurvive him, but burn her ſelf with him, were ſo touch'd with compaſſion and tenderneſs towards this their Miſtreſs, that they engaged themſelves in a promiſe to follow her in her reſolution, and to burn themſelves with her. Many perſons, whom I then conſulted about this cuſtome of Women burning themſelves with the Bodies of their Husbands, would perſwade me, that what they did was from an exceſs of affection they had for them : But I underſtood afterwards, that it was only an effect of Opinion, prepoſſeſſion and cuſtome ; and that the Mothers, from their youth beſotted with this ſuperſtition, as of a moſt vertuous and moſt laudable action, ſuch as was unavoidable to a Woman of honour, did alſo infatuate the ſpirit of their Daughters from their very infancy : Although, at the bottom, it was nothing elſe but an Art of the Men, the more to enſlave their Wives, thereby to make them have the more care of their health, and to prevent poiſoning of them.

But let us proceed to another Tragedy, which I ſhall rather repreſent to you than many others, at which I have been preſent, becauſe it hath ſomething uncommon in it. 'Tis true, I was not there my ſelf ; but you may do as I, who do not ſtand out againſt crediting theſe things, becauſe I have ſeen ſo many of them which ſeem'd incredible to me. This action is grown ſo famous in the *Indies*, that no body doubts of it, and it may be, that even your ſelf have already heard of it in *Europe*.

'Tis of a Woman, that was engaged in ſome Love-intrigues with a young Mahumetan her Neighbour, that was a Tailor, and could play finely upon the Tabor. This Woman in the hopes ſhe had of marrying this young man, poiſon'd her Husband, and preſently came away to tell her Tailor, that it was time to be gone together as they had projected, or elſe that ſhe ſhould be obliged to burn her ſelf. The young Man fearing, leſt he might be entangled in a miſchievous buſineſs, flatly refuſed her. The Woman, not at all ſurprized at it, went to her Relations, and advertiſed them of the ſudden death of her Husband, and openly proteſted that ſhe would not ſurvive him, but burn her ſelf with him. Her Kindred well ſatisfied with ſo generous a reſolution, and the great honour ſhe did to the whole Family, preſently had a Pit made, and filled with Wood, expoſing the Corps upon it, and kindling the Fire. All being prepar'd, the Woman goes to embrace and bid farewell to all her Kindred that were there about the Pit, among whom was alſo the Tailor, who had been invited to play upon the Tabor that day, with many others of that ſort of Men, according to the cuſtome of the Country. This fury of a Woman being alſo come to this young Man, made as if ſhe would bid him farewell with the reſt ; but in ſtead of gently embracing him, ſhe taketh him with all her force about his Collar, pulls him to the Pit, and tumbleth him together with her ſelf into the Ditch, where they both were ſoon diſpatch'd.

She which I ſaw burn her ſelf, when I parted from *Suratte* to travel into *Perſia*, in the preſence of Monſieur *Chardin* and *Paris*, and of many Engliſh and Dutch, was of a middle age and not unhandſome. To repreſent unto you the undaunted chearfulneſs, that appear'd in her countenance, the reſolution with which ſhe marched, waſh'd her ſelf, ſpoke to the people ; the confidence with which ſhe look'd upon us, view'd her little Cabin, made up of very dry Millet-ſtraw and ſmall Wood, went into this Cabin, and ſate down upon the Pile, and took her Husband's Head into her Lap, and a Torch into her own Hand, and kindled the Cabin, whilſt I know not how many *Brachmans* were buſie in kindling the fire round about : To repreſent unto you, I ſay, all this, as it ought, is not poſſible for me ; I can at preſent ſcarce believe it my ſelf, though it be but a few days ſince I ſaw it.

'Tis true, that I have ſeen ſome of them, which at the ſight of the Pile and Fire, appear'd to have ſome apprehenſion, and that perhaps would have gone back, but 'tis often too late : Thoſe Demons, the *Brachmans*, that are there with their great Sticks, aſtoniſh them, and hearten them up, or even thruſt them in ; as I have ſeen it done to a young Woman that retreated five or ſix paces from the Pile, and to another that was much diſturbed when ſhe ſaw the Fire take hold of her Cloaths, theſe Executioners thurſting her in with their long Poles. Yet I have often ſeen one, that is ſtill a handſome Woman, and had ſaved her ſelf out of their Hands, falling into the Hands of the *Gadous*, that ſometimes meet there in great numbers, when they know that 'tis ſome fair and young Woman that is to be burnt, and that hath no great Kindred, nor much Company with her : For the Women that are afraid of the Pile, and fly away from it, know-

knowing that they cannot be received again amongst the Gentiles, nor live with them, because they repute them infamous, after they have committed such a fault, and brought such a disgrace upon their Religion, such Women, I say, are ordinarily the prey of this kind of Men, who are also counted infamous in the *Indies*, and that have nothing to loose. A *Mogalian* durst not save, nor receive any, for fear of bringing himself into great trouble. Some *Portugueses* living in Sea-ports, where they were strongest, have sometimes carried away some of them. For my part, I have often been so enraged against those *Brahmans*, that if I durst, I had strangled them. I remember, among others, that at *Labor*, I saw a very handsome and a very young Woman burn'd: I believe she was not above twelve years of age. This poor unhappy Creature appear'd rather dead then alive, when she came near the Pile; she shook, and wept bitterly: Mean time three or four of these Executioners, the *Brahmans*, together with an old Hag, that held her under the Arm, thrust her on, and made her sit down upon the Wood, and least she should run away, they tied her Legs and Hands, and so burn'd her alive. I had enough to do to contain my self for indignation; but I was forced to content my self with detesting this horrid Religion, and to say by my self, what the Poet once said of such another, upon the occasion, of *Iphigenia*, whom her own Father *Agamemnon* sacrificed to *Diana*, for the interest of the *Grecians*, amongst whom he was one of the principal Leaders.

———*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!*

These are certainly very barbarous and very cruel Customes, but that which the *Brahmans* do in some other places of the *Indies* is yet more so: For instead of burning those Women that will dye upon the death of their Husbands, they bury them in the ground alive up to the very Throat, and then two or three of them fall at once upon them, and wring their Neck round, and so choak them, covering them quickly with some earth, and then marching over their Heads. But let us pass to some other Customes of those Countries.

Most of the Gentiles burn their dead; but some there are, that do no more than with some Straw broil them on a Rivers side, casting them thereupon from the height of a steep Bank into the Water: Which I have often seen upon the River *Ganges*.

Some of these Gentiles there are, who, when they perceive a sick person near death carry him to the side of a River (at which barbarous action I have been once present) and then first put his Feet into the Water, and afterwards let him slide down as far as to his Throat, and then when they think he is now expiring, they sink him quite under Water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their Hands: And this, *say they*, to the end that the Soul leaving the body may be wash'd from all the impurities, she may have contracted in the Body. And this is not only a reason given by the Vulgar; for I have spoken with the most Learned of them, who deliver'd the same with great seriousness. But let us go on to other extravagancies.

Amongst that vast number and great variety of *Fakires*, *Dervishes*, or Religous Heathens of the Indies, there is abundance of them that have Convents, in which there are Superiours, and wherein they make certain vows of Chastity, Poverty, and Obedience, leading so odd a life, that I doubt whether you can give credit to it. These are commonly called *Janguis*, as if you should say, *United to God*. You shall see many of them sit stark naked, or lie days and nights upon Ashes, and commonly enough, under some of those large trees, that are on the sides of the *Talabs* or Ponds, or else in those Galleries that are about their *Deurat* or Idol-temples. Some of them have their Hair hanging down to the middle of their Legs, and that wreathed into several parcels, as the large Main of our Barbes, or rather as the Hair of those that have the sickness of *Poland* called the *Plica*. Of these I have seen some in divers places, who held one Arm, and sometimes both, lifted up perpetually above their Heads, and that had at the end of their Fingers wreathed Nails, that were longer by measure than half my little finger. Their Arms were small and lean as of hectical persons, because they took not sufficient nourishment in that forced posture, and they could not let them down to take any thing with them, either meat or drink, because the Nerves were retired, and the Joints were filled and dried up: wherefore also they have young Novices, that serve them as Holy men with very great respect. There is no *Megera* in Hell so terrible to look on, as those Men are, all

naked, with their black skin, long Hair, dried Arms, and in the posture mention'd, and with crooked Nails.

I have often met in the Field, especially upon the Lands of the *Rajas*, whole squadrons of these *Faquires*, altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their Arms lifted up in the posture mention'd; others had their terrible Hair hanging about them, or else they had wreathed them about their Head; some had a kind of *Hercules's* Club in their Hand; others had dry and stiff Tiger-skins over their Shoulders. I saw them pass thus quite naked, without any shame, through the midst of a great Burrough, I admired how Men, Women, and Children could look upon them so indifferently, without being moved no more than if we should see pass some Eremite through our streets; and how the Women brought them almes with much devotion, taking them for very holy Men, much wiser and better than others.

I have seen for a long while a very famous one in *Debli*, called *Sarmet*, who went thus stark naked along the streets, and who at length would rather suffer his Neck to be cut off, than to put on any cloaths, what promises or menaces soever *Aureng-Zebe* might send to him.

I have seen *many* of them, who out of devotion went long Pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with Iron-chains, like those that are put about the Legs of Elephants. *Others*, who, out of a particular vow, stood for seven or eight days upright upon their Legs, which thereupon swell'd as big as their Thighs, without sitting or lying down, or without reposing themselves otherwise than by leaning some hours of the night upon a stretched Cord: *Others*, who stood for whole hours upon their Hands without wavering, the Head down, and the Feet upward: And so of many others sorts of postures so constrain'd, and so difficult, that we have no Tumbler able to immitate them; and all this it seems upon the account of Religion, of which yet their appears not the least shadow in it.

All these so extraordinary things did (to tell you the truth) exceedingly surprize me at first, I knew not what to say or think of it. Sometimes I look'd upon them as a remainder, or rather as the Authors of that antient and infamous Sect of the *Cynicks*, but only that I found nothing in them, but brutality and ignorance, and that they seem'd to me a kind of Trees, somewhat moving from one place to another, rather than rational Animals. Another time I consider'd them as Men altogether Enthusiastical; though as I lately said, I could not find any shadow of true Piety in all they did. Sometimes I thought, that this lazy, idle, and independent Life of Beggars might have something attractive in it. Sometimes I imagin'd that the vanity, which creeps in every where, and which is as often found under the patched Mantle of *Diogenes*, as under the comely Garment of *Plato*, there might lurk that Spring, which might set a going so many Engins; and then reflecting withal upon the miserable and austere life they led, I knew not what Judgment to make of them.

'Tis true, that many say, that they do not exercise these strange austerities but in the hopes they entertain of becoming *Rajas* in their renascence, or of returning again in a more happy life. But, as I have often told them to their Faces, how is't possible for any Man to resolve upon such a miserable life from the hope of another, that is to be no longer, and hath also, in the upshot, but very little happiness in it, though one should return a *Raja*, and even a *Jesseingue* or a *Jessomseingue*, which are the two most puissant *Rajas* of the *Indies*? There must needs, said I, lie something else under it, which you have no mind to discover to us, or you must be arrant Fools.

Amongst those I have been speaking of, there are such that are believed to be true Saints, illuminated and perfect *Jauguis*, entirely united to God. These are people that have altogether abandon'd the World, and sequester'd themselves into some very remote corner or Garden, like Eremites, without ever coming to Town. If you carry them any meat, they receive it; if they do not, 'tis believed that they can live without it, and subsist by the sole favour of God in perpetual fasting, prayer, and profound meditations: For they sink themselves so deep into *these* raptures, that they spend many hours together in being insensible, and beholding in that time, as they give out, God himself, like a very bright and ineffable Light, with an unexpressible joy and satisfaction, attended with an entire contempt and forsaking of the World: For thus much one of them, that pretended he could enter into this rapture when he pleased, and had been often in it, told me; and others that are about them, affirm the thing with so much seriousness, that they seem to believe in earnest, as if there were no imposture in it.

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God alone knows whether there be any truth in it, and whether in this solitude and fasting the imagination debilitated, may not suffer it self to be carried away into these illusions: Or whether they be not of that kind of natural Raptures, into which *Cardan* said he fell when he lifted; and this the rather, because I see, there is used some Art in what they do, forasmuch as they prescribe to themselves certain Rules, by little and little to bind up their Senses: For they say, for Example, that after they have fasted many days, using nothing but Bread and Water, 'tis requisite first to keep themselves alone retired from all company, directing the Eyes steadily towards Heaven for a while, then gently casting them down again, and then fixing them both so as to look at one and the same time upon the tip of their Nose equally, and as much on one side as the other (which is troublesome enough) and remaining firm and intent in that posture, until such a Light do come. Whatever the matter be, I know, that these Raptures, and these ways of falling into them, make the great Mystery of the Cabala of *Jauguis*, as the *Soufys* do also. I call it *Mystery*, because they keep it very secret amongst them; and if it had not been for this *Pendet* or Indian Doctor, to whom *Danechmend-kan* gave a Pension, and who durst hide nothing from him; and if also *Danechmend-kan* had not known the Mysteries of the *Cabala* of the *Soufys*, I should not have discover'd so much of it. I know besides, that as for the extremity of Poverty, of Fastings and Austerities, that also can do much to it. We must not think (or I am much deceived) that any of our Religious Fryars or Eremites go in this point beyond those Men, nor generally beyond all the Asiatick Monks; witness the Life and Fastings of the *Armenians*, *Copthites*, *Greeks*, *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, and *Maronites*. We must rather avow, that we are but Novices, when compared with those Religious Men: But then we must also acknowledge, according to what I have experimented, in respect of those of the *Indies*, that they can much more easily bear hunger than we can in our colder Climates.

There are others very differing from those, but very strange Men likewise; they are almost perpetually travelling up and down, they deride all, take care of nothing, Men that brag of secrets, and who, as the people say, know no less than to make Gold, and so admirably to pepare *Mercury*, that a grain or two of it taken every morning restoreth the body to perfect health, and so strengthens the Stomach, that it feeds greedily and digests with ease. This is not all: When two of these *Jauguis*, that are eminent, do meet, and you stir them up in the point and power of their knowledge or *Jauguisme*, you shall see them do such tricks out of spight to one onother, that I know not whether *Simon Magus* could have out-done them. For they divine what one thinketh, make the Branch of a Tree blossome and bear fruit in less than an hour, hatch Eggs in their bosome in less than half a quarter of an hour, and bring forth such Birds as you demand, which they make fly about the Chamber, and many such other prodigies. I mean, if what is said of them be true; for I remember, that one day my *Agah* sent for one of these famous Diviners, and when he was come, agreed with him to give him the next day 300 Roupies, which is about 150 Crowns, if he should tell him, as he said he would, his present thought, which he was to write before him upon a paper: As also, that I my self made a bargain with the same, to give him 25 Roupies, if he should divine mine; but the Prophet failed us, as also did at another time one of those pretended producers of Birds, to whom I had also promised 20 Roupies. I am still to be understood, if it be true what is said of them. For, as for me, I am with all my curiosity none of those happy Men, that are present at, and see those great feats; and if I should chance to see any of such things as are thought strange, I am always considering and seeking, whether the thing may not be done by some Juggle, Art, or Trick of Legerdemain: and I am sometimes even so unhappy, or, if you will, so fortunate, as to find out the cheat, as I did him, that made a Cup run, to discover who it was, that had stolen money from my *Agah*.

Lastly, there are some in many places, that are quite of another way than all those I have discoursed of. Their Life and their Devotion is more meek and more polisht; they go over the streets bare-foot and bare-headed, girt about with a Scarfe hanging down to their Knees, and having a white Sheet which passeth under their right Arm, and comes out over their left Shoulder like a Cloak, without other Cloaths under it. They are always very clean and neat in all things, and commonly go two and two together with great modesty, holding in their Hand a small Earthen Trevet with two handles, very neat. They do not go gossiping from Shop to Shop, as many of the other *Fakires* do. They go freely every where into the Houses of the Gentiles, where they are welcome,

come, and much made of; they being esteem'd a Blessing to the House. They are by no means to be accused of any thing, though it be well enough known, what in such visits among the Women passeth. But 'tis the custom, they are in possession of being Saints for all that, and any House thinks it self honour'd with their visit. But it is not only there so; many other places there be in the World, where things are not so strictly look'd to. But that which I find most ridiculous in those people is, That they are impertinent enough, to compare themselves with our Religious Men, they meet with in the *Indies*. I have often taken pleasure to catch them, using much ceremony with them, and giving them great respect; but I soon heard them say to one another, This *Franguis* knows who we are, he hath been a great while in the *Indies*, he knows that we are the *Padrys* of the *Indians*. A fine comparison, said I within my self, made by an impertinent and idolatrous rabble of Men!

But we stay too long upon these Heathen-Beggers: Let us go on to their *Books* of *Law* and *Sciences*: you may afterwards judge, whether most of what I am going to say of it, may be put, as I think it may, in the number of Extravagancies.

Do not wonder, if, though I know not the *Hanscrit*, the language of the Learn'd (of which somewhat may be said hereafter, and which is perhaps the same with that of the old *Brahmans*) do notwithstanding tell you many things taken out of Books written in that Tongue. For you must know, that my *Agah Danechmend-kan*, partly upon my solicitation, partly out of his own curiosity, took into his service one of the famousest *Pendets* that was in all the *Indies*, and that formerly had had a Pension of *Dara*, the Eldest Son of King *Chah-jehan*; and that this *Pendet*, besides that he drew to our House all the most Learned *Pendets*, was for three years constantly of my conversation. When I was weary of explaining to my *Agah* those late discoveries of *Harvey* and *Pecquet* in *Anatomy*, and of discoursing with him of the Philosophy of *Gassendi* and *Des-cartes*, which I translated to him into *Persian* (for that was my chief employment for five or six years) that *Pendet* was our refuge, and then he was obliged to discourse, and to relate unto us his stories, which he deliver'd seriously and without ever smiling. 'Tis true, that at last we were so much disgusted with his tales and uncouth reasonings, that we scarce had patience left to hear them.

They say then, that God, whom they call *Achar*, that is to say, Immoveable or Immutable, hath sent them four Books, which they call *Beths*, a word signifying *Science*, because they pretend that in these Books all Sciences are comprehended. The first of these Books is call'd *Athen-habed*, the second *Zager-bed*, the third *Rek-bed*, the fourth *Sama-bed*. Conform to the doctrine of these Books, this people ought to be distinguish't, as really they are, into four Tribes: The first is of *Brachmans*, Men of the Law; the second of *Quetterys*, Men of Arms; the third, Men of *Besene* or *Trafick*, commonly called *Banians*; and the fourth, Men of *Seydra*, that is, Handy-crafts Men and Labourers. And these are so discriminated, that those of one Tribe cannot marry into another, that is, a *Brahman* cannot marry with a Woman *Quettery*, and so of the rest.

They all agree in one Doctrine, which is that of *Pythagoras* concerning the *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration of Souls, and in this, that they must not kill or eat of any Animal. However there are some of the *second* Tribe that may eat of them, provided it be neither *Cows* nor *Peacocks*-flesh, they all having a great veneration for these two creatures, especially the *Cow*, because they fancy I know not what River lying between this Life and that to come, which they are to pass by holding themselves fast on a Cows-tail. Possibly their ancient Legislators had seen those Shepherds of *Egypt*, crossing the *Nile*, by holding with their left-hand the Tail of an Oxe, and in their right-hand a Stick to guide him with; or rather they have imprinted in them this respect for Cows, because they draw from them Milk and Butter, which is a great part of their subsistance; and because also they are so serviceable for the Plough, and consequently for the Life of Man; and that the rather because it is not so in the *Indies* as in our Parts, for maintaining so great a number of Cattle as we do: if but half as many of them should be killed in the *Indies*, as there are in *England* or *France*, the Country will quickly be destitute of them, and the Land remain Untilled. The heat is there so violent for eight months of the year, that all is dry, and that Oxen and Cows are often starved, or dye of eating trash in the Fields like Hogs. And 'tis upon the account of the scarcity of Cattle, that in the time of *Jehan-Guire*, the *Brahmans* obtain'd an Edict, that no Cattle should be kill'd for a certain number of years, and that of late they presented a Petition to *Aureng-Zebe*, and offered him a considerable sum, if he would make the like Prohibition.

hibition They remonstrated, that for 50 or 60 years past much Land had remained Unploughed, because the Oxen and Cows were become too scarce and too dear. It may be also, that these Law-givers considered, that Cows and Ox-flesh in the *Indies* is not very savoury, nor wholesome, unless it be for a little time in Winter, during the cooler season: Or lastly, that they would take the People off from mutual cruelty, (to which they were too much inclined) by obliging them, as by a Maxime of Religion, to exercise humanity to the very Beasts, and by making them believe, that killing or eating an Animal, it might happen that they did kill or eat one of their Grand-fires; which would be an horrid crime.

According to the Doctrine of these *Beths*, they are obliged to say their Prayers at least thrice every day, in the morning, at noon, and at night, with their face turned to the East. They are also bound to wash their whole body thrice, or at least before they eat; and they believe, that 'tis more meritorious to wash themselves in running water then in any other. And it may be, that the Legislators in this point also have had a respect to what is proper and convenient for this Countrey, where nothing is more desirable then washing and bathing. And they find it troublesome enough to observe this Law, when they are in cold Countries: I have seen some of them that were like to die, because they would *there* also observe their Law of washing their Body by plunging themselves into Rivers or Ponds, when they found any near; or by throwing whole buckets of water over their heads, when they were remote from them. When I told them upon occasion, that in cold Countries it would not be possible to observe that Law of theirs in Winter (which was a sign of its being a meer human invention) they gave this pleasant answer: That they pretended not their Law was universal; that God had only made it for them, and it was therefore that they could not receive a Stranger into their Religion: that they thought not our Religion was therefore false, but that it might be it was good for us, and that God might have appointed several differing ways to go to Heaven; but they will not hear that our Religion should be the general Religion for the whole earth, and theirs a fable and pure device.

These same Books do teach them, that God having determined to create the World, would not execute it immediately, but made first three Perfect Beings: the first was *Brahma*, which signifieth Penetrating into all things; the second *Beschen*, that is Existing in all things; and the third *Mehahden*, that is, great Lord. That by the means of *Brahma* he created the World; by the means of *Beschen* he preserveth it, and by the means of *Mehahden* he will destroy it. That it is *Brahma*, who by the command of God did publish the four *Beths*, and that therefore he is in some of their Churches represented with four Heads.

As to those three *Beings*, I have seen some *European* Missionaries that were of opinion, that these Gentils had some *Idea* of the Mystery of the *Trinity*; and said, it was expresly contained in their Books that there are three Persons, and one only God. For my part, I have made the *Pendets* sufficiently discourse upon this point; but they declare themselves so poorly, that I could not clearly understand their sense. I have even heard some of them, who said, that these are three Creatures very perfect, which they called *Deutas*, yet without explaining well what they understood by this word *Deutas*; as our antient Idolaters never explained what they meant by these words *Genius* and *Numina*, which is (I think) the same with *Deita* among the Indians. 'Tis true, that I have spoken with others of the most knowing amongst them, who said, that these three Beings were indeed nothing but one and the same God, considered three manner of way, *viz.* as he is the Producer, Conservator, and Destroyer of things; but they said nothing of three distinct Persons in one onely Deity.

Moreover I have seen the Reverend Father *Roa*, a German Jesuit and Missionary at *Agra*, who being well versed in their *Hanscrit*, maintained that their Books did not onely import, there was one God in three Persons, but that even the *second* Person of their Trinity was incarnated nine times. And that I may not be thought to ascribe to my self the writings of others, I shall relate unto you word for word, what a certain *Carmelite* of *Chiras* hath lighted upon, which he related when the above-mentioned Father *Roa* passed that way to come back to *Rome*. The *Gentils* (saith he) do hold, that the second Person of the Trinity was incarnated nine times, and *that* because of divers necessities of the World, from which he hath delivered it: But the *eighth* Incarnation is the most notable; for they hold, that the World being inslaved under the power of Giants, it was redeemed by the second Person, incarnated and born of a Virgin at midnight,

midnight, the Angels singing in the Air, and the Heavens pouring down a shower of flowers all that night. This savours much of Christianity: But then there follows a Fable again, which is, That this God incarnate killed first of all a Giant that flew in the Air, and was so big as to obscure the Sun, and by his fall to make the Earth to shake, and that by his great weight he sunk as deep as Hell; that this God incarnate being wounded in the side, in the first conflict with this Giant, fell, but by his fall put his Enemies to flight; that after he had raised himself again, and redeemed the World, he ascended into Heaven; and that by reason of his wound, he is commonly called the *Wounded in his Side*. In the *tenth* Incarnation, which shall then be, when according to our supputation Antichrist shall come, the World shall be delivered from the slavery of the Mahumetans: But this is only a vulgar Tradition, which is not found in their Books.

They say also, that the *Third* Person of the Trinity hath manifested himself to the World; concerning which they relate, That the Daughter of a certain King, being fit to be married, and asked by her Father, whom she would marry, answered, that she would not be united but to a Divine Person; and that at the same time, the Third Person of the Trinity appeared to the King in the form of Fire; that that King forthwith gave notice of it to his Daughter, who presently consented to the Marriage; That this Person of the Trinity, though altogether in a firy appearance, was called before the King's Council, and seeing that the Counsellors opposed this Marriage, took hold of their Beards and burned them, together with the whole Royal Palace, and then married the Daughter. Ridiculous!

They add, that the first Incarnation of the second Person, was in the nature of a *Lion*; the second, in that of a *Swine*; the third, in that of a *Tortoise*; the fourth, in that of a *Serpent*; the fifth in that of a Brahma *She-Dwarf*, onely a foot and a half high; the sixth, in that of a Monster, a *Man-Lion*; the seventh, in that of a *Dragon*; the eighth, as hath been said already; the ninth, in an *Ape*; the tenth, in that of a great *Cavalier*.

Concerning this I shall acquaint you, that I doubt not but that the Reverend Father *Rosa*, hath taken all he saith of this matter out of the Books of the *Gentiles*, and that is the main ground of their *Mythology*. I had written many things of it at large in my Papers, and had also taken the Figures of their Gods or Idols, which I had seen in their Temples, having also got of them the Characters of their Language *Hanscrit*; but finding at my return all those things, or at least the best part of it Printed in the *China Illustrata* of Father *Kircher*, who had obtained it at *Rome* from the same Father *Rosa*; I shall content my self to have named the Book to you. 'Tis true, that the word *Incarnation*, which the Reverend Father useth, was new to me, having never seen it so expresly used; I had only heard some *Pendets* thus explaining the thing, *viz.* That God had formerly appeared in those Figures when he did all those wonders they relate. Others explained it to me after this manner, to wit, That it was the Soul of certain Great Men, such as we might call *Hero's*, that had passed into these Bodies, and that these Hero's were thus become *Deïtas*, or to speak in the phrase of our old Idolaters, some powerful and considerable Divinities, *Numens*, *Genio's*, *Demons*, *Spirits*; for I see not that this word *Deïta* can signifie any other thing: But this second Explication of the *Pendets*, cometh in effect to the first, for as much as most of them believe, that our Souls are Portions of God.

Others there were that gave me a much sublimer Explication, saying, That all those *Incarnations* or Apparitions, which their Books speak of are not to be understood according to the Letter, but Mystically, forasmuch as thereby are explained the several Attributes of God. Some there were, and those of the most learned, acknowledging to me candidly, that there was nothing more fabulous then those *Incarnations*, and that they were only the Inventions of Legislators, to retain People in some Religion: And though this were so, if there were nothing else but this, (which is common to them all) that our Souls were Portions of the Deity, it were to be exploded in sound Phylosophy, without making any Mysteries in Religion of it, seeing that in respect of our Souls we should be *God*, and that in effect it should be our selves that had imposed upon us a Religious Worship, Metempsychoses, Paradice and Hell, which would be ridiculous.

I shall here add a few words, to declare that I am not less obliged to Monsieur *Henry Lor*, and to Monsieur *Abraham Roger*, then to the Reverend Fathers *Kircher* and *Rosa*. I had compil'd an hundred things relating to the *Gentiles*, which I found in the Books of those Gentlemen, and which would have been a great trouble to me to range them as they

they have done. I shall therefore content my self to say something in General to you of their *Studies* and *Sciences*, not indeed in that good order which possibly you might expect, but just as I have learnt it, and as 'tis probably found in their Books; I mean by fragments, and without coherence.

The Town of *Benares*, which is seated upon the *Ganges* in a very fine and rich Country and place, is the General School, and as 'twere the *Athens* of the Gentry of the Indies; where the *Brachmans* and the *Religious* (those that addict themselves to study) come together. They have no Colledges nor *Classes* ordered as with us, me thinks, 'tis more after the way of the School of the Antients; the Masters being dispersed over the Town in their Houses, and especially in the Gardens of the Suburbs, where the great Merchants do suffer them. Of these Masters some have four Disciples; others six or seven; and the most famous, twelve or fifteen at most, who spend ten or a douzen years with them. All this study goeth on very cooly, because most Indians are of a slow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the Country contributes much; and because they are not animated to industry as we, by that great emulation, and by the great hopes we have of coming thereby to great preferment. They study leasurely, and without much tormenting themselves; eating their *Kichery* or mixture of Legums, which the rich Merchants cause to be dressed for them.

Their first study is of the *Hanscrit*, which is a Language altogether different from the common *Indian*, and not known but by the *Pendets*. And this is that Tongue, of which Father *Kircher* hath publisht the Alphabet received from Father *Ros*. It is called *Hanscrit*, that is, a pure Language; and because they believe this is to be the Tongue, in which God, by the means of *Brahma*, gave them the four *Beths*, which they esteem *Sacred* Books, they call it an Holy and Divine Language. They pretend also, that it is as antient as *Brahma*, whose Age they do not reckon but by *Leeques*, or hundred thousands of years. But I would gladly have a warrant for such an extraordinary Antiquity. However, it cannot be denied that 'tis very old, in regard that the Books of their Religion, which certainly is very antient, are written in this Tongue, and besides that, it hath it's Authors in Philosophy and Physick in Verses, and some other Poems, and many other Books, of which I have seen a great Hall quite full in *Benares*.

After they have learned the *Hanscrit* (which is very difficult to them, because they have no Grammar worth any thing) they commonly apply themselves to read the *Purane*, which is as it were the interpretation and sum of the *Beths*, which are very large, at least if those be they which were shewed me at *Benares*: and besides they are so very rare, that my *Agah* could never find them to be sold, what industry soever he used in it. And they keep them very secret, for fear least the Mahumetans should lay their hands on them and burn them, as they have already done several times.

After the *Purane* some fall upon Philosophy, wherein certainly they go not far. I have already intimated, that they are of a slow and lazy temper, and are not excited by the hopes to obtain some good place by their study.

Among their Philosophers there have principally been six very famous, who make so many different Sects; which causeth also a difference and an emulation among the *Pendets* or Doctors: For they know, that such an one is of this Sect, another of another, and every one of them pretends his Doctrine to be better than that of others, and more conform to the *Beths*. There is indeed another, a seventh Sect, which is called *Bauté* whence do proceed twelve other different Sects; but this is not so common as the others, the Votaries of it being hated and despised as a company of irreligious and atheistical people, nor do they live like the rest.

All these Books speak of the *first principles* of things, but very differently. Some say, that all is composed of little Bodies that are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness, and resistance, but smalness; adding divers things which approach to the opinions of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, but with so much confusion that one knows not where to fasten, all seeming like a rope of sand: which yet may be as much or more the fault of the *Pendets*, which seem to me very ignorant, then of the Authors.

Others say, that all is made up of *matter* and *form*; but not one of them explains himself clearly about the *matter*, and less about the *form*. Yet so much I have found, that they understand them not at all as they are wont to be explained in our Schools, by educing the Form out of the power of the Matter: For they always alledge Examples of things Artificial, and among them that of a Vessel of soft Clay, which a Potter turns and shapes divers ways.

Others

Others hold, that all is composed of *four Elements* and a *nothing*; but they do not at all explain themselves concerning Mixtion and Transmutation. And as for their *nothing*, which comes near to our *privation*, they admit I know not how many sorts of them, which (I believe) they understand not at all, nor are able to make out to others.

There are also some, that maintain *light* and *darkness* to be the first Principles, and say a thousand impertinent and confused things upon it, making long-winded discourses, which savour nothing at all of Philosophy, but are like the talk of the vulgar.

Others there are that admit *privation* for the Principle, or rather *privations*, which they distinguish from *nothing*, and of which they make long enumerations, so useless and little philosophical, that I can scarce imagine them to be in their Books, or that their Authors could have entertained themselves with such uncouth things.

Lastly, some of them do pretend that all is composed of *accidents*; of which also they make odd, long, and tedious enumerations, and such as savour only some Pettifogger, that can amuse the common People.

Touching these Principles in general, they all agree that they are *eternal*; our production out of nothing not having come (it seems) into their thoughts, as it hath neither to many others of the antient Philosophers: Yet they say, that there is one of them that hath touched something of it.

As to *Physick*, they have many little Books that are rather collections of *receits* then any thing else; the most antient and chief wherefore is in Verse. I shall here tell you, that their *practice* is sufficiently different from ours, and that they ground themselves upon these Principles: *That* one who is sick of a Feaver, needs no great nourishment: *That* the main Remedy of sicknesses, is Abstinence: *That* nothing is worse for a sick Body then Flesh-broth, nor which corrupts sooner in the Stomach of a feverish Patient: *That* no Blood is to be let but in great and evident necessity, as when you apprehend some translation into the Brain, or finde some considerable part, as the Chest, Liver, Kidneys, inflamed.

Whether this Practice be better then ours, I leave to Physitians to decide; but I see that 'tis successful among *them*. The same practice is not peculiar to the Physitians of the Gentils, but the Mogolian and Mahumetan Doctors, that follow *Avicen* and *Averroes*, do also very strictly observe it, especially as to Meat-broths. 'Tis true that the *Mogols* are somewhat more prodigal of their Blood then the *Gentils*, for in those sicknesses wherein they fear those accidents lately specified, they commonly blood once or twice: but these are none of those petty venesections of the new invention of *Goa* and *Paris*, but they are of those plentiful ones used by the Antients, of 18. or 20. ounces of Blood, which often come to a swounding, and frequently choak the Disease in the very beginning, as *Galen* saith, and as I have often experimented.

Concerning *Anatomy*, I may safely say, that the Gentils understand nothing at all of it, and they can speak nothing as to that subject but what is impertinent. Nor is it a wonder they are so ignorant in it, since they never open any Body of Man or Beast: they do so much abhor it, that when I opened some living Kids and Sheep before my *Agah*, to make him understand the Circulation of the Blood, and to shew him the *Pecquetian* Vessels, through which the Chyle at last comes into one of the ventricles of the Heart, they trembled for fear and ran away. Yet notwithstanding they affirm, that there are five thousand Veins in Man, neither more nor less, as if they had well counted them all.

Touching *Astronomy*, they have their Tables, according to which they foresee the *Eclipses*; and though they do it not with that exactness as our European Astronomers, yet they come pretty near. Mean time they discourse of the Eclipse of the Moon, as they do upon that of the Sun, believing that it is the *Rah*, that black Villain, and mischievous *Deita*, who at that time seizeth on the Moon and blackens her. They hold also, *that* the Moon is an hundred thousand *kosses*, that is, above fifty thousand Leagues above the Sun: *that* she is lucid of her self; and *that* 'tis she, from whom we receive a certain Vital Water, which gathereth and disposeth it self in the Brain, descending thence as from a source into all the members for their functions. Besides this, they are of opinion, that the Sun and Moon, and generally all Stars are *Deitas*; that 'tis night when the Sun is behind the *Someire*, that imaginary Mountain, which they place in the midst of the Earth, and make I know not how many thousand Leagues high, and to which they give the shape of an inverted Sugar-loaf; so that 'tis not day with them, but when the Sun gets out from behinde this Mountain.

In

In *Geography* they have sped no better. They believe the Earth to be flat and triangular, and that it hath seven stories, all differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants; each of which is encompassed, they say, by its Sea; that of these Seas one is of Milk, another of Sugar, the third of Butter, the fourth of Wine, and so forth: so that after one Earth there comes a Sea, and after, Sea an Earth; and so on unto seven, beginning from *Someire*, which is in the midst of these stories: that the first story, which is at the foot of *Someire*, hath *Deütas* for its inhabitants, which are very perfect; that the second contains likewise *Deütas*, but less perfect; and so the rest, still lessening the perfection unto the seventh, which they say is ours, that is, of men far less perfect then all the *Deütas*; and lastly, that this whole Mass is sustained upon the heads of divers Elephants, which when they stir, cause an Earthquake.

All these strange impertinences, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if *they* be those famous Sciences of the antient *Brahmans* of the Indies, very many have been deceived in the great opinion they entertained of them. For my part, I can hardly believe it, but that I find the Religion of the Indians to be from immemorial times; that 'tis written in the Language *Hanscrit*, which cannot be but very antient, since its beginning is unknown, and 'tis a *dead* Language, not understood but by the Learned; that all their Books are only written in that Tongue: All which are as many marks of a very great Antiquity. Let us now add a few words about the *worship* of their *Idols*.

When I descended along the River *Ganges*, and passed through *Banares*, that famous School of all the Indian Gentility, I went to see the chief of the *Pendets*, who hath there his ordinary residence. This is a *Fakire*, or Religious Monk, so renowned for his knowledge, that *Chah-Jehan*, partly for his Science, partly to please the *Rajas*, gave him a Pension of 2000 Roupies, that is, about 1000 Crowns. This was a big and proper Man, goodly to look on; who for all his Cloaths had nothing but a white silken Scarf, tied about his waste, and hanging down to his mid-leg, with another red Scarf about his shoulders like a little Cloak. I had often seen him at *Dehli* in this posture before the King, in the Assembly of all the *Omrahs*, and marching upon the Streets, sometimes on foot, sometimes in a *Palekey*. I had also frequently seen and many times conversed with him, when for a whole year together he constantly came to our conference before my *Agah*, whom he courted, that he might procure him again that Pension which *Aureng-Zebe* (being come to the Crown) had taken from him, that he might appear a great Musulman. In the visit I made him at *Banares*, he was exceedingly courteous to me, and even gave me a Collation in the Library of his University, attended with six of the most famous *Pendets* of the Town. When I found my self in so good Company, I prayed them all to tell me their sense about the Adoration of their Idols; intimating to them, that I was leaving the Indies, extreamly scandalized upon that score; and reproaching them, that that worship was a thing against all reason, and altogether unworthy such Scholars and Philosophers as they were. Whereupon I received this Answer.

We have indeed (said they) *in our Deuras or Temples, store of divers Statues, as those of* Braham, Mehaden, Genich *and* Gavani, *who are some of the chief and the most perfect* Deütas: *and we have also many others of less perfection, to whom we pay great honour, prostrating our selves before them, and presenting them Flowers, Rice, scented Oyls, Saffron and such other things with much Ceremony, but we do not believe these Statues to be* Brahma *or* Bechen, &c. *themselves, but only their Images and Representations, and we do not give them that honour, but upon the account of what they represent. They are in our Temples, because 'tis necessary for praying well, to have something before our eyes that may fix the mind; and when we pray, it is not the Statue we pray to, but he that is represented by it. For the rest, we acknowledge that 'tis God that is absolute, and the only Omnipotent Lord and Master.*

This is, without adding or subtracting any thing, the resolution they gave me. But, to tell you true, this seemed a little too much accommodated to our Christianity, in respect of what I had learned of it from several other *Pendets*.

After this, I put them upon their *Chronology*, where they pretended to shew me far higher Antiquities then all ours. They will not say, that the World is eternal; but they make it so old, that I almost know not which is best. Its determined duration, *say they*, is of four *Dgugue*. This *Dgugue* is a certain determined number of years, as amongst us we have a *seculum* (an Age) with this difference, that an Age of ours contains only an hundred *Years*, but their *Dgugue* is made up of an hundred *Leeques*, that

is, an hundred times hundred thousand years. I do not precisely remember the number total of the years of each *Dgugue*; but this I know very well, that the first, called *Sate-Dgugue*, is of twenty five *Leeques* of years: that the second, which they call *Trita*, is of above twelve *Leeques*: the third, called *Duaper*, of eight *Leeques* and sixty four thousand years, if I remember well: and the fourth, called *Kale-Dgugue*, is of I know not how many *Leeques*. The three first, say they, and much of the fourth, are elapsed; so that the World shall not last so long as it hath done, because it is to perish at the end of the fourth, all things being then to return to their first Principles. I made them compute again and again, to have their age of the World aright; but finding that that perplexed them, and that they agreed not among themselves about the number of the *Leeques*, I contented my self to see that they make the World exceeding old. But being pressed a little to make out this Antiquity, they pay you with nothing but little stories, and at length come to this, that they find it so in their *Beths*, or the Books of their Law, given them by the hands of *Brahma*.

After this I urged them concerning the nature of the *Deïtas*, of which I desired to be particularly instructed; but I received nothing but what was very confused. They said, *that* there were three sorts of them, Good, Evil, and Indifferent ones, that were neither good nor bad; *that* some thought, they were made of Fire, others of Light; others that they were *Biapek*, of which word I could not get a clear explication; only they said, that God was *Biapek*, and our Soul was *Biapek*, and what is *Biapek* is incorruptible, and depends neither from Time nor Place: *That* others would have them to be nothing else but Portions of the Deity; and lastly, that some there were, that made them certain kinds of Divinities severed and dispensed over the World.

I remember, that I also put them upon the nature of the *Lengue-eberire*, which some of their Authors do admit: But I could obtain nothing else of it but what I had long since understood from our *Pendet*, which was, That the seeds of Plants and Animals are not formed anew, but were contrived in the first production of the World, and dispensed abroad every where and mixed in all things; and that they are (not only potentially but actually) the very and entire Plants and Animals, though so small, that their parts cannot be distinguisht, but when being put into a convenient womb, and there nourished, they extend themselves and increase: So that the seeds of an Apple and Pear-Tree are a *Lengue-eberire*, that is, a little entire and perfect Apple and Pear-Tree, having all its essential parts: And so the seeds of an Horse, an Elephant, and a Man, &c. are a *Lengue-eberire*; a little Horse, a little Elephant, a little Man, in which there wants nothing but the Soul and Nourishment to make them appear what they are.

For a conclusion, I shall discover to you the mystery of a great *Cabala*, which in these last years hath made great noise in *Indostan*, because certain *Pendets*, or Heathenish Doctors, had possessed with it the minds of *Dara* and *Sultan-Sujah*, the two first Sons of *Chah-Jehan*.

You cannot but know the Doctrine of many of the Antient Philosophers, touching that great *Soul of the World*, which they will have our Souls and those of Animals to be portions of. If we did well penetrate into *Plato* and *Aristotle*, we might perhaps find that they were of this sentiment. It is in a manner the general Doctrine of the Heathen *Pendets* of the Indies, and 'tis the same which still maketh the *Cabala* of the *Soufys*, and of the greatest part of the learned Men in *Persia*, and which is found explained in *Persian* Verses, so sublime and emphatical in their *Goultchen-raz* or Parterre of Mysteries: which is also the very same of Dr. *Flud*'s, whom our great *Gassendus* hath so learnedly refuted; and that wherein most Chymists lose themselves. But these Indian Cabalists or *Tendets* I speak of, drive this impertinence farther than all those Philosophers, and pretend, that God, or that Soveraign Being, which they call *Achar*, (immutable,) hath produced or drawn out of his own substance, not only *Souls*, but also whatever is *material* and corporeal in the Universe; and that this production was not meerly made by way of an efficient cause, but by a way resembling a Spider that produceth a Webb, which it draws forth out of its own body, and takes in again when it will. *Creation* therefore, say these Doctors, is nothing else but an extraction and extension, which God maketh of his own Substance, of those webbs he draws from his own bowels; as *Destruction* is nothing else but a repriſal, or taking back again this Divine Substance, and these Divine webbs into himself: So that the last day of the World, which they call *Maperlé* or *Pralea*, when they believe that all shall be destroyed, shall be nothing else

but

but a general reprisal of all those webbs which God had drawn forth out of himself. There is therefore nothing *(so they go on)* that is real or effactive in all we think, we see, hear, smell, taste or touch: all this World is nothing but a kind of Dream and a meer Illusion, in regard that all this multiplicity and diversity of things that appear to us, is nothing but one and the same thing, which is *God himself*; as all those several Numbers of 10, 20, 100, 1000, &c. are indeed nothing but one and the same unity many times repeated. But if you demand any reason for this phantasie, or any explication of the manner, how this issuing *from* and reprisal *into* the substance of God, this extension, and this variety of things is made; or how it can be, that God, being not corporeal but *Biapek* and incorruptible, (as they acknowledge) should yet be divisible into so many portions of Bodies and Souls; they never make any other return, but of some pretty comparisons, as, That God is like an immense *Ocean*, in which if many Vials full of Water should be floating, they would, wherever they should move, be found always in the same Ocean, in the same Water; and that coming to break, their Water would at the same time be united with their whole, and with that great Ocean of which they were portions. Or they will tell you, that it is with God as with *Light*, which is the same through the whole Universe, and which yet appears an hundred different ways, according to the diversity of the Objects it falls upon, or according to the several colours and shapes of Glasses through which it shineth. They will pay you, *I say*, only with such kind of similitudes, that bear no proportion at all with God, and are good for nothing, but to cast dust into the eyes of the ignorant people: And you must not expect any solid Answer from them, if you should tell them, that those Vials would indeed be in a *like* Water, but not in *the same*; and that it is indeed a *like* light over all the World, but not *the same*: or if you should make any other objections against them, they return always to the same comparisons, pretty expressions, or as the *Soufys*, to the fine Verses of their *Goulteben-raz*.

Now Sir, what think you? Had I not reason, from this great heap of extravagancies, I mean, from that panick and childish terror struck into those Indians by Eclipses; from that superstitious compassion for the Sun to deliver it from that black *Dæmon*, accompanied with those Apish Prayers, Washings, Plungings, and Alms cast into the River; from that mad and infernal obstinacy of the Women, burning themselves with the Corps's of their Husbands; from those several madnesses of the *Fakires*; and lastly, from all that fabulous stuff of the *Beths* and other Indian Books: Had I not reason, I say, to premise in the title of this Letter; (which is but a poor advantage to me from so long travelling) *That there are no opinions so ridiculous or extravagant, of which the mind of man is not capable.*

To conclude, I have no more to add then to desire you, to do me the favour and deliver with your own hands the Letter to Monsieur *Chapelle*. It is he that first procured me that familiar acquaintance I had with Monsieur *Gassendi*, your intimate and Illustrious Friend, that hath been so advantagious to me; which maketh me acknowledge my great obligations to him, and exceedingly engageth me to love him, and to remember him in what part of the World soever I am: As I am no less bound to honour you as long as I live; as well for the peculiar affection you have always expressed to me, as for the good counsel you have assisted me with in your many letters during the whole course of my voyages, and for that favour of sending to me with so much generosity (without interest or mony) unto the end of the World: whither my curiosity had carried me, a Chest of Books, when those, of whom I demanded them for mony, ordered by me to be paid at *Marseilles*, and who should have honestly sent them me, abandoned me there, and laught at all my Letters, looking upon me as a lost man, whom they should never see again.

A Relation of a Voyage made in the year 1664. when the Great *Mogol Aureng-Zebe* went with his Army from *Debli*, the Capital of *Indoſtan*, to *Labor*; from *Labor* to *Bember*, and from thence to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, commonly call'd by the *Mogols*, *The PARADISE of the Indies*, &c. By way of ſeveral Letters, written by the Author to his Friends.

The firſt Letter to *Monſieur de Merveilles*, written at *Debli*, Decemb. 1664. *Aureng-Zebe* being ready to march.

CONTAINING

The Occaſion and Cauſe of this Voyage of Aureng-Zebe; *together with an account of the ſtate and poſture of his Army, and the Equipage and ordinary Proviſions of the chief of his* Cavalry; *and ſome curious particulars obſervable in the Voyages of the* Indies.

SIR,

SInce that *Aureng-Zebe* began to find himſelf in better health, it hath been conſtantly reported, that he would make a Voyage to *Labor*, and go from thence to *Kachemire*, to change the Air, and to be out of the way of the approaching Summer heats, for fear of a relapſe: That the more intelligent ſort of men would hardly be perſwaded, that as long as he kept his Father *Chah-jean* priſoner in the Fort of *Agra*, he would think it ſafe to be at ſuch a diſtance. Yet notwithſtanding we have found, that Reaſon of State hath given place to that of Health, or rather to the Intrigues of *Rauchenara-Begum*, who was wild to breath a more free Air than that of the *Seraglio*, and to have her turn in ſhewing her ſelf to a gallant and magnificent Army, as her Siſter *Begum-ſaheb* had formerly done during the Reign of *Chah-jean*.

He departed then the 6th of *December*, about three a clock in the afternoon; a day and hour that muſt needs be fortunate for a great Voyage, if we may give credit to the Gentlemen *Aſtrologers*, who have ſo decreed it. And he arrived at *Chach-limar*, his Houſe of Pleaſure, diſtant about two Leagues from hence; where he ſpent ſix whole dayes, thereby to give to all ſufficient time to make neceſſary preparations for a Voyage, that would take up a year and an half. We have this day news, that he is gone to encamp on the way of *Labor*, and that when he hath ſtay'd there two dayes, he intends to continue his march without any further expectation. He hath with him not only the Thirty five thouſand Horſe, or thereabout, and 10000 Foot, but alſo both his Artilleries, the great or heavy, and the ſmall or lighter, which is call'd, *The Artillery of the Stirrup*, becauſe it is inſeparable from the perſon of the King, whereas the Heavy ſometimes leaveth him to keep the high and well beaten Roads.

The Great Artillery is made up of ſeventy pieces of Cannon, moſt of them caſt; of which ſome are ſo ponderous, that they need twenty yoke of Oxen to draw them; and ſome of them require Elephants to help all thoſe Oxen, by thruſting and drawing the wheels of the Wagons with their Trunks and Heads when they ſtick in any deep way, or are to paſs ſome ſteep mountain. That of the *Stirrup* is compoſed of fifty or

ſixty

sixty small Field-pieces, all of Brass, each carried upon a little pritty and painted Chariot (as hath been already said in another place) beautified with many little red Streamers, and drawn by two very handsom Horses, driven by the Gunner himself, together with a third Horse, which the Gunners Assistant leads for a relief. All these Chariots go alwaies a great pace, that they may be soon enough in order before the Tent of the King, and discharge all at once at the time of his entry, to give the Army notice.

All these great preparations give us cause to apprehend, that in stead of going to *Kachemire*, we be not led to besiege that important City of *Kandahar*, which is the Frontier to *Persia*, *Indostan* and *Usbeck*, and the Capital of an excellent Country, yielding a very great Revenue, and which for this very reason hath been ever the bone of contention between the *Persians* and *Indians*. Whatever it be, there is now a necessity to dispatch at *Debli*, any business whatsoever notwithstanding; and I should find my self much cast behind the Army, if I should tarry any longer: Besides I know, that my *Navab*, or *Agab Danech-mend-kan* stays for me abroad with impatience: He can no more be without philosophising in the afternoon upon the Books of *Gassendi* and *Des-Cartes*, upon the *Globe* and the *Sphere*, or upon *Anatomy*, than he can be without bestowing the whole morning upon the weighty matters of the Kingdom, in the quality of Secretary of State for forrain Affairs, and of Great Master of the Cavalry. I shall depart this night, after I have given the last order for all my businesses, and provided all necessaries for my Voyage, as all the principal persons of the Cavalry do; that is, two good Tartarian Horses, whereto I am obliged by reason of the one hundred and fifty Crowns of pay, which I have by the month; a Camel of *Persia*, and a Groom; a Cook, and another Servant, which must be had ordinarily to march in these Countries before the Horse, and to carry a Flagon with water in his hand. I also have provided the ordinary Utensils, such as are a Tent of a middle size, and a proportionate piece of foot-Tapistry; and a little Bed with girdles, made up with four strong and light Canes, and a Pillow for the head; two Coverlets, whereof one folded up fourfold serveth for a Matrasse; a round Table-cloth of Leather to eat upon; some Napkins of dyed Cloth, and three small Sacks for Plate, which are put up in a greater Sack, and this sack into a very great and strong Sack made of Girdles, in which are put all the provisions, together with the Linnen of the Master and Servants. I have also made provision of excellent Rice for five or six dayes, for fear I should not alwayes find so good; of some sweet Biscuit, with Sugar and Anis; of a linnen sleeve with its little iron-hook, to let, by the means thereof, run out and to keep curdled milk; and of store of Limons with Sugar, to make Limonade; such Milk and Limonade being the two great and soveraign refreshments of the *Indies*: All which, as I said, is put into the last named Sack, which is so large and heavy, that three or four men have pains enough to lift it up: though two men do first fold and turn one side upon the other when it is full, and though the Camel be made to stoop very nigh it, and there need no more than to turn one of the sides of that Sack upon the Camel. All this equipage and provision is absolutely necessary in such Voyages as these. We must not look for such good lodging and accommodations as we have in our Country. We must resolve to encamp and live after the *Arabian* and *Tartarian* mode, without expecting any other Inns than Tents: Nor must we think to plunder the Country-man; all the Lands of the Kingdom being in propriety to the King: We are well to consider, that we must be sober and prudent, and that to ruine the Country man, were to ruine the Demesne of the King. That which much comforts me in this march, is, that we go North-ward, and depart in the beginning of the Winter after the rains; which is the right season for travelling in the *Indies*, because it raineth not, and we are not so much incommoded by heat and dust. Besides that, I find my self out of danger of eating the bread of *Bazar*, or of the Market, which ordinarily is ill baked, full of sand and dust; nor obliged to drink of those naughty waters which being all turbid, and full of nastiness of so many people and beasts that fetch thence, and enter into them, do cause such fevers, which are very hard to cure, and which breed also certain very dangerous worms in the legs. They at first cause a great inflamation, accompanied with a fever, and ordinarily come forth a little after the Voyage, although there have been some, that have stay'd a whole year and more before they appear'd. They are commonly of the bigness and length of a small Vial-string, so that one would sooner take them for some nerve than for a worm; and they must be drawn out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them about

about a little twig of the bigneſs of a needle, for fear of breaking them. This, I ſay, comforteth me not a little, that I find my ſelf exempt from theſe inconveniencies; my *Navab* having vouchſafed me a very particular favour; which is, that he hath appointed to give me every day a new loaf of his houſe, and a *Souray* of the water of *Ganges*, with which he hath laden ſeveral Camels of his train, as the whole Court doth. *Souray* is that Tin-flagon full of water, which the Servant, that marcheth on foot before the Gentleman on horſeback, carrieth in his hand, wrap't up in a ſleeve of red cloth. Ordinarily it holdeth but one pinte; but I had ſome of them expreſly made, that hold two. We ſhall ſee, whether this cunning will ſucceed. The water cooleth very well in this Flagon, provided that care be had alwayes to keep the ſleeve moiſt, and that the Servant that holds it in his hand, do march and ſtir the air, or elſe that it be held towards the wind; as is commonly done upon three pretty little ſticks, croſſing one another, that they may not touch the earth; For the moiſtneſs of the linnen, the agitation of the air, or the wind, are abſolutely neceſſary to keep the water freſh; as if this moiſtneſs, or rather the water imbibed by the ſleeve did keep out the little igneous bodies or ſpirits that are in the air, at the ſame time when it giveth entrance to the nitrous or other parts, which hinder the motion in the water, and cauſe coolneſs; in the ſame manner as Glaſs keeps out Water, and giveth paſſage to the Light, by reaſon of the particular texture and diſpoſition of the parts of the Glaſs, and the diverſity there muſt be between the particles of Light and thoſe of Water. We do not uſe this Tin-flagon for keeping our water cool but in the field: When we are at home, we have Jars of a certain porous Earth, in which it is much better cooled, provided it be expos'd to the wind, and moiſten'd with a Linnen-cloth, as the Flagon; or elſe, uſe is made of Salt-peter, as all perſons of quality do, whether in Towns, or in the Army. They put water, or any other liquor, to be cooled, in a round and long necked Tin-flagon, ſuch as are the Engliſh Bottles, and for the ſpace of half a quarter of an hour this Flagon is ſtirr'd in water, into which hath been caſt three or four handfuls of Salt-peter; this maketh the water very cold, neither is it unwholſome, as I did apprehend; but only that ſometimes it cauſeth gripings at firſt when one is not accuſtomed to it.

But to what purpoſe, to play ſo much the Philoſopher, when we ſhould think to depart, and to endure the Sun, which at all ſeaſons is incommodious in the *Indies*, and to ſwallow the duſt, which is never wanting in the Army; to put up, to load, and to unload every day our Baggage, to help the Servants to faſten ſticks, to draw Cords, to put up Tents, and to take them down again, to march in the day, and in the night, to devour cold and heat, and in a word, to turn *Arabians* for a year and an half, during which time we are to be in the Field. *Adieu*; I ſhall not fail to acquit my ſelf of my promiſe, and from time to time to inform you of our Adventures; and beſides, ſince the Army for this time will make but ſmall Journeys in its march, and paſs on with all that pomp and magnificence, which the Kings of *Indoſtan* do affect, I ſhall endeavour to obſerve the moſt conſiderable things, that I may impart them to you, as ſoon as we ſhall arrive at *Labor*.

THE

THE SECOND LETTER;

CONTAINING

The Number and Magnificence, the Order and the Diſpoſition of the Tents o the Great Mogol *in the Field: The Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Porters, neceſſary to carry them: The Diſpoſition of the* Bazars *or Royal Markets: That of the particular Quarters of the* Omrahs, *or Lords, and of the reſt of the Army: The extent of the whole Army, when encamped: The confuſion there met with; and how it may be avoided: The Order of preventing Robberies: The different Manners of the March of the King, the Princeſſes, and the reſt of the* Seraglio: *The danger there is in being too near the Women: The ſeveral ways of the Royal Hunting, and how the King hunts with his whole Army: The abundance of people there is in the Army, and the method of making them all ſubſiſt.*

SIR,

THis indeed is called marching with gravity, and as we ſpeak here *a la Mogole*,: it is no more but fifteen or ſixteen dayes Journey from *Debli* to *Labor*, which make little more than ſixſcore Leagues; and yet we have ſpent almoſt two months on this way. 'Tis true, the King with the beſt part of the Army went ſomewhat aſide from the high way, the better to enjoy the divertiſements of Hunting, and for the conveniency of the water of *Gemna*, which we went to look for on the right hand, and which we leiſurely followed long enough in our hunting, croſſing fields of tall graſs, full of all ſorts of game, where the Horſemen could ſcarce be ſeen. At preſent, whilſt we are at reſt, I am going to make good what I have promiſed you in the Title of this Letter; hoping ſhortly to make you come to *Kachemire*, and to ſhew you one of the beſt Countries in the World.

When the King is in the field, he hath uſually two Camps, I mean two Bodies, of Tents ſeparated, to the end that when he breaketh up and leaveth one, the other may have paſſed before by a day, and be found ready when he arriveth at the place deſign'd to encamp it: And 'tis therefore, that they are called *Peiche-kanes* as if you ſhould ſay, Houſes going before: Theſe two *Peiche-kanes* are almoſt alike, and there are requiſite above threeſcore Elephants, more then two hundred Camels, above an hundred Mules, and as many more Porters to carry one of them. The *Elephants* carry the moſt bulky things, ſuch as are the great Tents, and their great Pillars, which being too long and too heavy, are taken down in three pieces. The *Camels* carry the leſſer Tents: The *Mules*, the Baggage and Kitchins. And to the *Porters* are given all the little moveables, and ſuch as are delicate and fine, that might eaſily be broken; as *Porcelain*, which the King uſually imployeth at Table: thoſe painted and guilded Beds, and thoſe rich *Kargnais*; which I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter.

One of theſe two *Peiche-kanes*, or Bodies of Tents, is no ſooner arrived at the place deſigned for encamping, but the Great Marſhal that orders the Lodging, chuſeth ſome fair place for the Kings Quarters; yet with a regard, as much as is poſſible, to the Symmitry and order that is to be obſerved for the whole Army; and he marketh out a Square, of which each ſide is above three hundred ordinary paces long. An hundred Pikemen preſently clear and level this pace, making ſquare planes to raiſe the Tents upon, and ſurrounding all this great Square with *Kanates* or Skreens ſeven or eight foot high, which they faſten with cords tyed to ſticks, and with perches fix't in the ground, by couples, from ten to ten paces, one without, and the other within, inclining the one upon the other. Theſe *Kanates* are made of a ſtrong cloth lined with ſtained Linnen. In the middle of one of the ſides of this Square is the Entry or Royal Gate, great and magnificent, and the Indian ſtuff which 'tis made of, as alſo thoſe Stuffs, of which the whole ſide of the Square of the face is lined without, are far better and richer than the others.

The

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Field-pieces, that make up the *Artillery* of the *Sirrup* above mention'd, and which discharge all together to salute the King entring into his Tent, and to give notice thereof to the whole Army.

Before the Gate there is alwayes left void, as much as may be, a great place, at the end of which there is a great Tent, called *Nagar-kane*, because that is the place of the Timbals and Trumpets.

Near this Tent there is another great one, which is called *Tchauky-kane*, because it is the place where the *Omrahs* keep guard, every one in his turn, once a week twenty four hours together; yet notwithstanding most of the *Omrahs* on the day of their guard, cause, close by, to be rear'd one of their own Tents, to be the more at liberty, and to have more elbow room.

Round about the three other sides of the great Square are set up all the Tents of the Officers, which are alwayes found in the same order and disposition, unless it be that the place permit it not: They have all their peculiar names; but as they are hard to pronounce, and I pretend not to teach you the Language of the Country, it will be sufficient to tell you, that there is a particular one for the Arms of the King; another for the rich Harnesses of Horses; another for Vests purfled with Gold, which are the ordinary Presents bestow'd by the King. Besides, there are four more, near one another; the first of which is designed for keeping Fruit; the second for Comfits; the third for *Ganges* water, and the Salt-peter to cool it; and the fourth for the *Betele*, which is that Leaf, whereof I have spoken elsewhere, which is offered to friends, as *Coffee* is in *Turkie*, and chew'd to make ruddy lips, and a sweet breath. Next to these, there are fifteen or sixteen others that serve for Kitchins and what belongs to them. Amongst all these Tents are those of a great number of Officers and Eunuchs. Lastly, there are four or five long ones for led Horses, and some others for the best Elephants; and all those that are for hunting. For there must needs be a retreat for all that great number of Birds of prey, that are always carried for Game and Magnificence; and so there must be for those many *Dogs*, and those *Leopards* serving to take wild Goats; for those *Nilgans*, or gray Oxen, which I take for *Elcks*; for these *Lions* and *Rhinoceros*'s, that are led for greatness; for those great *Bufalo*'s of *Bengale* fighting with Lions; and lastly for those tamed wild Goats, they call *Gazelles*, that are made to sport before the King.

This vast number of Tents, now spoken of, together with those that are within the great Square, make up the King's Quarter, which is always in the middle, and as 'twere in the center of the Army, except the place do not allow it. It will easily be thence concluded, that this Quarter of the King must needs be something great and royal, and afford a very fine prospect, if one behold from some high place this great body of red Tents in the midst of the Army, encamped in a fair and even Campagne, where may be fully seen all that order and disposition that is to be observed in the whole.

After that the Great Marshal of the Camp hath chosen a place fit for the Kings's Quarter, and hath made the *Am-kas* to be set up highest of all the Tents, and by which he is to take his measure for the ordering and disposing the rest of the Army accordingly; He then marketh out the Royal *Bazars* or Markets, whence the whole Army is furnisht with necessaries; drawing the first and the chief of all, like a great Street running straight, and a great free way traversing the whole Army, now on the right hand, and by and by on the left of the *Am-kas* and the King's Quarter, and always in the straightest line that may be towards the encamping of the next day. All the Royal *Bazars*, that are neither so long nor so broad, commonly cross this first, some on this, others on the other side of the King's Quarter; and all these *Bazars* are discern'd by very high Canes like great pearches, which are fixt in the ground from three hundred to three hundred paces or thereabout, with red Standards, and Cows-tailes of the great *Tibet* fastned on the top of these Canes like Perirwigs.

The same Marshal designs, next, the place of the *Omrahs*, so as they may always keep the same order, and be ever as near as may be the King's Quarter; some on the right, others on the left hand, some on this side of him, others beyond him; so that none of them may change the place that hath been once appointed for him, or that himself hath desired in the begining of the Voyage.

The Quarters of the *Omrahs* and *Rajas*, as to their particular order and disposition, are to be imagined in a manner like that of the King: For commonly they have two *Peiche-kanes* with a Square of *Kanates*, which incloseth their principal Tent and those of their Women; and round about these are put up the Tents of their Officers and

Gavaliers, with a peculiar *Bazar*, which is a ſtreet of ſmall Tents for the lower ſort of people that follows the Army, and furniſheth the Camp with Forage, Grains, Rice, Butter, and the other things that are moſt neceſſary; whereby they are ſo accommodated, that they need not always go to the Royal *Bazars*, where generally all things are to be found as in the Capital City. Each *Bazar* is marked at the two ends by two Canes planted in the ground, which are ast all as thoſe of the Royal *Bazars*, that ſo at a good diſtance the particular Standards faſtned to to them may be diſcovered, and the ſeveral quarters diſtinguiſh't from one another.

The Great *Omrahs* and *Rajas* affect to have their Tents very high. But they muſt beware leſt they be too high, becauſe it may happen, that the King, paſſing by, might perceive it, and command them to be thrown down; of which we have ſeen an example in this laſt march. Neither muſt they be altogether red from without, ſince thoſe of the King alone are to be ſo. Laſtly, out of reſpect they muſt all look towards the *Am-kas*, or the Quarter of the King.

The reſidue of the ſpace between the Kings Quarter, and thoſe of the *Omrahs* and the *Bazars*, is taken up by the Tents of the *Manſeb-dars* or little *Omrahs*, and of that infinite number of great and ſmall Merchants that follow the Army; of all thoſe that belong to the Law; and laſtly, of all ſuch as ſerve both the Artilleries: Which maketh indeed a prodigious number of Tents, and requireth a very great extent of ground. Yet it is not all true what is ſaid of either of them. And I believe, that when the whole Army is in a fair and even Campagne, where it may encamp with eaſe, and that, following the ordinary plot, it comes at length to be lodged, as near as may be, in a round (as we have often ſeen it does, upon this road) the compaſs of it will not be above two Leagues, or two Leagues and an half; and with all this there will yet be left here and there ſeveral void places. But then the great Artillery, which taketh up a great tract of ground, very often a day or two go before.

Nor is all true, what is ſaid of the ſtrange confuſion, which commonly ſtrikes an aſtoniſhment into all new comers. For a little acquaintance with the method of the Army, and ſome heeding of the order obſerved in the Camp, will ſoon enable one to avoid all embaraſment, and to go to and fro about his buſineſs, and to find his quarter again; foraſmuch as every one regulateth himſelf by the King's Quarter, and the particular Tents and Standards of the *Omrahs*, that may be ſeen afar off, and by the Standards and Perriwigs of the Royal *Bazars*, which may alſo be ſeen at a great diſtance.

Yet for all theſe marks it will ſometimes fall out, that one ſhall be extreamly perplexed, and even in the day time, but eſpecially in the morning, when a world of people do arrive, and every one of thoſe is buſie and ſeeks to lodge himſelf: And that not only, becauſe there is often raiſed ſo great a duſt, that the King's Quarter, the Standards of the *Bazars* and the *Omrahs* (which might ſerve for guides) cannot be diſcover'd: But becauſe a man finds himſelf between Tents that are putting up, and between cords, which the leſſer *Omrahs*, that have no *Peiche-kane*, and the *Manſeb-dars* ſtretch out to mark their lodgings, and to hinder, that no way may be made nigh them, or that no unknown perſon may come to lodge near their Tents, where often they have their Women: If in this caſe you mean to get by on one ſide, you will find the wayes obſtructed by thoſe ſtretched-out cords, which a troup of mean Serving-men ſtanding there with big cudgels, will not ſuffer to be lower'd, to ſuffer the Baggage to paſs: If you will turn back, you'l find the wayes ſhut ſince you paſſed. And here it is, where you muſt cry out, ſtorm, intreat, make as if you would ſtrike, and yet well beware of doing ſo, leaving the men, as well as you can, to quarrel againſt one another, and afterwards to accord them for fear of ſome miſchief; and in ſhort, to put your ſelf into all imaginable poſtures to get away thence, and to make your Camels paſs: But the great trouble is, when a man is obliged to go in an evening to a place ſomewhat remote; becauſe that thoſe offenſive ſmoaks of the fire of green Wood, of Cowſhares, of Camel-dung, which the common people then make in their kitchins, do raiſe a miſt (eſpecially when there is no wind) ſo thick, that you can ſee nothing at all. I have been three or four times ſurprized with it, ſo as not to know what to do. Well might I ask the way; I knew not whither I went, and I did nothing but turn. Once, among other times, I was conſtrained to ſtay ſtill this miſt paſſed, and the Moon riſen. And another time I was forced to get to the *Aguacy-die*, to lye down at the foot thereof, and there to paſs all the night as well as I could, having my Servant and Horſe by me. This *Aguacy-die* is like a tall Maſt, but very ſlender, which can be taken down in three

pie-

pieces, and 'tis planted toward the King's Quarter, near that Tent which is called *Nagar-kane*. In the evening is drawn up to the top of it a Lanthorn with a light burning in it all night long; which is very commodious, as being seen a great way off; and thither it is that people gone astray do retire, from thence to get again to the *Bazars*, and to ask the way, or there to pass the rest of the night; for no body hinders one from doing so, and a man may be there in safety from Robbers. It is called *Aguasydie*, as if you should say, *light of Heaven*, in regard that from a far off it appears like a Star.

For the prevention of Robberies, each *Omrah* causeth a guard to be kept all the night long, in his particular Camp, of such men that perpetually go the round, and cry *Kaber-dar*, have a care. Besides, there are round about the Army set guards, at five hundred common paces from one another, that keep a fire, and cry also *Kaber-dar*. And over and above all these, the *Cotoual*, who is, as 'twere, the great Prevost, sends out Troups of Guards every way, that pass through all the *Bazars*, crying out and trumpetting all night long. Yet for all this, some robberries there are now and then committed; and 'tis necessary alwayes to be upon ones guard, to go to sleep by times, that so you may be awake the rest of the night, and not to trust your servants too much to keep guard for you.

But let us now see, how many different wayes the Great *Mogol* is carried in the Field.

Ordinarily he causeth himself to be carried on mens shoulders, in a kind of Sedan or Litter, upon which is a *Tact-raven*, that is, a Field-throne, on which he is seated: And this is like a magnificent Tabernacle with pillars, painted and guilded, which may be shut with glass, when 'tis ill weather; the four branches of the Litter are cover'd with Scarlet or purpled Gold, with great Gold and Silk-fringes; and at each branch there are two robust and well-cloathed Porters, that change by turns with as many more that follow.

Sometimes also he goeth on Horse-back, especially when 'tis a fair day for hunting. At other times he rideth on an Elephant, in a *Mik-dember*, or *Hauze*; and this is the most splendid appearance: For, the Elephant is decked with a very rich and very magnificent Harnass; the *Mik-dember*, being a little square House or Turret of Wood, is alwayes painted and guilded; and the *Hauze*, which is an Oval seat, having a Canopy with Pillars over it, is so likewise.

In these different Marches he is alwayes accompanied with a great number of *Omrahs* and *Rajas* following him close and thick on horse-back without any great order: And all those that are in the Army are obliged to be at the *Amkas* at break of day, unless he do exempt them from it upon the account either of their peculiar Office, or their great Age. This march is very inconvenient to them, especially on hunting dayes; for they must endure the Sun and Dust as the simple Souldiers, and that sometimes until three of the clock in the afternoon; whereas, when they do not attend the King, they go at ease in their *Palekys*, close cover'd, if they please, free from the Sun and Dust; sleeping in them couched all along as in a bed, and so coming in good time to their Tent, which expects them with a ready dinner, their kitchin being gone the night before, after supper. About the *Omrahs*, and amongst them, there is alwayes a good number of Horse-men well mounted, call'd *Gourze-berdars*, because they carry a kind of Silver-Mace of Armes. There are also many of them about the right and left wings, that precede the person of the King, together with store of Foot men. These *Gourze-berdars* are Choice-men, of a good men and a fair stature, appointed to carry orders, and having all of them great sticks in their hands, whereby they put people aside at a good distance, and hinder that no body march before the King to incommode him.

After the *Raja* marcheth a train mixed of a great number of Timbals and Trumpets. I have already said in another place, that this Train consists of nothing but of figures of Silver representing strange Animals, Hands, Scales, Fishes, and other mysterious things, that are carried at the end of great Silver-sticks.

At last a great troup of *Mansebdars*, or little *Omrahs*, well mounted, and furnisht with Swords, Arrows and Quivers, follow after all the former: And this Body is much more numerous than that of the *Omrahs*, because, besides that all those that are of the Guard dare not fail to be at break of day, as the *Omrahs*, at the gate of the Kings Tent to accompany him: There are also many, that come amongst them, to make their Court, and to become known there.

The Princesses, and the great Ladies of the *Seraglio* are also carried in sundry fashions; some are carried, like the King, on mens shoulders, in a *Tchaudoule*, which is a kind of *Tactavan*, painted, guilded, and cover'd with great and costly Net-work of Silk of divers colours, enrichèd with Embroidery, Fringe, and thick pendant tufts. Others are carried in a very handsome *Palekyr* closed, that are likewise painted and guilded, and covered with that rich silken net-work. Some are carried in large Litters by two strong Camels, or by two small Elephants, instead of Mules: and in this manner I have sometimes seen carried *Rauchenara-Begum*; when I also observed, that in the fore-part of her Litter, being open, there was a little She-slave, that with a peacocks-tail kept off from her the Flyes and Dust. Lastly, others are carried upon Elephants richly harnessed, and cover'd with embroider'd deckings, and great Silver-bells; where these Ladies sit, raised, as 'twere, into the middle region of the Air, four and four in *Mik-dembers* latticed, which always are cover'd with silken Net-work, and are no less splendid and stately than the *Tchaudoules* and *Tactavans*.

I cannot forbear relating here, that in this Voyage I took a particular pleasure in beholding and considering this pompous march of the *Seraglio*. And certainly nothing more stately can be imagined, than to see *Rauchenara-Begum* march first, mounted upon a lusty Elephant of *Pegu* in a *Mik-dember*, all shining of Gold and Azur, attended by five or six other Elephants with their *Mik-dembers*, almost as splendid as hers, filled with the principal She-Officers of her House; some of the most considerable Eunuchs, richly adorned, and advantagiously mounted, riding on her side, each with a Cane in his hand; a Troop of *Tartarian* and *Kachemirian* Maids, of Honour about her, odly and fantastically dressed, and riding on very pretty Hackney-horses; and lastly, many other Eunuchs on Horseback accompanied with store of Pages and Lackeys, with great sticks in their hands, to make way afar off. After this *Rauchenara-Begum*, I saw pass one of the principal Ladies of the Court, mounted and attended in proportion: And after this, a third in the same fashion; and then another, and so on to fifteen or sixteen all, (more or less) bravely mounted and accompanied according to their quality, pay, and office. Indeed this long file of Elephants to the number of fifty, or sixty, or more, thus gravely marching with pace, as 'twere, counted, and withal this gallant train and equipage, does represent something that is Great and Royal; and if I had not beheld this Pomp with a kind of philosophical indifference, I know not, whether I should not have suffered my self to be carried away to those extravagant sentiments of most of the *Indian* Poets, who will have it, that all these Elephants carry as many hidden Goddesses. 'Tis true, one can hardly see them, and they are almost inaccessible by men; it would be a great misfortune to any poor Cavalier whosoever, to be found in the Field too near them in the march; all those Eunuchs, and all the crue of Servants are to the highest degree insolent, and desire nothing more than such a pretext and occasion to fall upon a man and give him some Bastinadoes. I remember, I was once thus unfortunately surprized, and certainly I had been very ill used, as well as many other Cavaliers, if at length I had not resolved to make my way out by my sword, rather than suffer my self to be thus maimed as they begin to order the matter; and if by good luck I had not been provided with a good Horse, that carried me vigorously out of the press, when I put him on thorow a torrent of people, that was to be repassed. And it is grown in a manner a common Proverb of these Armies, That, above all, one must beware of three things: *First*, Not to let one self to be engaged amongst the troups of the chosen led Horse, they never failing to strike: *Secondly*, not to come into the places of Hunting: *Thirdly*, not to approach too near the Women of the *Seraglio*. Yet notwithstanding by what I hear, it is much less dangerous here than in *Persia*; for there 'tis death to be found in the field in sight of the Eunuchs that attend them, though you were half a league distant from them. It is required, that as many men as there are in the Villages and Burroughs, where they pass, do all abandon them and retire afar off.

As to the *Hunting* of the King, I knew not first how to imagine what is commonly said, which is, that the Great *Mogol* goes to hunt with an hundred thousand men: But now I see, it may very well be said, that he goes to hunt with above two hundred thousand; nor is it a thing hard to comprehend. In the neighbouring places to *Agra* and *Delli*, along the river *Gemna* as far as to the mountains, and even on both sides of the high way to *Labor*, there is abundance of untilled Lands, some of Copse-wood, and some of Grass above a mans height: In all these places there are great numbers of Guards, uncessantly roving up and down, and hindering all other people from hunting except

except Partridges, Quailes and Hares, which the Indians know to take with nets: So that every where in thoſe places there is very great ſtore of all kind of Game. This being ſo, the hunting guards, when they know that the King is in the field, and near their quarters, give notice, to the Great Hunting-maſter, of the quality of the Game, and of the place where moſt of it is: then the Guards do line all the avenues of that quarter, and that ſometimes for above four or five Leagues of ground, that ſo the *whole Army* may paſs by, either this or that way, and the King being in his march may at the ſame time enter into it with as many *Omrahs*, Hunters and other perſons as he ſhall pleaſe, and there hunt at his eaſe, now in one manner and then in another, according to the difference of the Game. And now behold firſt, how he hunteth the *Gazelles* or wild Fawns with tamed *Leopards*.

I think, I have elſe where told you, that in the *Indies* there is ſtore of *Gazelles*, that are in a manner ſhaped as our Hinds or Fawns; that theſe *Gazelles* commonly go in ſeveral troups, and that every troup, which never conſiſts of above five or ſix, is alwaies follow'd by one only male, diſcernable by the colour. One of ſuch troups being diſcover'd, they endeavour to make the Leopard ſee them, who is held chain'd upon a little chariot. This cratty animal doth not preſently and directly run after them, but goes winding and turning, ſtopping and hiding himſelf, ſo to approach them with more advantage, and to ſurprize them: And as he is capable to make five or ſix leaps with an almoſt incredible ſwiftneſs, when he finds he is within reach, he lanceth himſelf upon them, worrieth them, and gluts himſelf with their blood, heart and liver: If he faileth (which often happens) he ſtands ſtill, and it would be in vain for him to attempt to take them by running after them, becauſe they run much faſter, and hold out longer than he. Then the Maſter comes gently about him, flattering him, and throwing him ſome pieces of fleſh, and thus amuſing him, puts ſomething over his eyes to cover them, and ſo chains him, and puts him upon the chariot again. One of theſe Leopards gave us once in our march this divertiſement, which frighted ſtore of people. A troup of *Gazelles* appear'd in the midſt of the Army, as they will do every day; it chanced that they paſſed cloſe to two Leopards that were carried, as they uſe to be, upon their little chariot. One of them not blinded, made ſuch an effort that he burſt his chain, and darted himſelf after them, but without catching any of them: Yet the *Gazelles*, not knowing which way to eſcape, being purſued, cried after, and hunted on every ſide, there was one of them that was forced to repaſs again near the Leopard, who, notwithſtanding the Camels and Horſes that peſtred all the way, and contrary to what is commonly ſaid of this Beaſt, that it never returns to its prey when it hath once failed of it, flew upon it and caught it.

The hunting of the *Nilgaux* or gray Oxen, which I ſaid were a kind of Elcks, hath no great matter in it. They are incloſed in great Nets, that are by little and little drawn cloſer together, and when they are reduced to a ſmall compaſs of incloſure, the King, the *Omrahs*, and the Hunters do enter and kill them at pleaſure with Arrows, Halt-pikes, Sables or Muſquets; and ſometimes in ſo great numbers, that the King ſends quarters of them for preſents to all the *Omrahs*.

The Game of the *Cranes* hath ſomething of divertiſement. 'Tis a pleaſure to ſee them defend themſelves in the Air againſt the Birds of prey; they ſometimes kill ſome of them; but at length, not being nimble in turning, many ſtrong Birds maſter them.

Of all the Games that of the *Lion* is the moſt Royal, becauſe there is none but the King and the Princes that can exerciſe it (unleſs it be by a very particular leave;) but it is alſo the moſt dangerous. The manner of it is this. When the King is in the field, and the Hunting-guards have diſcover'd the place of the Lions retirement; they tye faſt an Aſs there-about, which the Lion ſoon comes to devour, and without caring to look out for other prey, as Oxen, Cows, Mutton or Shepherds, he goes to ſeek for drink, and returns to his ordinary lodging place, where he lyes down and ſleeps until next morning, when he finds another Aſs in the ſelf-ſame place, which the Hunters have faſtned there as the day before; and when they have thus baited and amuſed him ſeveral dayes in the ſame place, and now know that the King is nigh, they at length tye faſt another Aſs, but whom they have made to ſwallow a quantity of *opium*, to the end that his fleſh may the better lull aſleep the Lion, and then all the Country-men of the circumjacent Villages ſpread large and ſtrong nets made for that purpoſe, which they alſo by degrees reduce to a ſmall compaſs, as is practiſed in the hunting of the *Nilgaux*. All things thus prepar'd, the King mounted on an Elephant trap'd with

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iron, being attended by the great Hunting-master, some *Omrahs* riding also on Elephants, by abundance of *Gourze-berdars* on Horse-back, and by a numerous Hunting-guard on foot, arm'd with Half-pikes, approacheth to the Nets from without, and with a great Musquet shoots at the Lion; who when he finds himself wounded, comes directly to the Elephant, as his custom is; but he meets with those big Nets stopping him, and the King shoots so often at him, that at last he kills him. Yet in this last hunting there was a Lion that leapt over these Nets, fell upon an Horseman whose Horse he kill'd, and then ran away: But the Hunters met with him, and inclosed him again in the Net, which caused a great disturbance to the Army; we were three or four dayes padling in small torrents running down the mountains, betwixt underwood and such long grass as that Camels hardly can be seen therein; and happy were these that had some provision of victuals; for all was in disorder: The *Bazars* could not range themselves, and the Villages were remote. The reason why we were to stop there so long, was, that as it is a good *Omen* with the Indians when the King kills a Lion, so it is a very ill one, when he faileth, and they think that the State would run great hazard if they should not master him. Hence 'tis also that they make many Ceremonies upon the account of this Hunting; for they bring the dead Lion before the King in the general Assembly of the *Omrahs*, and after he hath been well viewed and exactly measur'd, 'its recorded in the Archives, that such a King, at such a time, slew a Lion of such a bigness, of such hair, of so long and large teeth and claws, not omitting the least circumstances.

I shall here only add a word in reference to what is commonly said of the *Opium*, that the Ass is made to swallow, *viz.* That one of the chief Hunters assur'd me, that it was but a tale of the vulgar, and that the Lion slept sufficiently without it, when he had his belly full.

Now to return to our march; when the great Rivers, which in these quarters commonly have no Bridges, are to be passed, there are made two Boat-Bridges, about two or three hundred paces distant from one another; which they know well enough how to chain and fasten together. Upon them they cast earth and straw mingled together, which preventeth the sliding of the animals. The first passing upon, and the coming from it are only dangerous, because, that besides the great croud, which then commonly throngeth, and the great confusion and embarasment, it often happens that pits or holes are made when 'tis moving earth; and then you shall have Horses and burthen'd Oxen tumble upon one another, over whom people do pass with an incredible disorder; which would be yet greater, if all were to pass in *one* day: But ordinarily the King encampeth but half a League from the Bridge, where he stays a day or two, and he never almost encampeth farther than half a League from the River on the other side of the Bridge, that so the Army may have at least three days and three nights to pass more conveniently,

Lastly, as to the number of people that is found in the Army, it is not so easie a thing to determine it. It is so differently spoken of, that one knows not what to judge of it. What I can tell you of it in the general, that is most probable, is this: That in this march there were at least, as to Souldiers and others, an hundred thousand Horsemen, and above an hundred and fifty thousand Animals, as Horses, Mules or Elephants; that there were near fifty thousand Camels, and almost as many Oxen or Asses, that serve to carry the grain, and other provisions of these poor people of the *Bazars*, their wives and children: For they lugg all with them, as our *Bohemians* do. Upon this measure you may reckon pretty near the number of the serving people, supposing that nothing is there done but by the force of servants, and that I, who am but in the rank of a Cavalier of two Horses, can hardly do my business with less than three men: Some say, that in the whole Army, there is scarce less than between three or four hundred thousand persons. Others reckon more; others less. No body ever told them to determine the precise number. I can say nothing of certainty, but only that 'tis a prodigious and almost incredible number; but then you are to imagine, that 'tis all *Dehli*, the Capital City, that marcheth, because that all the Inhabitans of that Town, living upon the Court and the Army, are obliged to follow them, especially when the voyage is to be long, as this; or else they must starve.

The difficulty is to know, whence and how so great an Army can subsist in the Field, so vast a number of people and beasts. For that, we must only suppose (which is very true) that the *Indians* live very soberly, and observe a very simple diet, and that of all

this

this great number of Cavaliers there is not the tenth, or not the twentieth man, that in his march eats flesh: provided they have their *Kichery*, that is, their mixture of Rice and of other legums, upon which they pour butter when they are boyled, they are content. We are also to know, that Camels endure labour, hunger and thirst extreamly well, live upon a little, and eat almost any thing, and that assoon as the Army encampeth any where, the Camel-drivers let them go into the field to brouze, where they eat whatever they light upon. Besides, that the Merchants that entertain *Bazars* in *Debli*, are obliged to entertain them in the field: and that all the small Merchants, that keep shop in the *Bazars* of *Debli*, keep them also in the Army, either by force, or out of necessity; and lastly, that as to Forage, all those poor people go roving up and down every where in the Village, to buy what they can get, and to gain something by it; and their great and common refuge is, with a kind of Trowel to raspe or knock down whole fields, to beat and wash what they have there gotten, and so to carry it to sell to the Army, which they do sometimes very dear and sometimes very Cheap; I forgot to mention one thing that's remarkable, *viz.* that the King enters into the Camp, now on one side, then on another; and that to day he passeth near the Tents of certain *Omrahs*, and to morrow near those of others. Which he doth not without design; for the *Omrahs*, which he passeth by so near, are obliged to meet him, and to make him some small present or other; so that some will present him with twenty Roupies of Gold, which maketh thirty Pistols; others with fifty, and so others in proportion, according to their generosity, and the greatness of their pay.

For the rest, you will excuse me, that I do not observe to you the Towns and Burroughs that are between *Debli* and *Labor*; I have seen in a manner none of them, for I went almost always cross the fields, and in the night, because my *Agah* was not placed in the middle of the Army, where often is the high way, but very forward in the right Wing. We went as well as we could by Star-light cross the fields to gain the right Wing of the Camp, without seeking for the high way; though sometimes we found our selves much perplexed, and in lieu of three or four Leagues, which is the ordinary distance of one encampment from one another, we sometimes made five or six; but when the day comes on, we soon found our selves where we should be.

THE THIRD LETTER.

A Description of Lahor, *the Capital of* Penjeab, *or, The Kingdom of the Five Waters.*

SIR,

IT is not without reason, that this Kingdom, of which *Labor* is the Capital City, is called *Penjeab*, or the *Country* of the *Five Waters*, because there are actually Five considerable Rivers coming down from those Mountains, within which the Kingdom of *Kachemire* is lock'd up, and that run cross this tract of Land to fall into the River *Indus*, discharging themselves together into the Ocean at *Seymdi*, towards the entry of the *Persian* Gulph. Whether *Labor* be that ancient *Bucephalos*, I decide not. Mean time, *Alexander* is sufficiently known here under the name of *Sekan-der Filifous*, that is, *Alexander* Son of *Philip*; but as to his Horse, they know it not. The City of *Labor* is built upon one of these Five Rivers, which is not less than our River *Loire*, and for which there is great need of a like bank, because it maketh great devastation, and often changeth its bed, and hath but lately retired it self from *Labor* for a quarter of a League; which very much incommodeth the Inhabitants. The Houses of *Labor* have this peculiar above those of *Debli* and *Agra*, that they are very high, but most of them are ruinous, because 'tis now more then twenty years that the Court is alwayes at *Debli* or at *Agra*, and that in these later years the rains have been so excessive, that they have overthrown many of them, whereby also much people hath been killed. 'Tis true, there remain still five or six considerable Streets, of which there are two or three that are above a League long; but in them also are many buildings found that fall down. The Kings Palace is no longer upon the River side, as it was formerly, because

cauſe that the River hath left it. It is very high, and magnificent; yet thoſe of *Agra* and *Debli* do much ſurpaſs it. It is now above two months that we are here, expecting the melting of the Snow of the mountains of *Kachemire*, for a more convenient paſſage into that Kingdom. But at length we are to depart to morrow. The King hath been gone theſe two dayes. I have got a little *Kachemirian* Tent, which I bought yeſterday. I was adviſed to do like others, and to leave here my ordinary Tent, which is big and heavy enough, becauſe, they ſay, that between the mountains of *Kachemire*, whither we are now marching, it will be difficult to find room enough, and that the Camels not having place enough to paſs, we ſhall be obliged to get our Baggage carried by Porters, and that ſo my large Tent would coſt me much to carry. *Adieu.*

THE FOURTH LETTER.

SIR,

I Believed, that after we had overcome the heats of *Mask*, near *Babel-mandel*, I could deſie thoſe of the reſt of the Earth, but ſince theſe four dayes that the Army left *Labor*, I find I come very ſhort of my reckoning, and I have experimented to the hazard of my life, that it is not without reaſon, that the Indians themſelves did apprehend the eleven or twelve dayes march of the Army, from *Labor* to *Bamber*, the entry of the mountains of *Kachemire*. I proteſt unto you, without any exaggaration, that the heats have been ſo exceſſive, that ſometimes they have reduced me to extremity, inſomuch that I knew not in the morning whether I ſhould live till night. The cauſe of this extraordinary heat is, that the high mountains of *Kachemire* being on the *North* of our road, keep from us all the cool wind that might come and refreſh us from that Quarter, and do reflect the ſun-beams upon us, and leave the field burnt up and choaking. But to what purpoſe, to play the Philoſopher, and to ſeek reaſons for that, which perhaps will kill me to morrow.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

SIR,

I Paſſed yeſterday one of the greateſt Rivers of the *Indies*, called the *Tehenau*. The excellency of its water, of which the great *Omrahs* make proviſion in lieu of that of *Ganges*: (whereof they have drunk hitherto) keeps me from believing this to be ſome River to paſs to Hell, rather than to *Kachemire*, where they would make us believe we ſhall find Snow and Ice: For I find it grow worſe and worſe every day, and that the more we advance, the more heat we feel. 'Tis true that I paſs'd the Bridge at Noonday; but I almoſt knew not, which was beſt, to march in the field, or to keep ones ſelf ſtuff'd up under a Tent: At leaſt, I have ſucceeded in my deſign, which was, to paſs the Bridge with eaſe, whilſt all men did repoſe themſelves, expecting to leave the Camp towards evening when the Heat is not ſo violent; whereas if I had ſtaid as the reſt did, ſome miſchief perhaps might have befallen me. For it hath been, I hear, the moſt terrible confuſion, and the greateſt diſorder that ever was in any the like former paſſage from *Debli*; the entring upon the firſt Boat, and the going off from the laſt, having been made very difficult, becauſe it was meer moving ſand, which as people marched upon it, and ſtirr'd it, did ſlide away into the water, and left a pit; inſomuch that a great number of Camels, Oxen and Horſes were in the crowd overthrown and trampled under foot, and ſtore of blows diſtributed beſides: There are ordinarily, upon ſuch occaſions, ſome Officers and Cavaliers of the *Omrahs*, who to make way for their Maſters and their Baggage, are not ſparing of them. My *Navab* hath loſt one of his Camels with the Iron Oven it carried; which maketh me apprehend, I ſhall be reduced to the bread of *Bazar*. *Farewel.*

THE

THE SIXTH LETTER.

SIR,

IT is too much curiosity, 'tis folly, or at least temerity in an European to expose himself to such heats and dangerous marches; It is putting ones self into manifest peril of life. Yet notwithstanding, misfortune is good for something. Whilst we stayed at *Labor*, I was seized on by a Flux, and by gripings, which did very much incommode me; caused by my constant lying upon a *Terrasse*, and taking the cool of the night, as we use to do at *Delhi* without danger. But since we have been marching these eight or nine dayes, the sweat hath dissipated all those humors. My body is become a right Sieve, very dry, and I have no sooner taken into my Stomach a pint of water (for less will not serve our turn) but I see it at the same time issue out of my limbs like a dew to the very ends of my fingers. I believe I have this day drunk above ten pints. And this is some comfort, that one may drink of it as much as one lists without danger, provided it be good water.

The SEVENTH LETTER, to the same.

Written from the Camp of the Army, marching from Lahor *to* Kachemire, *the tenth of* March *in the morning.*

SIR,

The Sun is but just now rising, yet he is intolerable; there is not a Cloud in the Sky, not a breath of Wind; my horses are spent, they have not seen a green Herb since we came out of *Labor*; my *Indians* for all their black, dry, and hard Skin, sink under it. My face, hands and feet are peeled off, and my body is covered all over with pimples, that prick me as so many needles. Yesterday one of our poor Cavaliers, that had no Tent, was found dead at the foot of a small Tree, he had seized on. I doubt, whether I shall outlive this days journey; all my hope is in a little dry curdled Milk, which I am going to dilute with Water and Sugar, and some Limons, I have left, to make Limonade. Farewel; the Ink dryeth at the end of my Pen, and the Pen falls out of my hand. Farewell.

The EIGHTH LETTER, to the same.

Written from Bember, *the Entry of the Mountains of* Kachemire, *after having two days encamped there. What* Bember *is; the change of carriages for the Mountains; the incredible number of Porters, and the order observed in the Army.*

SIR,

WE are at length arriv'd at *Bember*, the foot of a steep, black, and burn'd Mountain, and we are encamped in the channel of a large Torrent dried up, full of sand and stones burning hot; It is like an hot Oven: And if it were not for the shower of Rain, we had this morning, and for the curled Milk, the Limons, and the Fowl brought to us from the mountains, I know not what would have become of me, and you would perhaps never have seen this Letter. But, God be thanked, I feel the Air a little cooler; my Stomach, Strength and Tongue are returned. So then take this account of our new kind of march and trouble.

Yester-night the King first of all, together with *Rauchenara-Begum*, and the other Women of the *Seraglio*, the *Raja Ragnat* that performs the Office of the Vizir, and *Fasel-kan* the High Steward, went away from this burning place, and last night the great Hunting-master departed with some of the greatest and most necessary Officers of the Royal Family, and many considerable Women. This night 'tis our turn; my *Nayab Danech-mand-kan* will go away, and *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, the Son of that famous *Emir-jemla*, of whom I have spoken so much in another place, will be of our Company; and so will *Dianet-kan*, our good friend, with his two Sons, and many other *Omrahs*, *Rajahs* and *Mansch-dars*: And after us, all the other Lords, that are bound for *Kachemire*, will be gone all in their turns, to avoid in these difficult and narrow ways of the mountains, the trouble and confusion, during these five days of marching between this place and *Kachemire*. All the rest of the Court, as *Fedaykan*, the great Master of the Artillery,

three or four great *Rajas*, and many *Omrahs*, are to ſtay hereabout for a guard, during three or four months, , until the King do return after the great heats are over. Some ſhall go to dreſs their Tents on the one ſide of the River *Tebenau*, others in the neighbouring Towns and Burroughs, and others will be obliged to camp here in this Fire of *Bember*.

The King for fear of ſtarving this ſmall Kingdom of *Kachemire*, firſt carries with him the leaſt number of Women he can, the greateſt Ladies, the beſt friends of *Rauchenara-Begum*, and thoſe that are moſt neceſſary for ſervice. Nor doth he carry more of the *Omrahs* and *Militia* than he needs muſt: And the *Omrahs* that have leave to come with him cannot take with them all the Cavaliers, but only 25 of 100, yet without comprehending therein the particular Officers of their Family. And that is to be religiouſly obſerv'd, becauſe there is an *Omrah* upon the Guard at the entry of the Mountains, that reckons all that paſs, one by one, and hinders the paſſing of that great number of *Manſeb-dars* and other Cavaliers, that would fain go and enjoy the cool Air of *Kachemire*; as alſo all thoſe ſmall Merchants and little people of *Bazar* that ſeek to gain a livelyhood. The King, for the carriage of neceſſaries and the Women of the *Seraglio*, taketh with him ſome of the ſtrongeſt and beſt Elephants: Theſe Beaſts, though groſs and unwieldy, are very ſure-footed, and in ill way they march very warily, aſſuring themſelves firſt of one foot before they remove the other. He taketh alſo ſome Mules with him; but Camels, the moſt neceſſary, he cannot make uſe of in this paſſage; theſe Mountains being too ſteep and craggy for their long ſhanked and ſtiff leggs: Porters muſt ſupply their places; and what number you think muſt there be, if the King alone, as they ſay, hath above ſix thouſand for his occaſions, and I, a private man, though I have left at *Labor* my ordinary Tent and much of my baggage, as every one hath done, even the King himſelf and the *Omrahs*, find my ſelf obliged to have three of them? 'Tis believed, there are already no leſs here than fifteen thouſand, partly of thoſe which the Governour of *Kachemire* and the *Rajas* here about have compelled to be here, partly of thoſe that come hither of their own accord out of the neighbouring Villages to earn ſomething; for a man is obliged, following the Kings order, to give them ten Crowns for an hundred pound weight. 'Tis ſaid, that, in all, there are above thirty thouſand of them, without reckoning that a month ago the King and the *Omrahs* ſent away ſome baggage before, and the Merchants, all ſorts of Commodities.

THE NINTH LETTER.

An exact deſcription of the Kingdom of Kachemire, *and the preſent State of the Neighbouring Mountains; together with an Anſwer to five conſiderable Queſtions of a Friend.*

SIR,

THE Hiſtories of the Ancient Kings of *Kachemire* tell us, that all that Countrey was formerly nothing but a great Lake; and that there was an old Holy man, called *Kacheb*, that gave an outlet to the Waters by a Miraculous Cut he made in the Mountain of *Baramoule*. This may be ſeen in the Abridgment of theſe Hiſtories, which *Jehan-Guire* cauſed to be made, and which I am tranſlating out of the *Perſian* Tongue. For my part, I would not deny, all this Land to have once been cover'd with Water; the like is affirmed of *Theſſaly*, and ſome other Countries; but 'tis hard to believe, that this opening is the work of one man, becauſe the Mountain is very big and very high. I ſhould rather think, that ſome great Earthquake (thoſe parts being ſubject enough to them) had open'd ſome Cavern under ground, which the Mountain did ſink into, after the ſame manner as the opening of *Babel-Mandel* is made (if it be true what the *Arabians* of that Countrey ſay of it) and as whole Towns and Mountains have been ſeen to be ſwallow'd up in great Lakes.

However it be, *Kachemire* is no Lake now, but a very fair Campagne, diverſified by many little Hillocks, about 30 Leagues long, and 10, or 12 Leagues broad; ſituated in the extream of *Indoſtan*, North of *Labor*, lock'd up within the Mountains of *Cancaſus*, between thoſe of the Kings of the great *Tibet*, the little *Tibet*, and the Raja *Gamon*, its next Neighbours.

The firſt Mountains ſurrounding it, I mean thoſe that are next to the Plain, are of a middle height, all green with Trees or Paſture, full of all ſorts of Cattel, as Cows, Sheep,

Sheep, Goats, Horſes; and of Game of divers kinds, as Partridges, Hares, Gazelles, and of ſome Animals yielding Musk. There are alſo abundance of Bees; and (which is rare in the *Indies*) there are found no Serpents, Tigers, Bears, Lions, but very ſeldom. So that it may be ſaid, that theſe are not only very innocent Mountains, but flowing with Milk and Honey, as were thoſe of the Land of Promiſe.

Beyond thoſe middle-ſiz'd Mountains, there riſe others, very high ones, the top of which are alwayes cover'd with Snow, and appear above the ordinary Clouds and Miſts, alwayes calm and clear as well as Mount *Olympus*.

Out of all theſe Mountains do iſſue innumerable Sources and Rivulets on all ſides, which the Inhabitants know how to convey to their *Rice*-fields, and even through raiſed Ground unto their little Hillocks; and which, after they have made a thouſand other little Rivulets, and a thouſand *Caſcata's* every where, come at laſt to meet, and to make a very fair River, that carrieth Boats as big as our River of *Seine*, and after it hath gently turn'd about the Kingdom, and paſſed through the midſt of the Capital City, finds its out-let at *Baramoule* between two ſteep Rocks, and having afterwards taken in many ſmall Rivers that come down from the Mountains, falls about *Atex* into the River *Indus*.

All theſe Rivulets deſcending from the Mountains, make the Plain and all thoſe Hillocks ſo fair and fruitful, that one would take this whole Kingdom for ſome great *Ever-green* Garden, intermixed with Villages and Burroughs, diſcovering themſelves between Trees, and diverſified by Meadows, Fields of Rice, Corn, and divers other Legumes, of Hemp, and Saffron; all interlaced with Ditches full of Water, with Channels, with ſmall Lakes and Rivulets here and there. Up and down every where are alſo ſeen ſome of our *European* Plants, Flowers, and all ſorts of our Trees, as Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricots, Nuts, Vines. The particular Gardens are full of Melons, Water-melons, Skirrets, Beets, Radiſhes, all ſorts of *our* Pot-herbs, and of ſome we have not.

'Tis true, there are not ſo many ſorts of Fruit as with us, nor are they ſo excellent as ours; but I believe that that is not the fault of the Soil, but that, if they had as good Gardeners as we, knowing to cultivate and graft Trees, to chuſe proper places and proper Stocks, and to ſend for Grafts from Forreign Countries, they would have as many and as good as we; becauſe among that number of divers ſorts, which I often cauſed to be brought to me, I have frequently met with very excellent ones.

The Capital City, which is of the ſame name with that of the Kingdom, is without walls; 'tis three quarters of a League long, and half a League broad; ſcituate in a Plain, about two Leagues diſtant from Mountains, which ſeem to make as 'twere a Semi-Circle; and ſtanding upon a Lake of ſweet Water of four or five miles in compaſs, which is made up of Live-Springs, and of Rivulets running down the Mountains, and diſgorgeth it ſelf by a Navigable Channel into the River which paſſeth through the midſt of the Town. This River hath in the Town two wooden Bridges over it for communication. Moſt Houſes are of Wood, but well built, and of two or three Stories high; not as if they had not very good Free Stone there (many old Idol-Temples ruined, and other Buildings made of it, being yet to be ſeen;) but the abundance of Wood, eaſily deſcending from the mountains by little Rivers, which it is caſt into, maketh people find that way of Building turn to better account. The Houſes that ſtand upon the River have almoſt all of them their little Garden, lying upon the Water; which maketh a very pleaſant Perſpective, eſpecially in the Spring and Summer, when men walk on the River-ſide. The other Houſes that ſtand not upon the River, have alſo almoſt all of them ſome Garden; and there are a good number of ſuch, that have a Channel anſwering to the Lake, and a little Boat to go and divert themſelves upon it.

In one end of the Town there appears an Hill, looſe from all the reſt, which maketh another very agreeable Perſpective, becauſe on its Declivity there ſtand very fine Houſes with Gardens, and on the top a Moſquee and an Heremitage well built with a Garden, and ſtore of fine green Trees: And 'tis upon the account of theſe Trees and Gardens, that in the Language of the Country 'tis called *Haryperbet*, as if you ſhould ſay, the Mountain of Verdure.

Oppoſite to this Hill there is ſeen another, on which there is alſo a Moſquee, but a little one, together with a Garden, and a very ancient Building, which ſeems to have been a Temple of Idols, though they call it *Taſt Soulioman*, that is, the Throne of *Soloman*, becauſe that *Soloman*, as the *Mahumetans* ſay, cauſed it to be built when he came to

Kachemire; but how they will prove, that *Solomon* made this Voyage, I know not.

The *Lake* hath this peculiar, that 'tis full of little Isles, which are as many Gardens of Pleasure, that appear all green in the midst of the Water, by reason of those fruit-bearing Trees, and of the Walks, on both sides set with Arbors, and because they are surrounded with large-leaved Aspen-trees, standing at two foot distance from one another; the biggest whereof may be clasped about, but as tall as Masts of great Ships, having only a tuft of Branches at the top like Palm-trees.

Beyond the Lake, upon the side of the Hills, there is nothing but Houses and Gardens of pleasure, the place having been found wonderfully proper for it, as being in a very fine Air, in the view of the Lake, the Isles, and the Town, and full of Springs and Rivulets.

The most admirable of all these Gardens is that of the King, which is called *Chah-limar*. From the Lake, one enters into it by a great Canal, border'd with great green Turfs. This Canal is above five hundred common paces long, and runs 'twixt two large Allees of Poplars: It leadeth to a great Cabinet in the midst of the Garden, where begins another Canal far more magnificent, which runs with a little rising unto the end of the Garden. This Canal is paved with large Free-Stone; its sloping side cover'd with the same; and in the midst of it, there is a long Row of Jets of Water, from 15 to 15 foot. There are also, from space to space, great Rounds of Water serving for Store-houses, whence many Jets of Water, variously figured, do spring up: And this Canal ends at another great Cabinet, which is almost like the first.

These Cabinets, which are in a manner made like *Domes*, scituate in the middle of the Canal, and encompassed with Water, and consequently between those two great Allees of Poplars, have a Gallery that reigneth round about, and four Gates opposite to one another; two of which do respect the Allees, with two Bridges to pass over, one on one side, and the other on the other; the other two look upon the opposite Canals. Each Cabinet consists of a great Chamber in the midst of four other lesser Chambers, which are in the four Corners: All is painted and guilded within, the great Chamber as well as the little ones, having Sentences with great Letters in the *Persian* Tongue written upon them. The four Gates are very rich; they are made of great Stones with two Columns, taken from those ancient Idol-Temples, ruin'd by *Chah-Jehan*. The price of these great Stones and Pillars is not well known, nor what kind of Stone they be; though it appears sufficiently, that 'tis a sort of precious Stone, finer than Marble or Porphyre.

From all that hath been said, one may easily conjecture, that I am somewhat charmed with *Kachemire*, and that I pretend, there is perhaps nothing in the world like it for so small a Kingdom. It deserves very well to reign over all those neighbouring Mountains as far as *Tartary*, and over all *Indostan*, as far as *Ceilon*, as once it did: And 'tis not without some cause, that the *Mogols* call it the Terrestrial *Paradise* of the Indies; that *Ecbar* took so much pains to make himself Master of it; and that his Son *Jehan-Guire* became so amorous thereof, that he could not leave it; and often said, he would rather lose all his Empire, than *Kachemire*. And from the time that we arrived there, all the Poets, both *Kachemirians* and *Mogolians*, strove to make Poems to the praise of this little Kingdom, to present them to *Aureng-Zebe*, who gladly received and rewarded them. I remember, that among others, there was one, that exaggerating the extraordinary height of the Mountains encompassing it, and rendring it almost inaccessible any where, said, that the top of these Mountains was the cause, that the Heavens did retire into the Figure of a Vault, as we see it; and that *Kachemire* being the Master-piece of Nature, and the King of the Kingdoms of the World, it was sutable it should be hard of access, and so enjoy an undisturbed peace and tranquility, commanding all, and not being liable to be commanded by any. He added, that the reason why Nature had surrounded it with Mountains, of which some, namely the highest and most remote, were alwaies white and covered with Snow, the lowermost and the next to the Plain, all green and covered with Wood, was, because that the King of the Kingdoms of the World was to wear the most precious Crown, the top whereof was to be of Diamonds, and the bottom of Emeraulds. If the Poet had added (said I to my *Nawab Daneeh-mend-kan*; who was willing to make me admire all those Poems) that all those great Countries of Mountains that environ it, as the little *Tibet*, the State of the Raja *Gamon*, *Kachguer*, and

Sere-

Serenaguer, are to be comprehended under the Kingdom of *Kachemire*; since, according to the History of the Countrey, they once depended from it, and consequently that the River *Ganges* on the one side, that of *Indus* on the other, the *Chenan* on a third, and the *Gemma* on the fourth, do issue out of *Kachemire*; that these Rivers, with so many others that run thence, do countervail the *Gihon*, the *Pison*, and the two others; and if at last he had concluded, that this was certainly the true Terrestrial Paradise, rather than that in *Armenia*, this would have much enhaunced the worth of all his Commendations. *Gen.* 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.

The *Kachemirians* have the Reputation of being a very witty people, much more intelligent and dexterous than the *Indians*, and as fit for Poesie and Sciences as the *Persians*. Besides, they are very industrious and willing to take pains; they make *Palekys*, Trunks, Bed-steds, Standishes, Boxes, Spoons, , and many other pieces, and all of good and very handsome Workmanship, sent over all the *Indies*. They know how to give it a good Vernish, and so dexterously to counterfeit the Veins of a certain Wood that hath very fine ones, by applying Gold-strings upon it, that there is nothing finer. But what is peculiar and considerable in them, and which draws the Trade and Silver into their Countrey, is that prodigious quantity of Stuffs call'd *Chales*, which they work there, and employ their little Childeren in. These *Chales* are certain kinds of Stuff an Ell and a half long, and about an Ell broad, which are embroidered at each end with a kind of Embroidery about a Foot large. The *Mogols* and *Indians*, both Men and Women, wear of them in Winter upon their Heads, passing them over their left Shoulder like a Mantle. They make two sorts of them; one, of the wool of the Countrey, which is finer than that of *Spain*; the other, of a Wool, or rather of an Hair, they call *Touz*, taken from the Breast of a wild Goat of the great *Tibet*. These latter are of a far greater price than the former; neither is there any *Castor* so soft and delicate. The mischief is, the worms get easily into it, unless you have a particular care often to unfold and air them. I have seen of these which the *Omrahs* purposely caused to be made, which cost an hundred and fifty *Roupies*: Of the others that are made of the Wool of the Countrey, I have seen none that costs above fifty.

'Tis observed of these *Chales*, that, work them never so carefully in *Patna*, *Agra*, and *Labor*, you shall never make the Stuff so soft and fine, as in *Kachemire*; which is commonly imputed to the particular Water of the Countrey: As at *Masulipatan* they make those fine stuffs, which become fairer by washing.

The *Kachemirians* are also famous for their good complexion. They look as well as our *Europeans*, and have nothing of a *Tartarian* flat-nos'd and little ey'd Face, as those of *Kachguer*, and most of the people of the great *Tibet*. The Women especially are very beautiful; and therefore all Strangers, that are new-comers to the Court of *Mogol*, are furnished from thence, that so they may have Children whiter than the *Indians*, and which by these means may pass for true *Mogols*. And certainly, if one may judge of the Beauty of the retired Women by that of the common People, met with in the Streets, and seen up and down in the Shops, we must believe, that there are very handsom ones. At *Labor*, where they have the repute of being proper and slender, and the handsomest of the Brown Lasses of the *Indies* (as *really* they are) I used an Art which is ordinary among the *Mogols*, which is, to follow some Elephants, especially those that are richly harnessed; for assoon as those Women hear the two Bells hanging on the sides of those Beasts, they all put their heads out of the Windows. The same Trick I used here; and I made also use of another, in which I succeeded very well; it was devised by an old and famous Master of a School, whom I had taken to help me to understand a *Persian* Poet. He made me buy store of Confits; and he being known and welcom every where, carried me into above 15 houses, telling them that I was his Kinsman, newly come out of *Persia*, that I was rich and to be married: As soon as we came into a house, he distributed Confits to the Children, and presently all came about us, Women and Children, great and small, to have their share, or to be seen This curiosity alone cost me many a good *Roupy*; but it confirm'd me, that in *Kachemire* there are as fair Faces, as in any place of *Europe*.

There remains only to impart unto you what I observed most considerable between the Mountains, from *Bember* hither, (with which perhaps I should have begun;) and after having given you account of some other little Voyages I have been obliged to make i diver sparts of this Kingdom, you will learn all I could come to know of the rest of the circumjacent Mountains.

Con-

Concerning therefore first our Voyage from *Bember* hither, it seem'd to me surprising enough, to find my self from the first night that we parted from *Bember*, and entred into the Mountains, pass from a Torrid to a Temperate Zone: For, we had no sooner mounted this dreadful Wall of the World, I mean, this high, steep, black and bald Mountain, of *Bember*, but that in descending on the other side, we found an Air that was pretty tollerable, fresh, gentle and temperate. But that which surprised me more in these Mountains, was, to find my self, in a trice, transported out of the *Indies* into *Europe*. For, seeing the Earth covered with all our plants and shrubs, except Issop, Thyme, Marjoram and Rosemary, I imagined I was in some of our Mountains of *Auvergne*, in the midst of a Forest of all our kinds of Trees, Pines, Oaks, Elms, Plane-trees. And I was the more astonish'd because in all those burning Fields of *Indostan*, whence I came, I had seen almost nothing of all that.

Among other things relating to Plants, this surprised me, that one and a half days journy from *Bember* I found a Mountain, that was cover'd with them on both sides, but with this difference, that on the side of the Mountain that was Southerly, toward the *Indies*, there was a mixture of *Indian* and *European* Plants, and on that which was exposed to the North I observ'd none but *European* ones; as if the former had participated of the Air and temper of *Europe* and the *Indies*, and the other had been meerly *European*.

As to the Trees, I admired this natural course of Generations and Corruptions: Below in these bottoms, where perhaps no man ever was, I saw hundreds that were falling, or fallen, one upon another, dead and half rotten of age; and other young and verdant ones growing out of the foot of those that were dead: Some of them also I saw burnt, whether it was from Lightning, or that in the heat of Summer they had taken fire by rubbing themselves against one another, when they were agitated by some hot and impetuous wind; or, as the Country-people say, that they take fire of themselves, when they are grown old and dry.

I admired also those natural *Cascata's* of water, which we found between those Rocks. We met, among others, one of them so wonderful, that doubtless, it cannot be parallel'd. One seeth a far off from the side of an high Mountain, running down a Torrent of water in a Channel cover'd with Trees, and precipitate it self in a trice to the bottom of a steep Rock of a stupendious height, with a noise that is able to strike one deaf, like a *Cataract*. There was erected near it, a Theatre, upon a Rock, which *Jehan-Guire* had caused purposely to be made plain, that the Court passing, might there repose themselves, and from thence with conveniency behold this admirable Work-man-ship of Nature; which as well as those old Trees, I was just now speaking of, seems to resemble something of great Antiquity, and of the first production of the World.

All these divertisements were blended with an odd accident. On the day, that the King went up the Mountain of *Pire-penjale*, which is the highest of all, and whence one begins to discover a far off the Country of *Kachemire*; on that day, I say, that the King ascended this Mountain, being followed by a long row of Elephants, upon which sate the Women in *Mikdembers*, and *Embarys*; one of those Elephants was frighted by beholding, as the *Indians* would have it, such a long and steep ascent, and fell back upon him that was next, and he upon the next, and so on to the fifteenth, so that not one of them being able to turn in this way, which was extreamly rude and steep, they all tumbled into the precipice. It was good fortune for those poor Women, that the precipice it self was not very steep, so that there were but three or four of them kill'd; but the fifteen Elephants remai'nd upon the place. When these bulky Masses do once fall under those vast burthens they are loaden with, they never rise again, though the way be never so fair. We saw them two days after, in passing by, and I observed some of them yet stirring their Trunk. This accident put the whole Army, which had marched four days along the Mountains in file, into great disorder, because to recover these Women and all that wreck, a stop was made for the remainder of that day and all the night, every one being necessitated to stop where he was, because it was in many places impossible to advance or go back, and none had near him those Porters that carried his Tent and Victuals. As for my self, I was not in the worst condition, having found means to creep out of the way, and to take the conveniency of a small place to lye down in, for my self and my Horse. And, to my good luck, one of my servants that follow'd me, had a little bread, which we shared together. I remember, it was there

where

where stirring some stones we found a great black Scorpion, which a young *Mogol* of my acquaintance took, and squeezed it in his own hand, and then in the hand of my servant, and at last in mine, without our being stung by him. This young Cavalier said, that he had charm'd him, as he had done many others before, by a passage of the *Alcoran*, which he would not teach me, because, *he said*, the power of charming would pass to me and leave himself, as it had passed to him by quitting his Teacher.

In traversing this same Mountain of *Pire-penjale*, where the Elephants tumbled down, there occurr'd, those things which call'd to my mind some of my former philosophical thoughts. The *first* was, that in less than an hour we felt *Summer* and *Winter*; for in ascending we did sweat gross drops, all men going on foot in a burning Sun; and when we came to the top of the Mountain, we yet found the Icy Snow, that had been cut to open the way; there was a Frost upon a misling Rain, and there blew a wind so cold, that all people shook and run away, especially the silly *Indians*, who never had seen Ice or Snow, nor felt such a cold.

The *second* was, that in less than two hundred paces I met with two quite contrary winds; one from the North, which blew in my face ascending, especially when I came near the top, and another from the South, which blew against my back in descending; as if this Hill had protruded exhalations out of its bowels from all sides, which coming forth had caused, a wind that had descended and taken its course in those two opposite dales.

The *third* was the meeting an old Hermit, that had lived on the top of this Mountain since the time of *Jehan-Guire*, and whose Religion was not known; though it was said, that he did miracles, caused strange thunders when he would, and raised storms of Hail, Snow, Rain and Wind. He look'd somewhat savage-like, having a long and large white Beard uncombed. He asked alms somewhat fiercely; suffer'd us to take up water in earthen cups, he had ranged upon a great stone; made signe with his hand, importing that we should speedily march away, and grumbled at those that made a noise, because, said he to me, (when I was come into his Cave, and had a little sweetned his looks with half a Roupy, which with much humility I put into his hand) a noise raiseth furious storms and tempests. *Aureng-Zebe*, said he further, did very well in following my counsel, and not permitting to make a noise: *Chah-Jehan* always took care of the same; but *Jehan Guire* once mocking at it, and causing Trumpets and Cymbals to sound, was like to have perished here.

In reference to the little Voyages I have made in divers parts of this Kingdom, behold the particulars I took notice of as I passed. We were no sooner arrived at *Kachemire*, but my *Nawab Danech-mend-kan* sent me, together with one of his Horse-men for a Convoy, and a Country-man, to one of the extremities of this Kingdom, three small days journey from hence, upon the relation made him, that this was the very time to see the Wonders (for so they speak of them) of a Spring that is thereabout. These Wonders are, that in the month of *May*, the time when the Snow begins but to melt, this Fountain, for about the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and stops thrice a day, at break of day, at noon and at night: Its flowing ordinarily lasts three quarters of an hour, more or less, and that plentifully enough, to fill a square receptacle, having steps to go down to it, and being about ten or twelve foot broad, and as many foot deep. After the first fifteen days, its course begins to be less regular and less copious; and at length, after a month or thereabout, it quite stops and runs no more for the rest of the year, unless it be, that during some plentiful and long rains, it flows incessantly and without Rule, as other Fountains do. The *Gentiles* have on the side of the Receiver a little Temple of the Idol of *Brare*, which is one of their false Deities; and thence it is that they call this Fountain *Send-Brary*, as as if you should say, *Water of Brare*; and that thither they come from all parts in pilgrimage, to bathe and sanctifie themselves in this miraculous water. Upon the origin of this Water they make many fables, which I shall not recite to you, because I find not the least shadow of truth in them. During the five or six days of my stay there, I did what possible I could to find the reason of this Wonder. I did attentively consider the situation of the Mountain, at the foot of which this Spring is found: I went to the very top with great pains, searching and prying every where. I observed that it extends it self in length from North to South; that 'tis sever'd from other Mountains, which yet are very near to it; that it is in the form of an Asses back; that its top, which is very long, hath not much more than an hundred paces where it is largest; that one

of

of the side of the Mountain, which is cover'd with nothing but green grass, is expos'd to the East, yet so that the Sun comes not to shine on't before eight a clock in the morning, because of the other opposite Mountains; and lastly, that the other side, which is expos'd to the West, is covered with Trees and Bushes. All this being considered, I did imagine, that the heat of the Sun, together with the particular situation and the internal disposition of the Mountain, might very well be the cause of this pretended Miracle; that the Morning Sun, coming briskly to strike on the side opposite thereto, heats it, and melts part of the frozen waters, which during the Winter, when all was covered with Snow, had insinuated themselves into the inner parts of the earth of this Mountain; that these waters penetrating, and by little and little running down unto certain beds of quick rock, which retain and convey them toward the Spring-head, cause the flowing of the Fountain at Noon; That the same Sun, raised to the South, and leaving that other side, now growing cold, for to strike with its beams as 'twere perpendicularly, the top, doth also melt other frozen waters, which likewise run down by little and little as the other, but by other turnings, unto those rocky beds, and cause the Flowing at Night: and that lastly, the Sun heating likewise this Western side, produceth the like effect, and causes the third flux in the Morning; which is slower than the two others, either because this Western side is remote from the Eastern where the Source is; or because that being covered with wood, it is not so soon heated; or by reason of the cold of the night. Now I found this my reasoning the more cogent, forasmuch as it seems to agree with what is affirmed, that in the first days the water comes in greater abundance than in the latter; and that at last it stops, and runs not at all; as if indeed in the beginning there were of those frozen waters greater plenty in the earth than at last. It seems also to agree with what is observed, that there are some days in the beginning, in which one flux is found more abounding than the other, and sometimes more at noon than in the evening or morning, or in the morning more than at noon; it commonly falling out so that some days there are hotter than others, or that some clouds arise which interrupt the equality of the heat, and consequently make the flux unequal.

Returning from *Send-brary* I turn'd a little aside from the road to go and lye at *Achiavel*, which is an House of pleasure of the ancient Kings of *Kachemire*, and at present of the Great *Mogol*. That which most adorns it, is a Fountain, the water where of diffuseth it self on all sides round about that Fabrick (which is not despicable) and into the Gardens by an hundred Canals. It breaks out of the Earth, as if by some violence it ascended up from the bottom of a Well, and that with such an abundance as might make it to be called a River rather than a Fountain. The water of it is admirably good, and so cold that one can hardly endure to hold ones hand in it. The Garden it self is very fine, there being curious Walks in it, and store of Fruit-bearing Trees, of Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricocks and Cherries, and many jets of waters of various figures, and Ponds repleniſh'd with Fish, together with a very high *Cascata* of water, which by its fall maketh a great Nape of thirty or forty paces long, which hath an admirable effect, especially in the night, when under this Nape there is put a great number of little Lamps fitted in holes purposely made in the Wall; which maketh a curious shew.

From *Achiavel* I went yet a little more out of my way to pass through another Royal Garden, which is also very beautiful, and hath the same pleasantness with that of *Achiavel*, but this is peculiar in it, that in one of its Ponds there are Fishes that come when they are called, and when you cast bread to them; the biggest whereof have golden Rings in their Noses, with inscriptions about them, which they say that renowned *Nour-Mahalle*, the Wife of *Jehan-Guire*, the Grandfather of *Aurang-Zebe*, caused to be fastened in them.

I was no sooner returned from *Send-brary*, but *Daneeb-mend-kan*, well satisfied with my Voyage, made me undertake one more, to see another sure Miracle, as he call'd it, which should be capable to make me soon change my Religion, and turn *Musselman*. Go, saith he, to *Beramoulay*, which is not further from hence than *Send-brary*; there you shall find a Mosquee in which is the Tomb of one of our *Pires* or Saints, which still every day works Miracles in curing sick people, that flock thither from all parts: It may be, that you will believe nothing of all those miraculous Cures you shall see; but you will at least believe one Miracle, which is done every day, and you may see with your own eyes: And that is of a big round stone, which the strongest man is hardly

hardly able to raiſe in the leaſt from the ground, but yet eleven men, by praying to that Saint, lift up, as if it were a ſtraw, with the end of their eleven fingers, without any trouble at all, and without being ſenſible of any weight. Hereupon I began this journey alſo, accompanied with my Horſeman and the Countrey-fellow, and being arrived at *Baramoulay*, I found it a place pleaſant enough. The Moſquee is ſufficiently well built, the Tomb of the pretended Saint well adorn'd, and round about it there was ſtore of people of great devotion, who ſaid they were ſick. Near the Moſquee there was a Kitchen with large Kettles full of Fleſh and Rice, which, in my opinion, was the Magnet drawing the ſick people thither, and the Miracle that cured them. On the other ſide was the Garden and the Chambers of the *Mullahs*, who with great conveniency, and delight ſpend their life there, under the ſhadow of the miraculous Sanctity of this *Pire*, which they are not wanting to celebrate: But as I am always very unhappy in ſuch occaſions, he did no Miracle that day upon any of the ſick. As for the great *Stone*, which was *the* buſineſs I came for; there were Eleven Cheats of theſe *Mullahs* that crowded together in a roupd, and by their long Veſts hindred me from ſeeing well in what manner they took and lifted it up, yet ſaid all, that they held it only with the end of one of their fingers, and that it was as light as a feather. For my part, who had my eyes open, and look'd on narrowly, I perceived well enough, that they took great pains, and they ſeemed to me, that they uſed alſo the thumb, which they held very firm upon the ſecond finger bent and cloſed: But yet I was not wanting to cry out as well as the *Mullahs* and all the other aſſiſtants, *Karamet*, *Karamet*, Miracle, Miracle; giving at the ſame time a Roupy for the *Mullahs*, and with great ſhew of devotion praying them to favour me with ſuffering me once to be one of the Eleven lifters up of the Stone. They did heſitate long before they reſolved to permit it; but having given them another Roupy, and made them believe I was perſwaded of the truth of the Miracle, one of the Eleven gave me his place, they doubtleſs imagining, that Ten of them joyned together would be ſufficient to do the buſineſs, though I ſhould not add much to it, and that they would ſo range themſelves and crowd together, that I ſhould perceive nothing of their impoſture. But they found themſelves egregiouſly deceived, when they ſaw, that the Stone, which I would not ſupport but only by the end of my finger, alwayes inclined and fell to my ſide, untill at length I found it neceſſary to put my thumb to it, and to hold it with my finger as they did; and then we lifted it up from the earth, yet not without much pain. Notwithſtanding which, when I ſaw that they all looked upon me aſquint, not knowing what to make of me, I ſtill went on crying like the reſt, *Karamet*, Miracle, Miracle, and over and above caſting to them another Roupy to ſecure my ſelf from being ſton'd; and ſtealing away from among the crowd, I preſently took horſe, without eating or drinking, and left the Saint and the Miracles to thoſe that had faith enough to believe them: Obſerving, as I paſſed along, that famous opening, which is an outlet to all the waters of this Kingdom, of which I have already ſaid ſomething in the beginning of this Book.

I left my way again, to approach to a great Lake, which I ſaw a far off, thorough the middle whereof paſſeth the River that runs to *Baramoulay*. It is full of Fiſh, eſpecially Eels, and covered with Ducks and wild Fowl, and many other River Fowl. 'Tis where the Governour comes in Winter, at which time 'tis covered with thoſe creatures, to divert himſelf with fowling. In the midſt of this Lake there is an Eremitage with its little Garden, which, as they ſay, doth miraculouſly flote upon the water, and where the Eremite paſſeth his Life without ever going from it. Beſides which, they make a thouſand other ridiculous tales of it, which are not worth reciting, unleſs perhaps you will except what ſome have told me. That it was one of thoſe ancient Kings of *Kachemire*, who out of curioſity cauſed this Eremitage to be built upon thick beams faſtned to one another.

Thence I went to find out a Fountain, which hath ſomething that's rare enough in it; bubling up gently, and riſing with ſome little impetuoſity, and making ſmall bubles of air, and carrying with it, to the top, ſome ſmall Sand that is very fine, which goeth away again as it came, the Water becoming ſtill, a moment after it, without ebullition, and without bringing up Sand; and ſoon after beginning afreſh as before; and ſo continuing its motion by intervals, which are not regular. But the Wonder, as they ſay, conſiſts in this, that the leaſt noiſe, made by ſpeaking, or by knocking ones foot againſt the ground, moveth the water, and maketh it run and bubble as was ſaid. Yet I found

plainly, that ſpeaking or knocking availeth nothing to produce that effect, and that it moveth as well when one ſaith nothing, as when one ſpeaks or knocketh. But now, to give the true cauſe of it, *that* requireth more thinking than I have beſtow'd upon it; unleſs one ſhould ſay, that the Sand, by falling down again, obſtructeth the narrow Channel of this ſmall and weak Spring, until the water, being cloſed up and kept in, it make an effort to remove and raiſe again the Sand, and ſo to diſengage it ſelf; or rather, that ſome wind, pent in the Channel of the Spring, riſes by turns, as it comes to paſs in artificial Fountains.

After we had conſidered this Fountain, we entred into the Mountains to ſee a great Lake, which hath Ice in Summer, and looketh like a little icy Sea, having heaps of Ice, made and unmade by the Winds. Afterwards we paſſed through a certain place, call'd *Seng-ſafed*, that is, White ſtone; which is famous for being full all the Summer long of all ſorts of Flowers like a *Parterre*, and for this obſervation, that when much people goes thither, making a great noiſe and much ſtirring the air, there preſently falls a ſhower of rain. This is certain, that when, ſome years ſince, *Chah-Jehan* went thither, he was in danger of periſhing by the great and extraordinary rain ſurvening, though he had commanded, they ſhould make the leaſt noiſe they could. This agreed with what my Eremite of *Pirepengale* had told me.

And now I was going to a Grotta of odd congelations, which is two days journey from thence; but I received news, that after my ſo long abſence my *Navab* was troubled about me.

As to the condition of the neighbouring Mountains round about, I have, ſince our being here, done what poſſibly I could to inform my ſelf about them; but I have profited but little, for want of people that are intelligent and obſerve things; yet notwithſtanding I will not omit to relate to you what I have learn'd of it.

The Merchants of *Kachemire*, that go every year from mountain to mountain, gathering fine Wool to make thoſe Stuffs I have above been ſpeaking of, do all agree, that between the mountains, which ſtill depend from *Kachemire*, there are found very fine places of good land, and that amongſt others there is one place, which pays it tribute in Leather and Wooll, ſent for by the Governour every year; and where the Women are extream handſome, chaſt and laborious; that there is alſo another farther off from *Kachemire*, which alſo pays its tribute in Leather and Wooll, and hath very pretty, though but ſmall, fertil plains, and moſt pleaſant vallies, abounding in Corn, Rice, Apples, Pears, excellent Apricocks and Melons; as alſo in Raiſins yielding very good Wine; the Inhabitants whereof have ſometimes refuſed to pay the tribute, relying upon the difficulty of acceſs to their Country; but there hath alwayes been a way found to enter and to reduce them. The ſame Merchants agree alſo, that among the other Mountains, that are more diſtant and depend no more from *Kachemire*, there are likewiſe found very pleaſant Countrys, peopled with very handſom Whites, but ſuch as almoſt never come out from their homes; of which ſome have no Kings, nor, as far as could be perceived, any Religion; only that ſome of them do eat no Fiſh, counting them unclean.

I ſhall add here, what I was lately told by a good ancient man, that had married a Wife of the ancient Family of the Kings of *Kachemire*. He ſaid, that when *Jehan-Guire* made a ſtrict inquiry after all thoſe that were of that Family, he was afraid to be taken, and thereupon fled with three Servants croſs theſe mountains, not knowing in a manner whither he went; that thus wandring he came at laſt into a very fine ſmall Canton, where when it came to be known who he was, the inhabitants came to viſit him and brought him preſents, and that, to make up their kindneſs, they brought to him in the evening one of the beautifulleſt of their young Maidens, praying him that he would bed with her, becauſe they deſired very much to have iſſue of his Blood: That paſſing from thence into another Canton, not much diſtant from the former, the people likewiſe came to ſee him, and to preſent him; but that the kindneſs of the evening was far different from the other, in that theſe inhabitants brought to him their own Wives, arguing that thoſe of the other Canton were Beaſts, becauſe that his Blood would not remain in their houſe, ſince the Maidens would carry the Child with them into the houſe of him, to whom they ſhould be married.

I may further add, that ſome years ſince, there being a diſſention riſen between the family of the King of the little *Tibet*, which borders upon *Kachemire*, one of the pretenders, to the Crown did ſecretly call for the aſſiſtance of the Governour of *Kachemire*, who

who by order of *Chah-Jehan* gave him powerful succours, and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in the possession of the Country, on condition of an annual Tribute to be paid in Crystal, Musk and Wool. This petty King could not forbear coming to see *Aureng-Zebe*, bringing with him a present of those things I just now named; but he had so pitiful a Train, That I should never have taken him for what he was. My *Navab* entertained him at dinner, that he might receive the better information concerning those Mountains. I heard him say, that his Country on the East side did confine with great *Tibet*; that it was about 30 or 40 leagues broad; that there was indeed some little Crystal, Musk, and Wool, but for the rest very poor; and that there were no Gold Mines as was said; that in some places there was very good fruit, especially Melons; that they had very hard Winters, and very troublesome, because of the deep Snows; and that the people, which formerly had been Heathen, was almost all become Mahumetan, as himself, namely, of that Sect called *Chia*, which is that of all *Persia*. Besides, that seventeen or eighteen years ago *Chah-Jehan* had attempted to make himself Master of the Kingdom of the Great *Tibet*, as formerly also had done the Kings of *Kachemire*; that his Army after sixteen days difficult march, always among Mountains, did besiege a Castle which they took; that there remain'd no more for him to do, than to pass a River, which is famous and very rapid, and thereupon to march directly to the Capital Town, which he would have easily carried, the whole Kingdom being in a panick terrour; but that the season being far spent, the Governour of *Kachemire*, who was the General of that Army, did apprehend he should be surprized by the Snow, and so returned, leaving in that Castle a Garrison, which, whether it was from fear of the Enemy, or from want of sufficient provision, he could not say, soon abandon'd it; which broke the design the Governour had of returning thither the next Spring.

Now that the King of this Great *Tibet* knows, that *Aureng-Zebe* is at *Kachemire*, and threatens him with War, he hath sent to him an Ambassador, with Presents of the Countrey, as Chrystal, and those dear White Cow-tails, by way of ornament fasten'd to the ears of Elephants, as also Musk, and a Stone of *Jachen* of great price, because of an extraordinary bigness. This *Jachen* is a blewish Stone with white veins so hard that it is wrought with nothing else but the Powder of Diamond, highly esteemed in the Court of the *Mogol*. They make Cups of it and other vessels, of which I have some richly wrought with threads of Gold, of very curious Workmanship. The Train of this Ambassador did consist of three or four Cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, having three or four hairs in their beards like the *Chinese*, and plain red Bonnets upon their heads like our Seamen, the rest of their Garments suitable. I think there were four or five of them with Swords, but the rest marched behind the Ambassador without any rod or stick. He treated with *Aureng-Zebe* in his Masters name, promising that he would suffer a Mosque to be built in the Capital City, wherein Prayers should be made after the Mahumetan way; that the Money, henceforth to be coined, should on the one side have the Impress of *Aureng-Zebe*, and that he would pay him a certain annual Tribute. But 'tis believed, that as soon as this King shall know that *Aureng-Zebe* is gone from *Kachemire*, he will laugh at all this Treaty, as he did formerly at that, which he had made with *Chah-Jehan*.

This Ambassador had in his suit a Physician, which was said to be of the Kingdom of *Lassa*, and of the Tribe *Lamy* or *Lama*, which is that of the men of the Law in that Country, as the *Brahmans* are in the *Indies*; with this difference, that the *Brahmans* have no *Caliph*, or high-Priest, but the *Lamians* have one that is not only acknowledged for such by the Kingdom of *Lassa*, but also by all *Tartary*, and who is honoured and reverenced like a divine person. This Physician had a Book of Receipts, which he would never sell to me; the writing of it seem'd, at a distance, somewhat like ours. We made him begin to write the Alphabet, but he wrote so slowly, and his writing was so bad in respect of that in his Book, that we soon judged, this must needs be a poor Doctor. He was much wedded to the *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration of Souls, and was full of admirable stories of it; among the rest he related of his great *Lama*, that when he was old and ready to die, he assembled his Council, and declared to them, that now he was passing into the Body of a little Child, lately born, that this Child was bred up with great care, and when it was about six or seven years old, they brought to it store of houshold-stuff pel mel with his own, and that the Child was able to distinguish those, that were or had been his from that of others: Which was, said this Doctor, an au-

thentick proof of the Tranſmigration. For my part, I thought at firſt he rallied, but I found at laſt, that he ſpoke very ſeriouſly. I was once to ſee him at the Ambaſſadors with a Merchant of *Kachemire*, that knew the Language of *Tibet*, and was an Interpreter to me. I made as if I would buy ſome Stuffs he had brought to ſell, which were ſome kind of Ratines of about a foot and an half broad; but it was really to learn ſomething of that Countrey, yet it was no great matter I obtain'd from him. He only told me in general, that all the Kingdom of the great *Tibet* was, in compariſon to his, a miſerable Countrey, full of Snow for more than five months of the year; that his King made often War with the *Tartars*; but he could never diſtinguiſh to me, what kind of *Tartars* they were. At length, after I had made a good many Queſtions to him, without receiving any ſatisfaction upon them, I ſaw I loſt only my time with him.

But there is another thing, which is ſo certain, that no body here doubts of it. 'Tis not yet twenty years, that there went Caravans every year from *Kachemire*, which croſſed all thoſe Mountains of the great *Tibet*, entred into *Tartary*, and arrived in about three months at *Cataja*, notwithſtanding the very ill ways, and the rapid Torrents; which latter are to be paſſed over Cords ſtretched from one Rock to another. Theſe Caravans brought back *Muſk*, *China-wood*, *Rubarb*, and *Mamiron*, which laſt is a ſmall root exceeding good for ill Eyes. Repaſſing over the great *Tibet* they alſo loaded themſelves with the Merchandiſe of that Countrey, *viz.* *Muſk*, *Cryſtal* and *Jacben*, but eſpecially with ſtore of very fine Wooll of two ſorts, one of Sheep, and the other called *Touz*, which is rather, as I have ſaid, a kind of hair approaching to our Caſtor, than a Wooll. But ſince the attempt, which *Chah-Jehan* made on that ſide, the King of the great *Tibet* hath altogether ſhut up the way, and ſuffers not any one from *Kachemire* to enter into his Countrey: And thence it is, that the Caravans at preſent go from *Patna* upon the *Ganges*, not paſſing through his Countrey at all, but leaving it on the left hand, and coming directly to the Kingdom of *Laſſa*.

Concerning this Kingdom, here called *Kacheguer*, which doubtleſs is that which our Maps call *Kaſcar*, I ſhall relate to you what I was able to learn of it from the Merchants of the Countrey it ſelf, who, knowing that *Aureng-Zebe* was to ſtay a while at *Kachemire*, were come thither with a good number of Slaves, of both Sexes, whom they had to ſell. They ſay, that the Kingdom of *Kacheguer* lyeth Eaſt of *Kachemire*, drawing a little Northward; that the ſhorteſt way thither was to go directly to the great *Tibet*; but that paſſage being obſtructed, they were forced to take their way through the little *Tibet*; that firſt they went to a ſmall Town, call'd *Gourtebe*, the laſt Town depending from *Kachemire*, and four days journey diſtant from the ſame; that from thence in eight days they came to *Eskerdou*, the Capital City of the King of the little *Tibet*, and thence in two days more to a ſmall Town call'd *Cheker*, likewiſe belonging to the little *Tibet*, and ſituate upon a River very famous for being Medicinal; that in fifteen days they came to a great Foreſt upon the Confines of the little *Tibet*, and in fifteen days more to *Kacheguer* a ſmall Town, once the Seat of the King of *Kacheguer*, which is now at *Jourkend*, lying ſomewhat more to the North, and ten days journey diſtant from *Kacheguer*. They added, that from the Town of *Kacheguer* to *Katay* 'tis no more but two months voyage; that every year there go Caravans, bringing back of all thoſe Commodities I have named, and paſſing into *Perſia* thorough *Uſbeck*, as there are others that do paſs to *Patna* in *Indoſtan*. They ſaid moreover, that to go from *Kacheguer* to *Katay*, Travellers muſt get to a Town that is eight days journey from *Coten*, the laſt Town of the Kingdom of *Kacheguer*; that the ways from *Kachemire* to *Kacheguer* are very difficult; that among others there is a place, where, in what ſeaſon ſoever it be, you muſt march for about a quarter of a League upon Ice. This is all, I could learn of thoſe parts, which though indeed it be very much confuſed and very little, yet will it be found much, conſidering I had to do *both* with people ſo ignorant, that they almoſt knew not to give a reaſon of any thing; *and* with Interpreters, who, for the moſt part, know not how to make the Queſtions to be underſtood, nor intelligibly to deliver the Anſwers made thereto.

I thought once, I would have here concluded this Letter, or rather this Book, and taken my leave of you untill I came to *Dehli*, whither we are now returning: But ſince I am in the vein of writing, and at ſome leiſure, I ſhall endeavour to give you ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe Five particulars, you demanded of me in your laſt Letter in the name of *Monſieur Thevenot*, that illuſtrious perſon, who daily giveth us more diſcoveries, without going out of his ſtudy, than we have learned of thoſe that have gone round the World.

The

The *first* of his demands is, *Whether it be true, that in the Kingdom of* Kachemire *there are* Jews *settled there from immemorial times; and if so, whether they have the Holy Scripture, and if their Old Testament be altogether conform to ours?*

The *Second* is, *That I would give you an account of what I have observed touching the Mounsons, or the Season of the ordinary Rains in the* Indies.

The *Third* is, *That I would give you my Observations, and declare to you my Thoughts concerning the wonderful regularity of the Current of the Sea, and the Winds in the* Indies.

The *Fourth* is, *Whether the Kingdom of* Bengale *is so fertile, so rich, and so beautiful, as 'tis said to be?*

The *Fifth* is, *That I would at length decide unto you the old Controversie touching the Causes of the Increase of the* Nile.

Answer to the first Demand, concerning the Jews.

I Should indeed be very glad, as well as *Monsieur The, venote* that there were *Jews* to be found in the Valley of those Mountains, who might be such, as I believe he would have them; I mean, of those *Ten Tribes* transported by *Salmanasser*. But you may assure him, that if anciently there have been of them in this place (as there is some reason to believe there were,) there are none of them at present, and all the inhabitants of it are now either Gentiles or Mahumetans; and that perhaps 'tis *China*, where they may be found. For I have lately seen, in the hands of our Reverend Father, the Jesuit of *Debli*, some Letters of a *German* Jesuite written from *Pekin*, taking notice that he had there seen some of them, that had preserved the Jewish Religion and the Old Testament, that knew nothing of the Death of JESUS CHRIST, and that they would even have made this Jesuite their *Kacan*, if he would have forborn to eat Swines flesh.

Mean time *here* also are not wanting several marks of *Judaism*. The *first* is, that at the entring into this Kingdom, after having passed the Mountains of *Pire-penjale*, all the Inhabitants I saw in the first Villages seemed to me to be *Jews*, in their garbe and meen, and in something peculiar, which maketh us often discern Nations frome one another. I am not the only person, that hath had this thought; our Father, the Jesuite, and many of our *Europeans* had the same before me. The *second* is, that I have observ'd, that among the meaner sort of the people of this Town, though they be Mahumetans, yet the name of *Mousa*, that is *Moses*, is much used. The *third*, that commonly they say, that *Salomon* came into their Country, and that it was he that cut the Mountain of *Baramoule* to give an outlet to the waters. The *fourth*, that they say, *Moses* died at *Kachemire*, and that his Tomb is one league distant from this Town. The *fifth*, that they pretend, that that little and very ancient Edifice, which appears from hence upon an high mountain, was built by *Salomon*, and that thence they call it to this very day the *Throne of Salomon*. So that I would not deny, but that some Jews may have penetrated hither; and that in length of time they may have lost the purity of their Law, turned Idolaters, at last Mahumetans. In short, we see store of the Jewish Nation that have passed into *Persia* to *Lar*, *Ispahan*, and also into *Indostan* on the side of *Goa* and *Cochin*: I have been informed, that there were of them in *Æthiopia*, even gallant and military men, and some of them so considerable and potent, that there was one of them, fifteen or sixteen years agoe, that had attempted to make himself King of a little Country of the Mountains of a very hard access; if it be true, what two Ambassadours of the King of *Æthiopia*, that were lately in this Court, related to me.

Answer to the Second Demand, about the stated Rains *in the* Indies.

THe Sun is so strong and violent in the *Indies* all the year long, and principally for the space of *eight* months, that he would burn all, and render the Country barren and inhabitable, if Providence had not particularly provided and disposed things in so admirable a way, as that in the month of *July*, when the heats are most violent, Rains begin regularly to fall, which continuing for three months together, do temper the Earth, and render it very fruitful, and so qualifie the Air that it may be endured. Yet are not these Rains so regular, that they fall always just at the same time; of which I have made many observations in different places, and principally at *Debli*, where I lived a long while. The like is found in other Countries; and there is always some dif-

difference in the time from year to year: For ſometimes they begin or end a fortnight or three weeks ſooner, ſometimes later; and there are alſo ſome years, in which they are not ſo plentiful as in others; inſomuch that two years, together it did almoſt not rain at all; which cauſed much Sickneſs, and great Famine. Beſides, there is alſo this difference in reſpect of Countries different and remote from one another, that theſe Rains ordinarily begin ſooner, or are more plentiful in one than in the other. For example, in *Bengale* and along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, as far as to the Iſle of *Ceilan*, they begin and end a month ſooner than towards the Coaſt of *Malabar*: And in *Bengale* theſe Rains are pouring down for four months, and ſometimes continue for eight days and nights together without intermiſſion; Whereas at *Debli* and *Agra* they are never ſo ſtrong, nor ſo durable, there paſſing ſometimes two or three whole days without any Rain; and ordinarily the whole morning from break of day until about nine or ten a clock it rains but very little or nothing. But the moſt conſiderable difference I have obſerv'd, is, that the rains in divers places come from different quarters of the World, as about *Debli* they come from the Eaſt, where lies *Bengale*; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of *Bengale* and upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel* they come from the South; and upon the Coaſt of *Malabar* they proceed almoſt always from the Weſt.

I have alſo obſerved another particular about which they all agree in thoſe parts, *viz.* That according as the Heat of the Summer comes ſooner or later, is more or leſs violent, and laſts longer or a ſhorter time; the Rains alſo come ſooner or later, are more or leſs plentiful, laſt longer or a ſhorter time.

Theſe Obſervations have given me ground to believe, that the Heat of the Earth and the Rarefaction of the Air muſt be the principal cauſes of theſe Rains, and draw them; foraſmuch as the Air of the Seas, which lie near round about the Lands, being colder, more condenſed, and more groſſe, filled with clouds which the great heats of the Summer raiſe from the waters, and which the winds drive and agitate, diſchargeth it ſelf eaſily upon the Land, where the Air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and leſs reſiſting than upon the Seas, ſo as that this diſcharge is more or leſs tardy and abundant, according as the Heat comes ſooner and is more violent.

Sutable to the ſame Obſervations I was perſwaded that if the Rains begin ſooner upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel* than upon that of *Malabar*, 'tis by reaſon that the Summer begins there ſooner, it being poſſible that there it may do ſo for ſome particular reaſons, which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the Country were well examin'd: For we know, that according to the different ſituation of a Land in reſpect of Seas or Mountains, and according as 'tis more Sandy, or Hilly, or Woody, the Summer comes there either ſooner or later, and with more or leſs violence.

I am further perſwaded, that it is no wonder, that the Rains come from different quarters; that upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, for example, they come from the South, and upon that of *Malabar* from the Weſt; becauſe that in all appearance it muſt be the neareſt Seas that ſend them, and the Coaſt of *Coromandel* is nearer to the Sea, which lyeth Southerly in reſpect of it, and is more expoſed to it, as the Coaſt of *Malabar* is to the Weſt of it, lying towards *Babelmandel*, *Arabia*, and the Gulf of *Perſia*.

Laſtly, I have imagined, that if at *Debli*, for example, the Rains come from the Eaſt, it may yet be that the Seas which are Southerly to it, are the origin of them; but that they are forced by reaſon of ſome Mountains, or ſome other Lands where the Air is colder, more condenſed and more reſiſting, to turn aſide and diſcharge themſelves another way, where the Air is more rarified, and where conſequently they find leſs reſiſtance.

I forgot to tell you, that I alſo obſerved at *Debli*, that there it never rains to purpoſe, till for many days there have paſſed ſtore of Clouds Weſtward; as if it were neceſſary that thoſe ſpaces of Air which are beyond *Debli* Weſtward, ſhould be firſt filled with Clouds, and that theſe Clouds finding there ſome obſtacle, as it may be ſome Air leſs hot and leſs rarified, and conſequently more condenſed and more able to reſiſt, or ſome other contrary Clouds and Winds repelling them, ſhould become ſo thick, ſo burthenſom and ſo heavy, that they muſt fall down in Rain, after the ſame manner as it often enough falls out, when the Wind driveth the Clouds againſt ſome high Mountain.

Answer to the third Demand, which is concerning the Regularity *of the Current of the* Sea, *and of the* Winds *in the* Indies.

AS soon as the Rains do cease (which ordinarily comes to pass towards the month of *October*,) it is observed, that the Sea taketh its course Southward, and that the cold *Northern* Winds ariseth. This Wind blows for four or five months without intermission and without storms, always keeping the same equality as to its strength and quarter, unless it change or cease a day or so by accident, but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time; for two months or there about the other Winds do reign without any rule. These two months being past, which is called the *Intermediate* season, or, according to the *Hollanders*, the *Wavering* or Changing Season, the Sea returns back from South to North, and the South-wind riseth to reign also in his turn for four or five months, as the Current of the Sea doth: so that there pass two months of intermediate season; during which, Navigation is very difficult and dangerous, whereas during the two Seasons it is very easie, pleasant and without peril, except it be about the end of the season of the South-wind. Hence you may find cause not to wonder, if you hear that the *Indians*, though else very timorous and inexpert in the art of Navigation, do notwithstanding make pretty long and considerable Voyages; as when they sail from *Bengale* to *Tanassery*, *Achem*, *Malaque*, *Sian* and *Makassar*; or to *Masulipatan*, *Ceilan*, the *Maldives*, *Moka*, and *Bender-Abassy*; because they take their time to go with one good Season, and to return with the other. 'Tis true, that oft enough they are surprised and cast away; but that is, when they cannot dispatch their affairs in good time, or fail of taking their measures. Our *Europeans* also do sometimes lose themselves, though they be far better Sea-men, bolder and more understanding, and their Ships better condition'd and equipped.

Of these two intermediate Seasons, that which maketh the *South-wind* is incomparably more dangerous than the other, and much more subject to tempests and storms: And even in the Season it self this wind is ordinarily much more impetuous and unequal than that of the *North*. And here I must not omit to give you a remark, which is, that about the end of the Season of the South-wind, during the time of the rain, although there be a great calm out at Sea, yet 'tis very tempestuous near the Coasts; to the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues: whence the Ships of *Europe* or others, when they will approach the *Indian* Coasts, for example, of *Suratte*, or *Masulipatan*, must be very careful of taking their time to arrive just after the Rains; or else they run great hazard of being split and lost upon the Coast.

This is very near what I could observe of the Seasons in these parts; of which I much wish I could give you a good reason. I shall venture to tell you, that it came into my thoughts, *first*, that the Air, which environs the Globe of the Earth, ought to be esteemed to have a share in it, as also the Water of the Sea and Rivers, forasmuch as both the one and the other gravitate upon this Globe, tend to the same Center of it, and so are in some manner united and fasten'd to it; so that from these three Bodies, the Air, the Water and the Earth, there results as 'twere one great Globe. *Next*, that the Globe of the Earth being suspended and balanced, as it is, in its place, in that free and unresisted space, where the Creator thought good to place it, would be capable to be easily mov'd, if some adventitious Body should come against it and hit it. *Thirdly*, that the Sun having past the Line to move towards one of the Poles, for example, the *Arctique*, coming to cast its rays that way, maketh there impression enough to depress a little the *Arctique* Pole, and to do that more and more according as it advanceth towards the *Tropique*; letting it rise again by little and little, according as he returns towards the *Line*, untill by the force of his rayes he do the like on the side of the *Antarctique* Pole.

If these suppositions, joyn'd to that of the *Diurnal* Motion of the Earth, were true, it were not me-thinks, without reason what is commonly affirm'd in the *Indies*, *viz.* That the *Sun* conducts and carries with him the Sea and Wind. For if it be true, that having passed the *Line* to go towards one of the Poles, he causeth a change in the direction of the *Axis* of the Earth, and a depression in the Pole on that side, the other Pole must needs be raised, and that consequently the Sea and the Air, being two fluid and heavy Bodies, run down in this inclination: so that it would be true to say, that and Sun advancing towards *one* Pole, causeth on that side two great regular Currents,

viz.

viz., that of the Sea, and that of the Air which maketh the *Mouſon-wind*, as he cauſeth two oppoſite ones, when he returns towards the other Pole.

Upon this ground, methinks, it might be ſaid, that there are no other but two *main* oppoſite Fluxes of the Sea, one from the ſide of the Pole *Arctique*, the other from that of the *Antartique*; that if there were a Sea from one Pole to the other, that paſſed through our *Europe*, we ſhould ſee, that theſe two Currents would there be regular every where, as they are in the *Indies*, and that that which hinders this regularity of the Flux from being general, is, that the Seas are intercepted by Lands, which impede, break, and vary their Courſe; in like manner as ſome ſay, that the Ordinary Flux and Reflux of the Sea is hinder'd in thoſe Seas that lye in length, as the *Mediterranean* doth from Eaſt to Weſt. And ſo likewiſe might it be ſaid upon the ſame Foundation, that there are but two principal oppoſite Winds or Fluxes of the Air, and that they would be univerſally regular, if the Earth were perfectly ſmooth and equall, and one part like another every where,

An Anſwer to the Fourth Queſtion, concerning the Fertility, Riches and Beauty of the Kingdom of Bengale.

ALL Ages have ſpoken of *Egypt* as of the beſt and fruitfulleſt part of the World; and Writers will not grant, there is any Country comparable to it: But as far as I can ſee by the two Voyages I have made in the Kingdom of *Bengale*, I am of opinion, that that advantage belongs rather to it, than to *Egypt*. It bears *Rice* in that abundance, that it not only furniſhes its Neighbours, but many very remote parts. 'Tis carried up the River *Ganges* to *Patna*; and 'tis tranſported by Sea to *Maſlipatan*, and to many others Ports of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. Beſides, 'tis ſent away into forrain Kingdoms, and principally into *Ceilan* and the *Maldives*. Further, it alſo abounds in *Sugar*, ſo that it furniſhes with it the Kingdoms of *Golkonda* and *Karnates*, where there grows but very little. *Arabia* alſo and *Meſopotamia* are thence provided with it, by the way of *Moka* and *Baſſora*; and *Perſia* it ſelf, by *Bander-Abaſſy*. Moreover, *Bengale* is alſo the Country of good *Conſits*, eſpecially in thoſe places where the *Portugueſes* are, who are dextrous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. They ordinarily make ſtore of thoſe big Pome-Citrons, as we have in *Europe*; and a certain Root, which is longiſh like *Sarſaperilla*, and very delicate; and of that common Fruit of the *Indies* call'd *Amba*, and of *Ananas*, and the ſame *Miroboland*, which are excellent; as alſo of *Limons* and *Ginger*.

'Tis true, that the Country of *Bengale* yields not ſo much *Corn* as *Egypt*; but if that be a defect, it is to be imputed to its Inhabitants that eat very little Bread, and much more Rice than the *Egyptians*: Yet it alwayes bears what is ſufficient for the Country, and to afford excellent Biſcuits, very cheap, for the proviſion of our *European* Ships, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueſe*. You may there have almoſt for nothing thoſe three or four kinds of *Legumes*, which together with Rice and Butter are the moſt uſual food of the meaner people: And for a *Roupy*, which is about half a Crown, you may have twenty good Pullets and more; Geeſe and Ducks, in proportion. There are alſo kids and Sheep in abundance, and ſuch ſtore of Pork, that the *Portugueſes*, ſetled there and accuſtomed to the Country, live almoſt on nothing elſe but that; and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* victual their Ships with it. There is alſo plenty of many ſorts of Fiſh, both freſh and ſalt: And, in a word, *Bengale* is a Country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this very reaſon, that ſo many *Portugueſes*, *Meſtieks*, and other Chriſtians are fled thither from thoſe quarters, which the *Dutch* have taken from them. For, the *Jeſuits* and *Auguſtinians*, that have great Churches there, wherein they exerciſe their Religion with all freedom, did aſſure me, that in *Ogouli* alone there were no leſs than eight or nine thouſand Souls of Chriſtians; and (which I will eaſily believe) that in the reſt of that Kingdom there were above twenty five thouſands. And 'tis this affluence of all thoſe things neceſſary for life, joyned to the Beauty and good Humour of the Women natives, that hath occaſioned this *Proverb* amongſt the *Portugueſes*, *Engliſh*, and *Holanders*, *viz.* That there are an hundred open Gates to enter into the Kingdom of *Bengale*, and not one to come away again.

As to the Commodities of great value, and which draw the Commerce of Strangers thither, I know not, whether there be a Country in the World, that affords more and greater variety: For, beſides the *Sugar* I have ſpoken of, which may be numbred amongſt the

the Commodities of value, there is such store of *Cottons* and *Silks*, that it may be said, that *Bengale* is as 'twere the general Magazine thereof, not only for *Indostan* or the Empire of the great *Mogol*, but also for all the circumjacent Kingdoms, and for *Europe* it self. I have sometimes stood amazed at the vast quantity of Cotton-Cloth of all sorts, fine and others, tinged and white, which the *Hollanders* alone draw from thence and transport into many places, especially into *Japan* and *Europe*; not to mention what the *English*, *Portingal* and *Indian* Merchants carry away from those parts. The like may be said of the Silks and Silk-Stuffs of all sorts: One would not imagine the quantity, that is hence transported every year; for, this Country furnishes generally all this great Empire of *Mogol* as far as *Labor* and *Caboul*, and most of the other forrain parts, whither Cotton-Cloth is carried. 'Tis true, that these Silks are not so fine as those, of *Persia*, *Syria*, *Sayd* and *Barut*; but then there is also a great difference in the price; and I know from good hands, that whosoever shall take care of choosing them well, and of getting them well wrought, may have very good Stuffs made of them. The *Hollanders* alone have sometimes seven hundred or eight hundred men of the Natives at work in their Factory of *Kassem-Bazar*; as the *English* and other Merchants have theirs in proportion.

It is also in *Bengale*, where that prodigious quantity of *Salt-peter* is found; which is so conveniently carried down the River *Ganges* from *Patna*, and where the *English* and *Dutch* load whole Ships full for many places of the *Indies* and for *Europe*.

Lastly, 'tis *Bengale*, whence the good *Lacca*, *Opium*, *Wax*, *Civet*, *long Pepper* do come; and even *Butter* is to be had there in so great plenty, that though it be a gross Commodity, yet notwithstanding 'tis thence transported into divers places.

It cannot be denied that the Air, in regard of Strangers, is not so healthy there, especially near the Sea: And when the *English* and *Hollanders* first came to settle there many of them dyed; and I have seen in *Balasor* two very fine *English* Ships, which having been obliged, by reason of the War of the *Hollanders*, to stay there above a year, were not able to go to Sea, because most of their Men were lost. Yet since the time that they have taken care and made orders, as well as the *Hollanders*, that their people shall not drink so much *Bouleponges*, nor go so often a shore to visit the Sellers of *Arac* and *Tobacco*, and the *Indian* Women; and since they have found, that a little Wine of *Bourdeaux*, *Canary* or *Chiras* is a marvellous Antidote against the ill Air; there is not so much sickness amongst them, nor do they now lose so many men. *Bouleponge* is a certain beverage made of *Arac*, that is, of strong water, black Sugar, with the Juice of Limon water, and a little Muscadine upon it; which is pleasant enough to the taste, but a plague to the Body and to Health.

As to the Beauty of the Country, you are to know, that all *Bengale*, taking it near an hundred leagues in length on both sides of *Ganges*, from *Raje-mehale* unto the Sea, is full of great Channels, formerly cut out of the River *Ganges* with vast labour, reaching far into the Country for the conveniency of transporting Commodities, and the Water it self, which by the *Indians* is counted the best in the world. These Channels are on both sides lined with well-peopled Villages and Burroughs of Gentiles, and the large Fields, lying near them, bear abundance of Rice, Sugar, Corn, Legumes, Mustard, *Sezamum* for Oil, *small* Mulberries of two or three foot high, to feed Silk-worms. But then the vast number of great and small Isles, that are in the midst of *Ganges*, and fill all that great space of six or seven days journey, (as there is in some places of this River from one side to the other;) this giveth an incomparable Beauty to the Country: For, they are very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing Trees, *Ananas's*, and all sorts of verdure, and interlaced with a thousand little Channels, which you cannot see the end of, as if they were so many Water-mails all covered with Trees. The worst of it is, that many of these Isles that are next the Sea, are now abandoned by reason of those *Corsaires*, the *Franguys* of *Rakan*, elsewhere spoken of; and that they have at present no other Inhabitants but Tigers (which sometimes swim over from one Isle to the other) and Gazelles, and Hoggs, and Poultry grown wild. And 'tis upon the account of these Tigers, that for people travelling between these little Isles in small boats, as usually they do, 'tis dangerous in many places to land; besides, great care is to be had, that the boat, which in the night is fastened to Trees, be not too near the Bank; for there are now and then some men surprised; and I have heard it said, that Tigers have been so bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were asleep, chusing the biggest and fattest of them, if one may believe the Water-men of the Country.

I remember, I made once a voyage of ten days, from *Pipli* to *Ogouli*, between those Isles and Channels; which I cannot forbear to relate to you, because there passed not a day without some extraordinary accident. My Chaloupe of seven Oars was no sooner got out of the River *Pipli*, and advanced 3 or 4 leagues into the Sea along the coast, to gain the Isles and the Channels, but we saw the Sea covered with Fishes like huge Carps, pursued by a Shole of Dolphins. I made my men row that way, and saw, that most of those Fishes lay along the Coast as if they were dead; that some advanced a little, others played and tumbled as if they were drunk. We all laboured to take some of them, and we caught 24 with our hands without any difficulty. Viewing them I observed, that out of all their mouths there came out a bladder (like those that are in Carps,) which was full of Air, and reddish at the end. I imagined easily, that this must be the bladder which kept them from sinking; but I could not conceive, why it should thus come out of their mouth, unless it were that they had been long and closely pursued by those Dolphins, and had made so great an effort to fly away as to make this bladder thus swell, and colour, and to hang out of their mouth. I afterwards told this thing to an hundred Sea-men, but they could not believe it, and I never found but one *Dutch* Pilot, who told me, that sailing once upon the Coast of *China*, he had met with the like, and that presently they put out their Boat to Sea, and took, as I did, with their hands abundance of Fishes.

The day after, about even, we came among those Isles, and after we had look'd for a place, where 'twas likely no Tigers would come, we landed, made fire, dressed a couple of Pullets, and our Fish, which was excellent. Presently after Supper I made my men row until night, and for fear of losing our way between those Channels in the dark, we retired out of the great Channel, and found a good shelter in some small Creek, where we fasten'd our boat to a thick branch of a Tree, far enough from the Land, for fear of Tigers. In the night, when I was watching, there fell out a *Philosophical* accident, of which kind two had happen'd to me afore in *Debli*. I saw a *Rainbow* of the *Moon*, which I shew'd to all my Company, and which very much surprised two *Portugueſe* Pilots I had taken into my Boat at the desire of a friend, who had never seen nor heard of such a thing.

The third day we went astray between these Channels, and if we had not met with some *Portugueſes* making Salt in one of the Isles, that directed us in our way, I know not what would have become of us. But behold another Philosophical accident. In the night, being got again under shelter in a little Channel, my *Portugueſes* that still were concerned about the Rainbow of the last night, and whom that Observation had made more curious to behold the Heavens, awaken'd me, and shew'd me another, as fair and as well form'd as that was, which I had shewed them. Mean time I would not have you think, that I mistook an *Iris* or Rainbow for a *Corona*, or Crown. There is no month almost but at *Debli* these Lunar Rainbows are seen in the season of the Rains, when the Moon is high above the Horizon: And I found that it must be so; having seen of them three or four nights one after another, and sometimes double ones. They were not Circles about the Moon, but opposite to her, and in the like Position with Solar Rainbows: And as often as I have seen them, the Moon was Westward, and the Rainbow Eastward. The Moon was also near full; which in my opinion, is necessary; because at other times she would not have light enough to form any. Lastly, these Rainbows were not so white as the Crowns use to be, but much more coloured, insomuch that there might be discerned in them some distinction of Colours. And thus you see, how I have been more happy than the Ancients, who, according to *Aristotle*, had observed none such before him.

The fourth day about evening we retired out of the great Channel, as we used to do, into a very fair place of safety; but had one of the most extraordinary nights that ever I knew. There was not a breath of wind, and the Air was so hot and stuffing that we could scarce breath. The Bushes round us were so full of those little shining worms, that they seem'd to be on fire; and there arose fires here and there, which were like flames, and frighten'd my Sea-men, who said, they were Devils. Among the rest there arose two, that were very extraordinary; one was a great Globe of fire, which in falling and spinning lasted above the time of saying a *Pater noſter*; and the other, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, was like a little Tree all in a flame.

The night of the fifth day was terrible and dangerous. There arose so great a storm, that though we were under the shelter of Trees, and that our small Boat was well fasten'd,

fasten'd, yet notwithstanding all that, the Wind broke our Cable, and was casting us into the great Channel, where we had infallibly perish'd, if I had not, together with my two *Portugueses*, presently laid hold on the Branches of some Trees, where we held fast for above two hours, whilst the storme lasted: For there was no assistance to be expected from my *Indian* Oar-men, whom fright had made incapable to help us in this occasion. But, what was most troublesome and amazing, there fell a Rain as if it had been pour'd down with buckets, which filled our Boat, and was accompanied with such Lightning and Thunder-claps, very near our head, that every moment we thought we should sink.

The remainder of our Voyage unto the ninth day, when I arriv'd at *Ogouli*, we passed very well and with pleasure; for I could not be satisfi'd with beholding such beautiful Countries: Mean time my Trunk and all my Baggage was wet, my Pullets dead, my Fish spoiled, and all my biscuit drunk with water.

Answer to the Fifth Question, about the Increase of the Nile.

I do not know, whether *I* shall acquit my self, in respect of this *Fifth Question*, as it were to be wish'd: But *I* shall faithfully impart to you what *I* have set down of it, after *I* had twice observed the *Nile*'s Increase, and carefully examined the same, and taken notice withal of some things in the *Indies*, which have afforded me greater aids for it, than that Learned Man could have, that hath so ingeniously written of it, though he never saw *Egypt* but in his Study.

I have already said in another place, that at the time when the two Ambassadours of *Æthiopia* were at *Debli*, my *Agab Danechmend-kan*, who is extraordinarily curious, sent often for them, to inform himself, in my presence, of the Condition and Government of their Country; and one day, amongst other things, we occasion'd them to discourse of the *Source* of the *Nile*, which they call *Abbabile*; whereof they spake to us as a thing so known that no body doubted of it, and where one of these Ambassadours, and a Mogolian, that was return'd with him out of *Æthiopia*, had been in person. They told us, that it taketh its Origin in the Country of the *Agaus*, and issueth out of the Earth at two big bubling Springs, near one another, which form a small Lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that at the coming out of this Lake it is then already a pretty River, and that from place to place it receiveth other Rivers which enlarge it. They added, that it runs bending, and forming a great Pen-insule, and that after several *Cascata's* from steep Rocks, it falls into a great Lake, which is not above four or five days journey from its Source, in the Country of *Dumbia* or *Dembea*, three little days journey from *Gonder*, the Metropolis of *Æthiopia*; that having traversed that Lake, it issueth thence swell'd with all the waters that fall there, passeth through *Sonnar*, the principal City of the King of *Funges* or *Barbaris*, tributary to the King of *Æthiopia*, running on and making the Cataracts, and so entring into the Plains of *Misser*, which is *Egypt*.

After we had learned these particularities of the Source and Course of the *Nile*, I asked him, (to judge whereabout the Source of the *Nile* might be) towards which part of the World they believed the Countrey of *Dumbia*, wherein is *Gonder*, to be, in respect of *Babel-mandel*? But they knew not what to answer to this, but only, that they went alwayes Westward, and especially the *Mahumetan* Ambassadour, (who was obliged to know better, and to take more Notice of the Position of the World, than the *Christian*, because the Turks are obliged in saying their Prayers to turn themselves towards *Mecca*) did assure me, that I was not at all to doubt thereof: Which did astonish me very much, because, according to their Description, the Source of the *Nile* should be much on this side of the *Æquinoctial*, whereas all our Maps with *Ptolomie* place it a good way beyond it.

We also asked them, at what time it did use to rain in *Æthiopia*, and whether there were regular Seasons of Rain as in the *Indies*? To which they answer'd, that it rain'd almost never upon that Coast of the *Red-Sea*, from *Suaken-Arkyko*, and the Isle of *Masouva* to *Babelmandel*, no more than it doth at *Moka*, which is on the other side, in the *Happy Arabia*; but that in the Heart of the Country, in the Province of *Agaus*, and in that of *Dumbia* and the circumjacent places it rained much for two of the hottest months of the Summer, and at the same time when it rain'd in the *Indies*; which was also, according to my computation, the very time of the Increase of the *Nile* in

Egypt. They said further, that they knew very well, it was the Rain of *Æthiopia* which swelled the *Nile*, overflowed *Egypt*, and fertilized the ground of it by the slime it carried upon it; and that it was even therefore, that the Kings of *Æthiopia* pretended a Tribute to be due to them out of *Egypt*, and that, when the Mahumetans made themselves Masters of it, ill treating the Christians of the Country, they had a mind to turn the Course of the *Nile* another way, *viz.* into the Red-Sea, thereby to ruine *Egypt* and to render it infertile; but that this design miscarried by reason of the great difficulties in effecting the thing.

All these particulars, which I had already learned, when I passed over to *Moka*, from a dozen Merchants, that come there every year in the name of the King of *Æthiopia* to attend the *Indian* trading Vessels, are considerable to make us judg, that the *Nile* increaseth not but by the Rains which fall *without Egypt* towards the Source of that River: But the particular Observations, I have made upon two Increases of this River, make them yet more so; for, in reference to all those Stories, that are made of it, as, *That* 'tis on a determin'd day it begins to increase; *that* on the first day of its increase there falls a certain Dew, which maketh the Plague cease, so that no body dieth any more of it after that hath once fallen; and *that* there are peculiar and hidden causes of the overflowing of the *Nile*: In reference, I say, to these Stories, I have found during the said two Inundations, that they are but tales fancied and amplified by the people of *Egypt*, naturally inclin'd to superstition, and amazed to see a River swell in summer in a Country where it rains not: And I have found, that 'tis no otherwise with the *Nile* than 'tis with other Rivers, that swell and overflow by plentiful Rains, without any such fermentations of the nitrous soyl of *Egypt*, which some have suggested as the cause thereof.

I have seen it swelled above a foot, and very turbid, near a whole month before that pretended determined day of its Increase. I have observed during its increase, and before the Channels were open'd, that when it had grown for some days a foot or two, it afterwards decreased little by little, and then began to increase a new, and so went on to increase and decrease without any other measure but that of the Rains that fall nigh the Source, and, as is often seen in our River *Loire*, according to the fall of more or less Rain in the Mountains whence it flows, and the days or half days of fair weather there.

In my return from *Jerusalem*, going up from *Damietta* to *Cairo*, I chanced to be upon the *Nile* about a month *before* the pretended day of the *Dew*-fall, and in the morning we were all wet of the Dew fallen in the night.

I have been in *Rosette* at supper with *Monsieur de Bermon*, Vice-Consul of our Nation, eight or ten days after this day of the *Dew*-fall, when three persons were struck with the Plague, of whom their died two within eight days, and the third, which was *M. de Bermon* himself, had perhaps not escaped, if I had not pierc'd his Plague-sore; which presently infected my self like others; so that, if I had not forthwith taken some *Butter of Antimony*, I might have been as well as they, an Example of the little certainty there is in the Plague after the Dew; but this *Emetic* Medicine in the beginning of the Evil did wonders, and I kept but three or four days within doors; during which, I remember, my *Bedouin* that serv'd me made no scruple to drink, in my presence, the remainder of my broth, to encourage me, and from his principle of Predestination, to laugh at the fear we have of the Plague. Yet Experience shews, that after the day of the Dew the Plague is commonly not so dangerous as before, but the Dew contributes nothing to that; 'tis only in my opinion, that then there is a greater opening of the pores, which gives a vent to the malign and pestiferous spirits, that were shut up in the body.

Moreover, I have carefully enquired of some Masters of Boats, that had gone up as far as the end of the Plains of *Egypt*, that is, to the very Rocks and Cataracts; who assured me, that when the *Nile* did overflow in the Plains of *Egypt*, where that pretended fermenting Nitrous Earth is, 'tis at the same time much swelled between those Mountains of the Cataracts, where, in all appearance there is no such Nitrous Earth.

Besides, I have made diligent enquiry of those *Negro*'s of *Sonnars*, that come to serve at *Cairo*, and whose Country, being tributary to the King of *Æthiopia*, as I have said, lyes upon the *Nile* between the Mountains above *Egypt*; and they have assured me, that at the same time when the *Nile* is high and overflowing in *Egypt*, 'tis so also with them

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by reason of the Rains then falling in their Mountains, and higher up in the Country of *Habeche* or *Æthiopia*.

The Observations I have made in the *Indies*, concerning the regular Rains that fell at the same time when the *Nile* swells in *Egypt*, are also very considerable in this matter, and may make you imagine, that the *Indus*, *Ganges*, and all the other Rivers of those parts are so many *Niles*, and the Land, that is near their fall into the Sea, so many *Egypts*. This was my thought of it in *Bengale*, and what follows are the very words I set down about it.

That great number of Isles which are found in the Gulf of *Bengala* at the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, and which by lapse of time are join'd to one another, and at length with the Continent, put me in mind of the Mouths of the *Nile*, where I have observed almost the same thing; so that as 'tis said, after *Aristotle*, that *Egypt* is the Workmanship of the *Nile*, so it may be said, that *Bengale* is the Work of *Ganges*, only with this difference, that as the *Ganges* is incomparably bigger then the *Nile*, so he carrieth with him towards the Sea a far greater quantity of Earth; and so forms greater and more Islands than the *Nile*; and that the Islands of the *Nile* are destitute of Trees, whereas those of *Ganges* are all covered with them, because of those four months of constant and plentiful Rains that fall in the heart of the Summer, and render it needless to cut Channels in *Bengale*, to water and enrich the Earth, as they do in *Egypt*. It is just so with *Ganges* and the other Rivers of *Indostan*, as with the *Nile*; this and those increase in Summer by the means of Rain, which ordinarily fall at that time; except that then, and almost never, there are no Rains in *Egypt*, but a little toward the Sea, and that it rains not about the *Source* of the *Nile*; whereas in the *Indies* it rains in all the Countries, through which any Rivers pass; except the Kingdom of *Scynid* towards the *Persian*, Gulf, where is the Mouth of the River *Indus*; it happening that in some years it doth not rain there at all, though for all that the *Indus* swells there, and the Fields are water'd by the means of cut Channels, just as in *Egypt*.

For the rest, concerning the desire of *M. Thevenot*, to impart to you my Adventures of the *Red-Sea*, of *Suez*, of *Tor*, of Mount *Sinai*, of *Gidda* (that pretended Holy Land of *Mahomet*, half a days Journey distant from *Mecca*;) as also of the Isle of *Camarane* and *Loubaya*, and of whatever I could learn at *Moka* of the Kingdom of *Æthiopia*, and of the most commodious way to enter into it; these particulars, I say, I shall in time draw fair out of my manuscripts, if God permit.

SOME

Some Particulars forgotten to be inserted in my first Book, to perfect the Map *of* Indostan, *and to know the Revenue of the* Great Mogol.

TO understand the better what follows, 'tis requisite to know the signification of these Terms, *viz.*

1. Soubah, *that is, Government and Province.*

2. Pragna, *that is, the Principal Town, Burrough or Village that hath many others depending from it, where Rents are paid to the King, who is absolute Lord of all the Land of his Empire.*

3. Serkar, *that is, the Exchequer of the Kings Treasure.*

4. Kazine, *that is, Treasure.*

5. Roupie, *the Mony of the Country, equivalent to 29 or 30 pence.*

6. Lecque, *that is, an hundred thousand* Roupies.

7. Courour, *that is, an hundred* Lecques.

1. *Jehan-Abad*, or *Dehli*, is the first *Soubah*; it hath sixteen *Serkars* in its dependance, and 230 *Pragna's*: It yields to the King nineteen Millions and five hundred and twenty five thousand *Roupies.*

2. *Agra*, otherwise called *Akber-abad*, is the second. It hath 14 *Serkars*, and 260 *Pragna's*; yielding to the King twenty five millions two hundred and twenty five thousand *Roupies.*

3. *Labor* hath 14 *Serkars*, and 314 *Pragna's*, bringing in to the King the Rent of twenty four millions six hundred ninety five thousand *Roupies.*

4. *Hasmer*, which belongs to a *Raja*, yields to the King a tribute of twenty one millions nine hundred and seventy thousand *Roupies.*

5. *Gusarate*, the Capital whereof is *Amadavad*, hath 9 *Serkars*, and 190 *Pragnas*; yielding to the King thirteen millions three hundred and ninety five thousand *Roupies.*

6. The Kingdom of *Candahar* belongs to the King of *Persia*; but the *Pragna's* that remain unit'd to the Crown of the *Great Mogol*, are 15 and yield in rent 1992500 *Roupies.*

7. *Malova* hath 9 *Serkars*, and 190 *Pragna's*; bringing in 9162500 *Roupies.*

8. *Patna*, or *Beara*, hath 8 *Serkars*, and payeth the rent of 9580000 *Roupies.*

9. *Elabas* hath seventeen *Serkars*, and 260 *Pragna's*; rendring 9470000 *Roupies.*

10. *Haoud* hath 5 *Serkars*, and 149 *Pragna's*: It yields 6430000 *Roupies.*

11. *Moultan* hath 4 *Serkars*, and 96 *Pragna's*: Brings in 11840500 *Roupies.*

12. *Jagannat*, in which is comprehended *Bengale*, hath 11 *Serkars*, and 12 *Pragna's*: It yields 7270000 *Roupies.*

13. *Kachemire* hath 5 *Serkars*, and 45 *Pragna's*: Yields 350000 *Roupies.*

14. *Caboul* hath 35 *Pragna's*, and brings in 3272500 *Roupies.*

15. *Tata* hath 4 *Serkars* and 54 *Pragna's*, and giveth 2320000 *Roupies.*

16. *Aureng-abad*, formerly *Daulet-abad*, hath 8 *Serkars*, and 79 *Pragna's*: Yields 17227500 *Roupies.*

17. *Varada* hath 20 *Serkars* and 191 *Pragna's*; yielding 15875000 *Roupies.*

18. *Candeys*, whose principal Town is *Bramponr*, hath 3 *Serkars*, and 103 *Pragna's*: It brings in 18550000 *Roupies.*

19. *Talengand*, which borders upon the Kingdom of *Golkonda* on the side of *Maslipatan*, hath 43 *Pragna's*, and payeth in rent 6885000 *Roupies.*

20. *Baganala*, on the Confines of the Lands of the *Portugueses*, and the Mountains of *Seva-gi* (that *Raja* which plundred *Suratte*,) hath 2 *Serkars*, and 8 *Pragna's*; paying the rent of 500000 *Roupies.*

According to these Particulars, which I take not to be the most exact or the most true, the *Great Mogol*'s yearly Revenue of his Lands alone would amount to above two *Kourours* of *Roupies.*

A Letter

A Letter sent from *Chinas* in *Persia*, *June* 10th 1668. To Monsieur *Chapelle*;

Concerning his Design of repairing again to his Studies, about some Points relating to the Doctrine of Atoms, *and to the Nature of the* Mind *of Man.*

My dear Friend,

I Did always believe what Monsieur *Luillier*, said, That it would only be a Transport of Youth, and that you would quit this kind of Life, so much displeasing to your Friends, and at length return to your Studies with more vigour than ever. I have been informed from *Indostan* by the last Letters of my Friends, that you are now in good earnest, and are going to take a flight with *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, far beyond the flaming Walls of the world, into their infinite Spaces, to see and victoriously to report unto us what *may*, and what *may not* be done,

Et ultra processit longè flammantia, &c.

to take a Review, and to fall *upon* a serious meditation of the nature of those Spaces, the general Place of things; *upon* those infinite Generations and Corruptions of their pretended worlds by their alledged fatal Concourse of Atoms; *upon* the Nature, Indivisibility, and other Proprieties of their Atoms; *upon* Liberty, Fortune and Destiny; *upon* the Existence, Unity, and Providence of God; *upon* the use of the Parts of Animals; *upon* the Soul, and all the other sublime matters they have treated of.

For my part, I cannot condemn this Design, the inclination we have to know, being natural; on the contrary I am bound to believe, that it belongs but to great Souls to elevate themselves to such high Enterprizes, in regard it is principally by this means, that a man can make appear what he is, and the advantage he hath above other Animals. But as the highest Undertakings are commonly also the most dangerous, this certainly is not without much danger. For though we seem to have a peculiar inclination and affection to *Truth*; yet it seems also, that we have another very strong one to *Liberty* and Independency, not to acknowledge a Master above us, and to say, to believe and to do all according to our Phansie, without the fear of any, and without an obligation to render an account for any thing; so that if we be not upon our Guard, this *latter* Inclination will carry away the Bell; and if we stay upon the Reasons that carry us to this liberty, and content our selves with slightly considering those that might take us off from it; we shall soon find our selves engaged in a strange life, or at least be in suspence between both, and tossed up and down between a *'Tmay be that this is so*, and *'Tmay be that it is not so*; lukewarm, or cold, slow, and indifferent to what concerns the End and Rule of our life.

Moreover methinks, that most Philosophers suffer themselves easily to be carried away to this vanity of believing, that to entertain Opinions beyond the vulgar, is the way of being reputed Rare and Excellent Wits; they taking pleasure even to vent such Opinions as something Mysterious, belonging to none but men of great Knowledge, and grounded on deep and weighty Reasons; although they be not too much perswaded themselves of what they affirm. So that if such men do not take great care on that hand also, they shall not fail to be seized on by the aforementioned vanity; and whilst they go about to perswade others of what they are not perswaded themselves, they shall insensibly fall into that very Belief; like a Liar, who after having often related one and the the same Untruth, or at last believes it to be a Truth; Or at least they shall in the end fall into those unquietnesses, may be's, and indifferencies, which I have mention'd instead of attaining that state of solid tranquility and sublime knowledge, which they promised, and wherewith they flatter'd themselves.

Lastly, there is no doubt, that though we have this inclination to learn, yet we are withal very lazy; we desire indeed Knowledge and Truth, but we would have it very

cheap,

cheap, without much Labour and Watching, which are irkſome things, and often diſturbing our health, yet neceſſary evils if we will know *thoroughly* the leaſt thing, and make our ſelves capable to give a ſolid Judgment thereof. And thence it comes, that if we be not conſtantly upon our Guard, and contend not perpetually with our ſlothfulneſs, we ſhall ſoon come to flatter our ſelves with this belief; That to know things, there needs not ſo much painful ſtudy; and ſo not being to reſolve upon an unceſſant Labour, we ſuffer our ſelves to be eaſily ſurprized with that *Appearance* of Truth, which ſhineth forth in the Reaſons commonly produced by theſe Gentlemen, called *les Eſprits forts*; inſtead of ſeriouſly examining them, that ſo they may not be made to appear to us beyond what they contain of ſtrength, nor the force of thoſe that make againſt them be hid and diſguis'd; as often enough happens, either by ignorance or prevention, or elſe by the vanity and preſumption of thoſe perſons, that make it their buſineſs to dogmatize; or laſtly, by, I know not what, unhappy pleaſure we generally take in ſuffering things to be exaggerated to us, or in exaggerating them our ſelves, tending to nothing elſe, than pleaſantly to deceive one another.

Thus, *my dear Friend*, to tell you freely my thoughts of your Deſign; methinks, that in Philoſophy, and eſpecially in the ſtudy of thoſe high matters which you undertake, there is no middle way: I mean, that *either* we muſt, without ſo much ſublimining our Wits, ſuffer our ſelves to be ſweetly carried away by the Current, which ſo many men of good ſenſe, and that are reputed honeſt perſons and good Philoſophers, do follow (which to me ſeems to be the beſt and ſureſt, as well becauſe of the great Labour, this ſtudy demands, as of the danger there is, that in Philoſophizing but by halves, and not penetrating things to the bottom, we get nothing by the bargain but diſquieting Doubts, making us unhappy the reſt of our days, and leaving us often very vicious, and uneaſie to Society;) *Or* elſe, if we will Philoſophize, to do it to purpoſe, and that, without fearing the labour, and without ſuffering our ſelves to be ſurprized by the vanity of coveting to paſs for extraordinary Wits, as alſo without ſuffering our ſelves to be carried away by that unhappy inclination of deſiring to live without a Maſter and a Law; that, I ſay, without theſe, we fall reſolutely upon the ſtudy, and from a pure love to Truth, we become obſtinate in weighing and weighing again all that comes before us, in meditating, writing, converſing, debating; in a word, in forgetting nothing of what may contribute to improve our underſtanding, and to render it more intelligent.

As to what at preſent you demand of me by your laſt, *viz.* that I ſhould impart to you what came into my thoughts when I was diſcourſing with our *Danechmend-kan*, the Learned Gentleman of *Aſia*, about all thoſe matters, you are now applying your Studies to: I ſhall tell you freely, and without flattering my ſelf, that you might addreſs your ſelf to a more intelligent perſon than me, but to none, that hath ſtudied them with more care, then I have done. For I have not only contented my ſelf, exactly to weigh the reaſons of all that ever I could come to ſee of both Ancient and Modern Authors, *Arabians* alſo, and *Perſians*, and *Indians*; but I have farther conferr'd an hundred times with whatever great men I could any where meet with, ſo far as that I have often fain'd, when I was with thoſe *Eſprits forts*, as they will be call'd, that I was not averſe from their Sentiments, to the end that they might conceal nothing from me. But that being a thing of great prolixity, it will be better, ſince you are now on the way to return into *Europe*, to refer that matter to our Meeting there; when we ſhall be able by word of mouth better and more conveniently to declare our thoughts to one another. Yet notwithſtanding, that I may not ſeem to be careleſs of your deſire, I ſhall in the mean time tell you thus much of the nature of our Underſtanding, *That it ſeems to me very rational to believe, that there is ſomething in us more perfect and excellent, than all that which we call Body or Matter.*

You know, according to the *Idea* that *Ariſtotle* hath given us of the *Firſt Matter* of things, that nothing can be imagin'd ſo imperfect, as it. For, in ſhort, to be nothing but a certain *Neque quantum, neque quale*, is, methinks, to approach to a Nothing as near as may be. You know alſo, that all the perfections and proprieties, which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* attribute to their Primitive Bodies, or to the firſt and ſole Matter of things, comes in a manner to this, that there are certain ſmall and very ſolid Beings, without any vacuity in them, and indiviſible; all having ſome particular and eſſential figure, ſo that there is an infinite number of round ones, (for example) an infinity of Pyramidal, an infinity of Square, and infinity of Cubick, Hooked, Pointed, Triangular

gular ones; and so an innumerable number of other kinds of different Figures; all moveable of their own nature, and of an unimaginable Celerity; yet some of them more proper for the sensible motion of Concretions than others, that is to say, for disengaging and separating themselves, or for flying sooner and more easily away than others in the dissolution of Compounds, according as they are more or less small, or more or less round, or more or less polish'd and slippery: And lastly, that they are all eternal by their nature, and consequently all incorruptible and independent (as they pretend;) though they be without any sense, reason and judgment. You know, I say, that all the Proprieties of their little Bodies come, very near, to what I have now said; of which I desire you to be mindful, that so we may hereafter judge, whether they be capable of what is ascribed to them.

Yet, to take nothing from the force of their Principles, and to undeceive you; *if* you believe, I have cast off Atoms, I shall avow to you frankly, that the more I consider that *Division to Infinity* of any portion of *Finite* matter, the more absurd and unworthy of a Philosopher it seems to me: and I believe the Reasons, which are alledged to prove it, to be as captious as those, which *Zeno*, supposing this same divisibility, brought to prove, that there was no motion since Mathematical Points, Lines and Superficies, which have no being but by the Understanding, and are without profundity, ought not to be transferr'd and applied to Bodies Physical, which cannot be without all the dimensions, and are the workmanship of Nature: To which add, that a Philosopher ought to avoid, as much as is possible, to dive into *Infinity*, that being a deep and dark Abyss, which often serveth men for nothing else but to hide themselves, and in which the wit of man is at a perfect loss.

Moreover, I acknowledge, I am still of that opinion, *not only*, that Atoms are indivisible, because they are little portions of Matter, or little hard Bodies, resisting and impenetrable (proprieties as essential to Matter, as Extension) and because they are pure, matter continued, without any parts that are only contiguous, and of which each hath its particular and determinate Superfice; *but* also that the separation, disjunction or dissociation of parts meerly contiguous in a compound, is, in my judgment, the only division conceivable: so that 'tis not possible, not only to divide any Atome, that is, any portion of matter purely continuous, though we should suppose it as long as a Needle, since that to divide it with Sciffers; for example, or otherwise, you must come to some penetration, which is inconceivable to us; and that it must needs be, that something of the Needle, some portion or some part (if it may be said, that there are parts in a whole, where there are no contiguous ones) do yield, and yet that 'tis inconceivable, how it were able to yield to the Sciffers that should press it, or to make other, anteriour ones, yield without penetration; and that the more, because the parts pressed, and the part of the Sciffers that should press, are both of them of the same Nature and the same force, both hard, resisting and impenetrable. So that the Doctrine of Atoms hath this great advantage, that it doth not so much as *suppose* its Principles, by demanding to grant out of meer favour the *Indivisibility* of the Primitive Bodies; forasmuch as it even cannot be *conceived* that they are divisible; nor, how out of soft, yielding and divisible Principles there should result a Compound that's hard; nor, how two most subtil portions of Matter, coming to hit one against another, should not resist each other by their hardness, without reducing themselves into some dust of smaller Particles. Besides, this Doctrine demands not, to have it granted out of meer Grace, that there must be little void spaces betwixt the parts of Bodies compounded, how subtil soever you may devise a matter to fill them up; seeing it is likewise unconceivable, not only how a motion should be able to begin in *pleno* (where all is perfectly full) but how the parts themselves of this most subtil matter, that must have their particular figures defin'd and determin'd as well as the bigger, can be so perfectly disposed as that there should not still remain some of those little Spaces betwixt them.

I shall further acknowledge to you, that I think, it may, in the Atomical way of Philosophizing, be very well and very rationally conceived, that there is no compound of so admirable a figure, composition, order and texture of parts, taking in the Body of Man it self, but that it may be formed by the concourse, order and particular disposition of their little Bodies, the Atoms, provided there intervenes a guiding and regulating cause, intelligent enough for that purpose.

I shall likewise confess, that from *their* Principles there might result a Compound so perfect, as to be capable of the most difficult Local Motions that could be imagin'd, such

as are, To walk like a Living and Animal Substance; as also, perfectly to imitate the singing, weeping, and all the other local motions of the most perfect Animals; there being no contradiction at all in it, all Watches and so many other artificial Engines evincing it, and not suffering us to doubt of the possibility of the thing.

Lastly, I shall very willingly agree, that the Sect of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, (it being suppos'd, that the Atoms are the workmanship of the Almighty and All-wise hand of God,) hath very great advantages above the rest, in that it can give a more probable reason of a great number of considerable effects of Nature, where others come short; and in my opinion, there are none but such as have not examined things thoroughly, and compar'd other Sects with it, that can doubt thereof. But to imagine and to perswade my self, that their Principles, with all those advantages, at length are capable, as they would have it, by a particular concourse, order, union and disposition, how admirable soever, and even by an intelligent guidance intervening, to arrive to the forming of such an Animal as is Man in his operations; This is that, *my dear Friend*, which I could never think possible; it hath ever appeared to me contrary to Reason and good Sense, and will doubtless, appear so to you, provided you have the patience to recollect what you have heard an hundred times, and which I am now going to repeat to you after my own way.

It is not that I mean to preach to you, and to make you believe I am become a very good man after my return (a Traveller like my self, and brought up in the School of Atoms, might possibly do Miracles, which I know not whether men would believe any thing of;) Be perswaded, that if I take upon me to discourse to you, it is not out of any vanity or affectation, but from my inmost sense, and with all possible sincerity. Nor is it, that I pretend, with all this *Asiatick* Preamble, to have found any new Reasons in the *Indies*; expect no such thing, I pray: I do almost despair as well as *Cicero*, that men should ever find any thing more upon this Subject beyond what hath been already found. It would be no hard task for me to shew, that all what the Moderns have said concerning it, is either nothing, or nothing new; There would need no more, than to begin with taking up again, what *Gassendi* and *Arnault* have written about it against *Des Cartes*, to which I find not, that he hath made any Answer: And it were to be wished, that he had been able to answer them so demonstratively and magisterially, as it seems he would have men believe he did: I should embrace, and little less than adore the Author of a Demonstration upon this Argument; and to such an one the following Verses would be much more deservedly applicable, than to that ancient Atomist;

Qui genus humanum genio superavit, & omnes
Præstinxit Stellas, exortus uti Æthereus Sol.

I shall therefore desire but one thing of you, which is, That you would please to make (which seems to me the only thing to be done here) a serious reflection upon what passeth *within* us, and upon the operations of our Understanding; and that thereupon you would tell me sincerely, Whether you think, that there is a proportion between the perfection of those operations, and the imperfection of what we call Body or Matter; supposing (what you will easily grant me) that how much soever you strain your mind, you shall never conceive any other thing in Atoms, and generally in all that's Body or Matter, than those proprieties already enumerated, Size, Shape, Hardness, Indivisibility, Motion; or, if you will (which matters not here) Softness and Divisibility.

I promise my self, that you will readily grant me this Request, which is, to go over again those ingenious and agreeable thoughts of yours, that have been drawn out of your *Memories*; and those many other Fragments of the same force of Wit, that have been left behind, and generally all those other Poetical Transports and Raptures of your *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, which seem to have something of Divine in them: And you will not refuse in that serenity of mind and Philosophical temper, wherein sometimes you are in the Morning, to make some reflection upon four or five things, that seem to me to deserve very well the attention of a Philosopher. The *first* is, That our Senses are not only struck by Bodies so, as the Eyes of a Statue or an *Automaton*, but that we feel their impression, the titillation and pain, and that even we perceive that

that we feel, when we say, I perceive that this or that pleaseth my taste much more or much less than ordinarily; that my pain is much less or much more than it was; and so of an hundred things else. The *second*, That often we stay not there, but deduce these *particular* Conclusions; We ought therefore to follow this; or we ought to shun that: And afterwards, these *general* ones; All what is good, is to be followed; and all what is evil, is to be avoided. The *third*, That we remember what is passed, and consider what is present, and fore-see what is to come. The *fourth*, That sometimes we endeavour to penetrate into our selves, into that which is inmost in us, as I now do, when I am searching what I am; what is this Reasoning power that is within me; what are these thoughts; these ratiocinations, and these reflections I make, reflecting thus upon my self and my Operations. The *fifth*, That being resolutely set to meditate upon a thing, we sometimes make new Discoveries, find new Reasons, or at least see those that have been found already, weighing them, and comparing one with another, and sometimes drawing thence such Consequences, as shall depend from a greater number of antecedent Propositions, which may be seen as 'twere in one view, and concur all to deduce such a Conclusion; as it comes to pass in all Sciences, especially the Mathematicks; wherein our Spirit shews I know not what force and admirable extent.

These few reflections might suffice for what I demand of you; and that the rather, because as I can say more comes almost to the same thing. But you must resolve for once to endure the Style of these Countreys of *Asia*, the Air of which I have breathed so long, and to have the patience further to cast your Eyes on a thing that seems to me very considerable, which is, That we know not only particular things that make impression upon our Senses, but that our Understanding, by I know not what admirable force and capacity, taketh occasion to know and to form to it self *Idea's* of a thousand things, that fall not immediately and wholly as they are under the Senses; for example, that Man is a Reasonable Animal; that the Sun is much bigger than the whole Earth; that 'tis impossible, one thing should be at the same time and not be; that two things, being equal to a third, are equal among themselves; that the absence of the Sun causeth the Night, that all what's generated is subject to corruption; that of nothing nothing can be naturally made; as not any thing that is, can naturally return to nothing; that of necessity there is something Eternal and Un-created in the Universe, God, or the first Matter of things, or both, or that God created this Matter, and that *either* from all Eternity *or* in Time: And an infinity more of other great and vast thoughts, and remote from Matter, of which we scarce know by what door they have entred into our Mind.

Now, all these actions, I have been speaking of, that argue so great a force and power, capacity and extent of the *Mind* of Man; all those intern Motions; that peculiar State which we cannot perfectly explain, but yet plainly feel and perceive in our selves, when we attentively reflect on what passeth within us, and consider our operations; All those Actions, I say, and interiour Motions, or whatever you will call them, can they indeed to be ascribed to Spirits, to a Wind, to Fire, to Air, to Atoms, to Particles of a Subtil Matter, and, in a word, to any thing that hath no other Qualities or Proprieties than what can be comprized under this word, *Body*, how small and fine and nimble soever it may be, into what texture or disposition soever it may be cast, and of what motions soever it may be made capable? It cannot: we shall never be able to imagine that these things are meer Local Motions of some Engine barely Artificial, dead, insensible, without Judgment, without Reason: These can never be any of those inward actions I have mention'd, as, That I see or know that I know; that I see I reason; that I see those reasonings, and perceive that I see them.

Moreover, let us a little cast our Eyes upon some of the main Propositions of *Euclid*, (not to speak of those of *Archimedes*, *Apollonius*, and so many others;) For my part, when I think only on the 47*th*. of the 1*st*. of *Euclid*, I there find something so great and noble, that I avow to you, I can hardly believe that it was an *Humane* Invention: So that I should imagine, that it was therefore that *Pythagoras*, after he had been so happy as to find this incomparable Proposition, was so ravished and transported, that he made that famous Sacrifice to thank the *Gods*, and had a mind to declare thereby, that this Invention surpassed the reach of an *Humane* Understanding.

Yet I would not therefore say, that there is reason to believe, that in Man there is a particle of Divinity, or some such thing. This is an unreasonable Tenet of some *Stoicks*, and of the *Cabalists* of *Persia*, and of the *Brachmans* of *India*, who, to acknow-

ledge openly the Nobleneſs and Perfection of the Spirit of Man, choſe rather to caſt themſelves into this extremity, than to believe it to be ſo baſe and imperfect, as to be all Body and Matter. I am far from entertaining ſuch a Sentiment; you will ſee in the Letter to Mounſieur *Chapelain*, that I cannot believe this to be an opinion defenſible by a Philoſopher: But this I do, I obſerve in Man, as well as thoſe *Stoicks* and others, ſomething ſo perfect, ſo great and high, that *their* opinion ſeems to me an hundred times leſs abſurd, than that, which holds that in Man, and even in the whole Univerſe, there is nothing but *Body*, but bodily and local Motions, but Atoms, but Matter.

Lord! When I think on't, who is that man, how little of good ſenſe ſoever he may have, that can perſwade himſelf, that when an *Archimedes*, a *Pythagoras*, and others of thoſe great men, had thoſe effects of the Mind, and were in their deep Meditations, there was then nothing in their Heads and Brains but what was Corporeal, nothing but Vital and Animal Spirits, nothing but a certain Natural Heat, nothing but Particles of a very ſubtil Matter, or nothing but Atoms, which, though they be Inſenſible, and without all Underſtanding and Reaſon, and do not ſo much, (according to the Doctrine of the Atomiſts,) as move but by a fatal and blind motion and hit, ſhould yet come to move and concur ſo luckily and wonderfully, that, as once by ſuch a concourſe they had formed the Head of thoſe Great men, ſuch as it is with thoſe innumerable Organs ſo induſtriouſly order'd and diſpos'd; ſo alſo they ſhould then be ſo lucky as to form and produce thoſe ſubtil thoughts, and profound meditations; or rather that they ſhould come to move themſelves in all thoſe Organs in ſo wonderful a manner, as at laſt to fall into a certain Order and into a certain Diſpoſition and State, ſo marvellous, that they themſelves were that Conceiving, Seeing, Meditating, thoſe admirable Propoſitions, and thoſe Divine Inventions?

Add to this, when we find our ſelves, upon ſome Affront, or other Diſpleaſure received, ready to fall into Choler and Rage, and yet ſtop our Paſſion; I pray, this internal Commander and Command, which we feel, this kind of Obedience, of moderation and retreat, that is made, for example, upon the account of ſome conſideration of Honeſty, of Honour and Virtue, and againſt that natural Inclination we have to be revenged; what is that interiour motion and ſtate? Can it be rationally ſaid, that 'tis nothing but ſome Rollings, Counter-motions, Reflections, and peculiar conjunctions and textures of Atoms or Spirits, or of little Maſſes or Particles of Matter, which are made within thoſe Nerves, thoſe fine Membranes, thoſe very ſubtil Channels and Organs of the Brain, Heart, and other parts of the Body? Theſe are pure *Chimera's*.

A word more concerning *Liberty*: When in the apprehenſion of taking an *ill* part for a *good*, we keep our ſelves in a poyſe, ſeeking within our ſelves all the reaſons that are *for* and *againſt*, and ſeriouſly pondering and examining them; this apprehenſion, this reſearch, this ballancing, and the reſolution we at laſt take to do or not to do the thing; all that, all thoſe motions, all that inward ſtate and way of Being (I ſpeak in no other terms than they) ſhall it be nothing but a fortuitous and blind concourſe of little Bodies? Is't poſſible that you can imagine or perſwade your ſelf this? *Lucrece* himſelf, that ſworn Partiſan of the *Epicurean* Sect, could not do it, nor reſolve to attribute to Atoms alone thoſe free motions of the Will. For if the Will, *ſaith he*, is drawn away from fatality, and raiſed above Deſtiny, *Et fatis avulſa voluntas*, &c. How can he, with all his *clinamen* or deviation of Principles, have believed in good earneſt and without ſcruple, that there is nothing but *Body*, and nothing done in us, more than elſewhere, but by a natural, eternal, independent, immutable and inevitable concourſe of Atoms? He was not ignorant, that that being ſo, neither the Will, nor any other thing whatſoever could be drawn and exempted from that concatenation and eternal and immutable Sequel of Motions and Cauſes, that would follow and ſucceed one another by eternal Orders abſolutely neceſſary and unchangeable.

Beſides all this, I could put you in mind of many Reaſons that are wont to be alledged upon this Subject. You know that great man, who hath collected more of them than a ſcore of very good ones. But that would be to abuſe your Patience too much; and beſides I ſee not, that there is much more of any importance to be conſidered hereupon, than what I have lately repreſented unto you.

I could alſo tell you, how I judge that all Objections, made upon this point, may be moſt rationally anſwer'd; but I know, that you are not a perſon, for whom Books are to be made. I ſhall only mention two things to that purpoſe.

The *firſt* is, That 'tis true what they ſay, That Eating, Drinking, Health; Natural Heat,

Heat, the Spirits, and a good Diſpoſition of Organs, (all which are natural things, and as they ſpeak, depending from Atoms as Principles and the firſt Matter) are things neceſſary to all thoſe Thoughts, Reaſonings and Reflections; and, in a word, to all thoſe Internal Operations I have mentioned. This is a thing that cannot be denied, and which every one doth too ſenſibly experiment not to aver it: But thence to conclude, that whatſoever intervenes and concurs to form thoſe Operations, is only and meerly Body, Atoms, Spirits, Subtil Matter, is that which, after the leaſt Reflection made upon *their* Excellency, and upon the imperfection of Bodies or Atoms, or upon the little reſemblance there is in *their* Qualities to *thoſe* Operations, can never with any good ſenſe be granted: So that, methinks the moſt that might be allow'd, would be, that the Atoms, and Spirits, and all thoſe other things alledged, are indeed neceſſary as conditions or diſpoſitions, or the like, and not as the firſt and abſolute Principles, and as the *Total* cauſe of the Operations; but that there is requiſite ſome other thing than all that, ſomething nobler, higher, and more perfect.

The *ſecond* thing is, That 'tis true alſo, that we cannot form a right, or, as they ſpeak, a next and poſitive *Idea* of what is *above* a *Body* or of any thing that is *not Body*: This, indeed, we cannot do, in my opinion, whilſt we are in this mortal ſtate ſo ſtrictly united to the Body; the dependance of the Bodily Senſes, that ſo much confine and obſcure the light of our Underſtanding, hinders us from it: But I ſee not that thence it is to be concluded, that therefore there is really nothing *above* Body, or Atoms, or Matter. For, how many things are there, of which we have no ſuch poſitive *Idea*, which yet Reaſon obligeth us to avow that they have a real Being? Or rather, how few things are there, of which we have any True *Idea's*? Have theſe Philoſophers themſelves any poſitive *Idea* of their Atoms? They acknowledge that their ſmalneſs is ſuch, that it cannot be ſo much as imagin'd by hearing this word *Atom* pronounc'd or explain'd: ſo far are they from being capable to fall under our ſenſes, and from imprinting in us a true and poſitive *Idea*; and yet notwithſtanding they believe, and conclude from Reaſon, that they *are*. A Mathematician, hath he the poſitive *Idea* of the Magnitude of the Sun? It is ſo prodigious, and ſo far remote from the capacity of the Senſes, that we are not able even ſo much as to imagine it ſuch as it is; and yet for all this, there is none that is not fully perſwaded and convinced thereof by the force of Demonſtrations, and that knows not perfectly, that he exceeds by far the bigneſs of the Globe of the Earth. And beſides, it is not true, that the nature of a thing may be known two manner of ways; either *poſitively*, as when it falls under ſome one or more of our Senſes, or as when we give a poſitive Definition thereof; or *negatively*, by ſaying what it is not: Now I ſhall grant, that we are not capable to know the Principle of our Operations or Ratiocinations by the *firſt* way, to ſay what it is, and how thoſe Operations are made and produced. Alas! we are not ſo happy; we ſhould need other Senſes far more perfect than all thoſe we have. We are not born to dive and Philoſophize ſo far:

Invida præcluſit ſpeciem natura videndi.

But we ought alſo to acknowledge, that at leaſt we are capable to know it after the *ſecond* way: So that, if we cannot ſay truly and poſitively what it is, we can at leaſt ſay, and certainly know what it is not: I mean, that from the perfection of the Operations, which we do evidently ſee to be ſuch as that they have no proportion with all thoſe proprieties and perfections of Atoms, and do univerſally ſurpaſs the reach of what is meerly Body; we can deduce a certain Concluſion, that the Principle of ſuch Operations, and thoſe Operations themſelves muſt needs be ſomething above all that's Body or Corporeal. Which is here ſufficient for me, who at the beginning engaged my ſelf no further, and pretend not, that we can make a true and poſitive *Idea* of that Principle; but only that we can and ought to conclude by Ratiocination, that there muſt needs be ſomething, as hath been ſaid, that is far more perfect and far more noble than all that is in the rank of Bodies, whatever its being or Nature may be.

But ſhall I make an end, fully to diſcover unto you my thought? You well know, whether I am a perſon that taketh pleaſure in vaunting, or in forging Untruths, or to ſpeak things at random in a matter ſo important as this. It cannot be denied, that there is a very great difference between the Operations of Brutes, and thoſe admirable Operations of Man, of which we now treat: I ſpeak not only in reſpect of thoſe of their outward

ward senses, but also in reference to those of their inward ones, or their Imagination. All that is so much beneath the Reasoning of man, that we must avow, there is not any proportion, and that those of Man proceed from a very differing and infinitely more perfect Principle. Notwithstanding all that (and this is the thought I would declare to you) I should think that person an hundred times less absurd, that should go about to maintain, that in the Principle of those Operations of Brutes, whether it be of their internal or even their external Senses, there were somewhat more perfect than Corporeity and all that may be understood and comprehended under the name of Body, or Matter, or Spirits; than him, that should pretend the Principle of the Operations of Man were meerly Corporeal: So much do I take this Opinion to be out of all reason, and unworthy of a man of good Judgment. Certainly it can be no serious Philosophy; it can be nothing but an Excess of Vanity, that hath cast those Philosophers, we have spoken of, into such an irrational Extream. They doubtless saw, that their Sect had great Advantages above all the rest, in being able to explain with much Ease and Probability abundance of the most considerable Effects of Nature, only by Local Motion, and the Order and particular Disposition of their Matter, Corpuscles or Atoms: And thence they would make us believe, that by the same Principles they could give an account of all, and explicate whatever concerns the Spirit of Man, and the Operations thereof.

My *Dear Friend*, have not you and I concluded an hundred times, that how much soever we strain'd our Understanding, we could never conceive, how from *Insensible* Corpuscles there could ever result any thing *Sensible* without the intervention of any thing but what's *insensible*; and that with all their Atoms, how small and how nimble soever they make them, what motions and figures soever they give them, and in what order, mixture or disposition they range them, yea and whatever industrious hand they assign them for guidance, they would never be able (still supposing with them, that they have no other proprieties or perfections than those recited) to make us imagine, how thence could result a Compound, I say not, that should be *Reasoning* like Man, but that should be meerly *Sensitive*, such as may be the vilest and the most imperfect Worm on Earth. How then dare they pretend, that they will make it out, how thence can result a thing Imagining, a thing Reasoning, and such an one as shall be the Imaginations and Ratiocinations themselves?

For my part, if you'l believe me, let us lay aside all that presumption and vanity of those *Esprits forts*; let us not pretend to be able to explicate the nature of the Principle of our Reasonings in the same manner, as we might do the other things that fall under our Senses, and let us not play the Geometers upon it. We are not, as I have already said, happy enough for that; 'tis a thing which cannot be done in this mortal state, and in this great dependance from the corporeal senses in which we stand. Yet notwithstanding we ought to form a higher *Idea* of our selves, and not to make our Soul to be of such base alloy, as those Philosophers, too corporeal in this point, would have us do. We ought to believe for certain, that we are infinitely more noble and more perfect than they make us, and resolutely maintain, that though we cannot exactly know what we are, yet we know very well and very certainly, what we are not; which is, that we are not altogether of Mire and Dirt, as they pretend. *Farewel.*

FINIS.

A Catalogue of BOOKS Printed at the *Theater* in *Oxford*, since the first Printing there, which was in the Year 1672, to 1682. (*With several others*:) *And sold in* London, *by* Moses Pitt *at the* Angel *against the Great North-door of* St. Pauls-Church. 1682. Those with an Asterisc are Printed at the *Theater*.

IN FOLIO.

* Bible for Churches with Chronology and an Index.

* The *English* Atlas Vol. 1st. containing the description of the *North-Pole*, as also *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

* The second Vol. of the Atlas, containing half the Empire of *Germany*.

* The third Vol. containing the other half of the Empire of *Germany*.

* And the fourth Vol. containing the 17 Provinces.

* Catalogus impressorum Librorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ in Acad. Oxon.

* Historia Universitatis Oxoniensis duobus voluminibus comprehensa. Autore *Antonio a Wood*.

* Marmora Oxoniensia, ex Arundelianis, Seldenianis, aliisque conflata, &c. cum notis *Lydiati* & aliorum. per *Humph. Prideaux*.

* Theatri Oxoniensis Encænia, five Comitia Philologica, *Jul.* 6. Anno 1677. Celebrata.

* Dr. *Pocock's* Commentary on *Micha* and *Mal.* On *Hosea*, now in the Press.

* *Iamblichus Chalcidensis* de Mysteriis Ægyptiorum Græc. Lat. Interprete *T. Gale*.

* Regis Ælfredi vita, cum Notis.

* A short view of the late troubles in *England* from the year 1637. to 1660. by Sir *William Dugdale* Kt. Garter King of Arms (this book was presented the Queens Majesty by the University of *Cambridge* when they entertained the King and Queen in the year 1681.)

* D. *Cypriani* opera Notis illustrata. In the Press.

* *Gualteri Charletoni* M. D. *Onomasticon Zoicon*, Editio secunda, priori longe auctior.

Huetii (Pet. Dan) demonstratio Evangelica ad sereniss. Delphinum *Paris* 1679.

Huetii (Pet. Dan) demonstratio Evangelica ad sereniss. Delphinum *Paris* 1679.

Episcopij (Simonis) Opera Theologica cum horis Hebraicis & Talmudicis in Acta Apostolorum. 1678.

Charras Pharmacopœa, Galenical & Chymical.

Websters display of Witchcraft, wherein is affirm'd that there are many sorts of deceivers and impostors. 1677.

* *Johan Scotus* de Divisione Naturæ.

De Ratione ac Jure finiendi controversias Ecclesiæ Disputatio Authore Herb. Thorndike.

Theses Theologicæ variis Temporibus in Academia *Sedanensi* editæ & ad disputandum propositæ. Authore *Ludovico Le Blanc* verbi Divini Ministro & Theologiæ professore. In quibus exponitur sententia Doctorum Ecclesiæ Romanæ, & Protestantium. 1683. Price 20 *s.*

A Table of ten thousand Square Numbers, by *John Pell* D. D. sticht. 11. 6 *d.*

IN QUARTO.

* Several English Bibles with the Liturgy, Apocrypha, singing Psalms and Chronology.

* Common Prayer-Books.

* *Theophilus* and *Philodoxus*, 4 controversial dialogues, Of Prayer in an unknown tongue. The half Communion. The worshipping of Images. The Invocation of Saints, by *Gilb. Cele* D. D.

* Tractatus Maimonidis de donis Pauperum, cum versione latina & Notis *Hum. Prideaux* A. M.

* Historia Jacobitarum in Ægypto, Lybia, Nubia, Æthiopia tota, & parte Cypri insulæ habitantium, per *Jos. Abudacnum*.

* A view and survey of the dangerous errors to Church and State in Mr. *Hobbs* his Book entituled Leviathan, by *Edward* E. of *Clarendon*.

* Votum pro pace Christiana Autore *An. Sall.* D. D.

* Benefits of our Saviour to Mankind.

* Claudii Ptolomæi Harmonica Gr. Lat. ex recensione & cum Notis *Joh. Wallis* S. T. D. Geom. Prof.

Archimedis Opera, Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum Libri IIII. Theodosii Sphærica, Methodo nova Illustrata & succincte demonstrata. per *Isaac. Barrow*

Lectiones Geometricæ, per *Isaac Barrow*.

Apologia pro Ecclesiæ patribus adversus *Johannem Dalleum* de usu patrum *Auth. Math.* Scrivener.

Beveregii Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ vindicatæ.

Hereboordi (Adriani) Meletemata Philosophica *Amsterdam* 1680.

History of Tythes, by *John Selden London* 1618.

Johannis Bonæ (Cardinalis) Opera Theologica. 1677. 16 *s.*

Dr. *Pell's* introduction to *Algebra*, 7 *s.*

Nich. Mercatoris Logarithmo-Technia, five methodus construendi Logarithmos, 1668. & *Jac. Gregorii* Exercitationes Geometricæ, 1668. 2 *s.*

Snellii Typhis Batavus, Ludg. Bat. 1624. 5 *s.*

Dr. *Thomas Jacomb*, on the eighth Chapter of the *Romans*, 8 *s.*

Dr. *Wallis* Opera. Mechanica, 22 *s.*

Hieronymi Mercurialis de Arte Gymnastica Libri sex cum figuris, 1672.

J. Crellii Ethica Aristotelica & Christiana, 16 *s.* Huic Editioni præter præfixam Auctoris vitam, accedit Cathechesis Ecclesiarum Polonicarum, a *Jo. Crellio, Jona Schlichtingio, M. Knaro*, & *A. Wissowatio* recognita atque emendata, Casmop. 1681.

Joan. Binebii Mellificium Theologicum, 16 *s.*

Holy Fast of Lent defended, 1667. 6 *d.*

A *Looking-Glass* for all new converts, 1667. 1 *s.*

Jer. Horrocii. Angl. Opusc. Astron. 1673.

An Historical Vindication of the Church of *England* in point of Schism, by Sir *Rob. Twisden*.

Dr.

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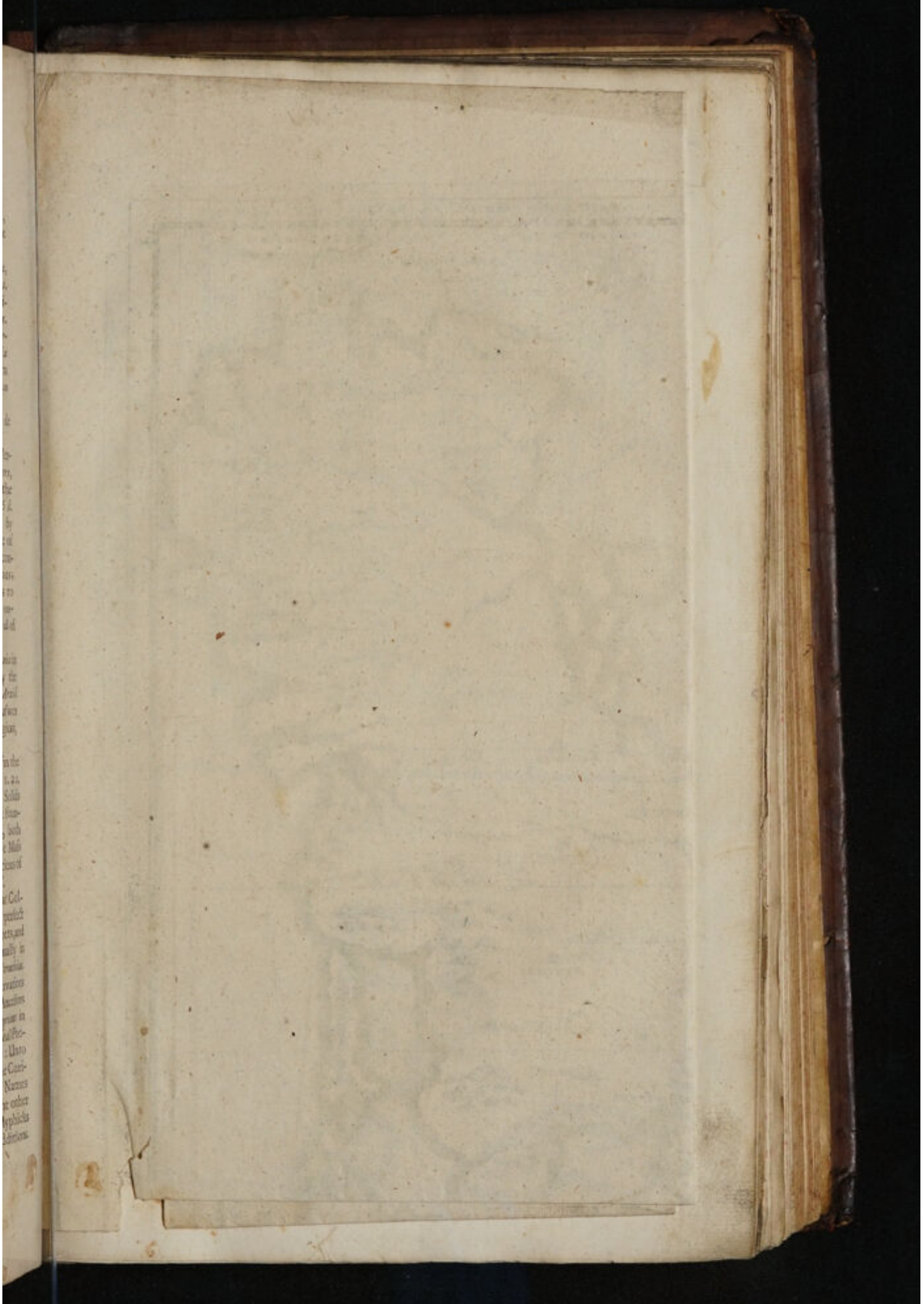

A MAPP OF THE ISLES OF
IAPON
ORIENTALL OCEAN
THE SEA OF COREER
THE SOUTH SEA
MAPP of TUNQUIN
The Isles of COREER
QUAMTOHOR
IE TS EGEN
IAMAI
TOKOESI
XIKOKO Isle
The Straights of Sangar
The Land of Iesso
Yendoma Isle
Tois Isle
Yendoma Isle

THE PREFACE.

THE *World being an ample Volum, in whose Extent and Varieties the Framer's Wisdom and Attributes are manifestly read and set out, it seems that great Travellers are the best Scholars and Proficients in this Book; since on's Native Countrey is but as a single Leaf, where all the Singularities are not to be seen which are found in the other.*

—— Non omnis fert omnia Tellus.

And the truth of it is, those Ancient Philosophers, who have first laid the Foundations of Arts, Sciences, and Commonwealths in the World, were Travellers into these very Eastern Parts, (partly described by us here) whence they brought home all their Knowledge; it being here that Man and Knowledge it self had their first beginning. So that wise Travellers are not un-

like those rich laden Vessels which through many dangers bring wholesom and profitable Cargo's, Drugs, *and other Conveniences, to be dispers'd among the several Societies of their own Countrey: They are like those diligent Master-Bees, who run divers miles to extract out of many bitter* Herbs *that sweet* Liquor, *which they afterwards kindly refund to be enjoyed at home in common, in the hardest Seasons of the* Year, *by their* Fellows. *What costs them dear, others have it cheap: And there's scarce any* Private Persons *in the Commonwealth, to whom we owe greater* Honour *and* Thanks, *than to Worthy* Travellers *and* Discoverers *of* Forein Countries.

Yet it may be truly said, That Ancient Travellers *and* Geographers *have but as course* Limners *and Coast-Drivers, drawn a very rough* Draught *in their* Relations *of those* Countries *they describ'd unto us, in comparison of some later Writers, who also sometimes do but copy their* Predecessors Stories; *and* Merchants, *with most other* Travellers, *are weather-driven by their private Occasions or Misfortunes, to take but a Cursory Survey of* Places, *and so give but an answerable account of the same to the World.*

But among all the Ancient and Modern Travellers, *none had such fair Opportunities and Advantages as the Illustrious Monsieur* Tavernier *had, to make a true, profitable, and exact* Relation *of the Singularities of those* Remote Parts *of* Asia, *where he past so many*

Years

Years in great Splendour, as shall appear by the ensuing Considerations and Qualifications of a good Traveller.

1. *He from his Youth had a strong Inclination to Travel, which secret Instinct is certainly a Preordination of God for an Undertaking; and this unseen Impulsion carries such extraordinary Instruments chearfully and prosperously through all the Difficulties, others of a contrary disposition would never wade thorough, for whom it would be in vain to strive against the current of Nature.*

2. *This Travelling* Genius *made him begin early to fit himself for his design, and soon to go about it. He was therefore sufficiently imbued in his Intellectuals with all due knowledge of Sciences, Language, and Geography, and precedent Travellers Maps and Books, without all which common Travellers cannot conceive so soon and so orderly, nor reap so much benefit for themselves or others.*

3. *But Speculations without Experience are but unprofitable Notions; and the Experiments of this kind are not to be had without* great Means and Expence, *for want of which many a good Undertaking is Still-born.*

Haud facilè emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi——

is an old and true Saying. But our noble Tavernier *had an ample Estate, drove a great Trade, had Money in abundance, and a Prince's or Embassador-like Retinue, without which and great Presents none is scarce look'd upon in Luxurious* Asia, *fit for admittance into great and worthy Companies, where Knowledge may be attained; so that he thereby soon got into the Presence, Familiarity, and Closets of the Emperours, the Ministers of State, and the Philosophers of* Persia, Mogol, *&c. and got into the Acquaintance and Conversations of the leading and common Merchants, Traffiquers, and People; and knew their Languages very well: for it is in vain to have Eyes, if one have not also a Tongue in such cases.*

4. *And whereas Learning and Riches do sometimes render narrow Souls of a more proud and unsociable temper, Monsieur* Tavernier *is by Nature and Education, an obliging, cheerful, and insinuating Traveller, and of a graceful Countenance. Comely Personages are beloved almost as soon as they are seen; and those that have but fair Souls, are not so till after they are known. Now Monsieur* Tavernier *having both these Advantages, had a free entrance into the Friendship and Notions the* Indians (*great or small*) *had concerning the Natural, Mechanical, Political, Religious, and Trading State of their own Country; which he made more his business to know, than to grow more rich.*

And

And at some times he would reckon Thousands of Pounds as nothing to attain his ends in this point of Knowledge and further Experience; as the perusal of this his own Work, and Persons now in London, *that knew him in and after his Travels, can fully testifie.*

5. *Moreover, Mutual Help of Persons equally understanding and curious, is a great advantage in such Researches and Observations as these. Now* John Baptista Tavernier, *besides many other Heads and Hands, had herein the Assistance of a Brother, as complete a Traveller as himself in those furthest Parts of* Asia, *and had no less the foregoing Qualifications in Person and Estate than this his Brother* John Baptista *had, as the Reader may well perceive by this Volum of Travels.*

6. *And as for the* Time; *Six Voyages, and about Forty Years Abode in those Countries they do describe, did render these Brethrens Knowledge vast, their Experiments tried over and over, and this their Account more sure and exact (as I said) than that of any other Traveller heretofore.*

7. *And finally, to confirm the undoubted Credit that's to be given to this Nobleman and his Relation, (who is above all design of Flattering or Deceiving the Reader) you may meet with several Worthy Persons in this City and the Court of* England; *and I my self, who was at* Paris *some few years ago at Monsieur*

Tavernier's *Arrival, and who can witness the grand Esteem, the solemn Honours and Thanks, that were then given him by Persons of all Ranks and Degrees, the* French East India *Company's Admiration and Recommendation of him, that he had done his King and Countrey more Credit in those proud Eastern Courts than ever any did before him; the* French *King's imploying of him there; the Rarities he brought home to the Learned; the vast Riches and Memoirs he gained for himself, and the incomparable Jewels and Singularities he brought to the* French *King; the Titles of* Lord *and* Baron *conferred upon him extraordinarily, though he were a Merchant and a strict Protestant. These (I say) Public and Private Testimonials do shew what Credit other Nations and his own (which is Singular) had given to him. But in a word his own Observations herein gathered will prove it better.*

But if any desire to have some Account of the Work it self, the Newness, Profit, and Satisfaction the very Subject must needs yield to all Persons and Professions cannot but be acceptable.

The Naturalist shall have Plants, Minerals, Animals, and Phœnomena's *never seen in our Climate. And about Physic, the Law, Music, and Poetry, more*

Time

Time and Tryals are required in those Countries than here; and you shall accordingly read of Cures done that draw near to natural Miracles.

The Divine will see things worth his Observation in their Religion and Morals, wherein they may confound the very Christians; whereof I'le onely touch but thus much: That by the Light of Nature those Heathens own a Supreme Deity, and a Future State of Happiness and Torments; and do in view of the same most strictly keep the Civil and the Ten Moral Commandments, much answerable to ours, which their Prophets have left to them. So that they punish Murther and Adultery even in Princes and Princesses; terrible Examples whereof you may here read at large. And the Church and State Government are subservient in a Subordination, the one being a Prop to the other.*

*Tunquin ch.7.p.18.

Even Statesmen may find Subject of weighty consideration, in the Antiquity, Model, and Exactness of their Government. As for instance: Though they have a special regard to Monarchy, so as to keep the Succession within the same Line; yet the Great Constable, and the King's Council have Power left them to propose and chuse the fittest Person among the Royal Children, or Collateral Successors, who is nominated in the King's Life-time, to prevent after Disturbances. They have also*

*Tunquin c.11.p.35.

also on the other side very singular and unimitable ways to prevent the Insurrections, Divisions, and Rebellions of the Militia *and the People.*

But above all, the Traveller and Traffiquer into those Parts will be like to run into a thousand Inconveniences, and Losses of Health, Life, and Estate, without being guided by such Directions as he carefully gives herein, which others cannot possibly so soon and so well know.

It is in fine herein declared, by what means the French, Holland, *and* Portugal East India *Companies were Settled, Improved, and Worsted in those Countries; also the Coinage, and the Reduction thereof to ours; the particular places where all sorts of* East India *Commodities are best and cheapest had; the Rates and Exchange Returns are here to be found; the manner how to know their Falsifications in Gold, Silver, Jewels, Drugs, Silks, Linen, and all the other Merchandizes which are brought from those Nations are here set down: It being otherwise hard or impossible to escape the Cheats of the* Persians, Chineses, *and* Japoners, *without such Instructions.*

I'le say no more, but that in this Work was imployed the Help of another Worthy Gentleman, who labour'd in

in the first Volum of Tavernier's *Translation; but it was brought to an end and perfection by me, who had the occasion to be more particularly acquainted with Monsieur* Tavernier *himself, his Native Tongue, and other Particularities abroad.*

Edmund Everard.

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Of the Government of the Hollanders *in* Asia.

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A RELATION OF JAPON,

AND

Of the Cause of the Persecution of the Christians in those ISLANDS.

THE Modern Geographers have made Descriptions of *Japon*, by means of such conjectures as they have drawn from the Relations of certain Merchants who have traded in those Countries. But in regard there are very few Merchants who are skilful in *Geography*, as being such who only mind the profit and advantage of their Voyages, those Descriptions have prov'd very uncertain. As to the knowledge of the Ancients, in reference to this part of the World, it is no less imperfect; and it is but only by conjecture to this day, that we believe the *Abadii* of *Ptolomy* to be that Island which is now call'd *Niphon*. That which I could learn of most certainty, was by the Relation of several persons who have Travell'd these parts, that the Empire of *Japon* is at present compos'd of several Islands, of which some perhaps may not be absolute Islands, but rather *Peninsula's*, and particularly those that make a part of the

Land of *Yesso*, the Inhabitants whereof are Vassals and Tributaries to *Japon*. Nevertheless a *Holland* Pilot, who has been industrious to discover whether the whole Country it self were an Island, or a Continent adjoyning to that vast Tract of Land call'd *Corea*, unknown to this day, in those parts where it extends it self behind *China* to the bottom of *Tartarie Nindhan*, saith, that it is separated from *Japon* by a narrow Sea, which at this day is call'd *The Streights of* Sanguar. Through all the Islands of *Japon*, where formerly were accompted to have been 66 Kingdoms, there are three remarkable for their largeness, of which that of largest extent is called *Niphon*, the next *Ximo*, and the third *Xicock*. The *Japonners* accompt it a Journey of twenty seven days from the Province of *Quanto*, to the Country of *Yesso*; and they say farther, that this Country of *Yesso*, in those parts which are remote from the Sea, is so full of inaccessible Mountains, that those *Japonners* who have attempted a discovery by Land, could never accomplish their design, being discourag'd by the length of the Journey, and the difficulties and badness of the ways.

The Island of *Niphon* is four times as big as the other two; and there is also a Mountain therein that vomits up Flames of Fire, like Mount *Etna* in *Sicily*; formerly it was distinguish'd into thirty five Kingdoms, but at this day it is only divided into five parts, the names whereof are *Jamasoit*, *Jetsen*, *Jetsesen*, *Quanto*, and *Oshio*, lying all in order as you travel from West to East. These five parts are again divided into several Provinces. The Island of *Ximo*, or *Saycock*, is situated to the South-West of *Niphon*, being about 160 Leagues in circuit. The Island of *Xicock* is seated by the South of *Niphon*, being about 120 Leagues in compass. The other Islands that lye round about are not so considerable, for in those Seas lye several Islands scatter'd up and down, as in the *Archipelago*, between the *Morea* and the Coasts of *Asia* the less. As to the rest, I refer the Reader to the Map annexed, believing it to be very true, as having been made upon the places themselves.

The Emperour at present keeps his Court in the City of *Yeddo*, in regard the Air is there more temperate, and the Heats not so violent; but when he has a Son that is arriv'd to the Age of fifteen years, he sends him to *Surunga*, there to reside, till the death of his Father makes him way to the Throne.

Since *Yeddo* has been made choice of for the Seat of the Empire, it has so greatly enlarg'd it self from day to day, that it is at present three Leagues in length, and three in breadth, very populous, and the Houses standing very close together. When the Emperour rides through the City, or that there is any publick shew to be seen, it is impossible to get by the crowd of the people, though the Women are not permitted to be of the number. The Emperours Palace is cover'd with Plates of Gold, to which the Palaces of the Lords are every way correspondent in Magnificence; so that afar off the City affords the richest and most magnificent Prospect that was ever beheld: Though it be not so beautiful within, by reason that the ordinary Houses are built only of Wood. The Great *Dairy* keeps his residence at *Meaco*, which is also a very large City, containing above a hundred thousand Houses; it was formerly the capital Seat of the Empire, at what time the *Dairy*'s were laid aside. So soon as he is Crown'd by the *Bonzes*, who are the *Priests* and *Lawyers*, he is then no more to expose himself to the light of the Moon, nor to

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ſhave his Head, or cut his Nails. The Natives report, that the Empire of *Japon* was formerly govern'd by a Prince call'd *Dairy*, who had acquir'd ſo high a reputation for Holineſs, that his Subjects ador'd him as a God, and that to increaſe the awe and reverence of the people, he ſuffer'd his Hair and Nails to grow, affirming, that it it was a piece of Sacriledge to make uſe either of Razor or Sizzars. The Princes that ſucceeded him, though they had only the name of Kings, have ſtill preſerv'd the ſame cuſtom, believing that it becomes not their Grandeur to appear in view of the Moon, as being Sons of the *Sun*. If he have a Daughter that is ripe for Marriage, the Emperour is oblig'd to Marry her, and ſhe it is that bears the Title of Empreſs, though ſhe ſhould happen to have no Children, which is contrary to the Maxims of all the Eaſtern Monarchs, who give the Title of Queen and Sultaneſs only to her, among all the reſt of their Wives, that is firſt brought to Bed of a Male Succeſſor to the Crown.

At the end of every ſeven years, the Emperour ſends one of the chief Princes of his Court to the *Dairy* with a Basket full of Earth, and to tell him, that all the Lands which the Emperour commands, are at the *Dairy*'s Devotion; and indeed the Empire belongs to him by right of Succeſſion, though at preſent he enjoys only the Title, and very large Revenues, which render him highly conſiderable in the Empire.

The *Japonners* are Idolaters, and adore the Sun; but though they have a great number of Temples and different Idols, yet they are not over obſtinate in their Devotion, only the Emperour is very ſevere againſt all other Religions. They never ſtir out of their Native Country to travel, unleſs it be to *China*, and the Land of *Yeſſo*; and within theſe few years the Emperour has prohibited his people under extream penalties, from having any Commerce with Foreigners, the *Chineſes* and *Hollanders* excepted. He had receiv'd Ambaſſadours at ſeveral times from ſeveral Princes, but never ſent any of his own to them again. Nevertheleſs it is affirm'd, that ſeveral Lords of theſe Iſlands newly converted to the Faith, in the year 1585, ſent their Children to *Rome*, to render their acknowledgments to *Gregory* the Thirteenth; and that being return'd back in the year 1587, to *Goa*, they were afterwards receiv'd, and welcom'd again into their own Country with great marks of joy. The little inclination which they have to Navigation and Traffick, proceeds in part from the great abundance of all things neceſſary for Human ſupport, which their own Country produces; and then in the next place from the jealouſies of the Emperour, who is afraid of the alterations which new Religions may make in his Government; for they are very fickle, and eaſily ſeduc'd after Novelties, which has been the occaſion of many Revolts, and Civil Wars, till *Quabacondon* wreſted the Empire out of the hands of the *Dairy*, and reunited all the Provinces. They are ſo fiery and revengeful, that upon the leaſt affront given them, if they cannot have an opportunity of a preſent revenge, they will rip up their own Bellies, and kill themſelves. I was told a Story to confirm this. Two young Lords that ſerv'd the Emperour met in the Palace, and joſtl'd one the other by accident; the moſt furious of the two was immediately for drawing his Sword. The other told him, the place was not convenient, that he was going to wait; but that if he would ſtay for him in ſuch a place, he would give him ſatisfaction. Accordingly the party that thought himſelf affronted went and ſtay'd, but

his impatience was such, that after he had stay'd awhile, not finding the other to come, he ripp'd up his own Bowels for very vexation. Upon which the people crowding about him, ask'd him the reason of his killing himself; to which they could draw no other answer but this, *A cowardly Raskal has affronted me.* By and by the other comes, makes way through the throng, and surpriz'd with what he beheld; *Poor Creature*, said he, *thou need'st not have doubted my being as good as my word, this Dagger shall assure thee of it:* And so saying, he kill'd himself upon the place, and fell by the others side.

There is no Nation under Heaven that fears Death less than this, or that is more enclin'd to cruelty. If any Prince or great Lord makes a Feast for his Friends, at the end of the Feast he calls his principal Officers, and asks 'em, if there be any that has so much love for him as to kill himself before the Guests for his sake. Presently there arises a dispute among them who shall have the Honour; and who ever the Prince is pleas'd to name, rips up his Belly with a *Cric*, which is a kind of Dagger, the poynt whereof is Poyson'd. This custom is also practis'd upon the Death of their Masters, or when they lay the Foundations of any Palace; for they are so superstitious as to believe, that these Victims are necessary to render both the Owners of the Building, and the Habitation fortunate.

They punish all manner of Theft with Death. 'Tis also a capital Crime among them to play for Money. Adultery is only punish'd in the Women: But Coynage of false Money, setting Houses on Fire, Deflowring and Ravishing of Virgins, are not only punish'd in the persons of the Criminals, but also of those who are next of kin to them. The Women live retir'd, and are very faithful to their Husbands. The Emperour having put to Death one of the Lords of his Court, out of hopes to enjoy his Wife; she fearing violence, besought the Emperour to give her time to consider, which was granted for some few days. At the end whereof she shut her self up in a Room with her Children; and after she had delivered a Paper to one of her Servants to carry to the Emperour, she set the Chamber a Fire, and burnt both her self and her Children. The Emperour met with nothing else in the Paper but reproaches of his Tyranny, and attestations of joy from the Lady, that she had the opportunity to Sacrifice her self to the memory of her Husband. Several other stories I have heard, which make me believe, that this Nation is not unapable of doing actions worthy a *Roman* Vertue.

The *Portugals* were the first people of *Europe* that discover'd the Islands of *Japon*. They were thrown upon the Coast by a violent Storm, in the year 1542, and understanding that there was great store of Gold and Silver in the Country, they return'd with a resolution to settle themselves. The first place where they thought to fix was neer *Surunga*, a City which stands about four Leagues from the Sea: But because there is but one Road, and that not very secure neither for Shipping, they remain'd there not above five years. At length they took possession of a little forsaken Island call'd *Kiuxu*, which they peopl'd afterward's; but since the last Persecution of the Christians, the *Portugals* were forc'd to abandon it, having no more Commerce with the *Japonners*. How the *Hollanders* came to erect their Factories there, I shall tell the Reader in another part of this Relation.

Seven years after the first coming of the *Portugals* to *Japon*, St. *Francis Xavier* made a Voyage thither to Preach the Gospel. The first place where he Landed was the Island of *Niphon*, where he stay'd two years and some Months, and travel'd several parts of these Islands; but his principal design being to go to *China*, he took shipping accordingly. The Vessel was no sooner out at Sea, but St. *Francis* fell sick, so that the Captain put him ashore again in the Island of *Sechen*, by others call'd *Haynan*, belonging to *China*, where in a few days after he dy'd, and never was in *China*, as some have reported and believ'd.

After his death the Christian Religion spread it self very much in *China*, the people being very docible, and apprehensive of the instructions which were given them; but the behaviour of the *Portugals* displeasing the Principal Governours, and those who had most Power at Court, they did them ill Offices to the Emperour, and the *Bonzes* misliking the new Religion, and jealous of the effects thereof, were the fomenters of continual persecutions against the new Converts, pretending they favour'd the designs of the *Portugueses*.

Nevertheless the Christian Religion daily got footing, and perhaps the whole Nation would have embrac'd it, if the covetousness and wickedness of the Christians themselves had not been the chief impediment of their conversion. The *Hollanders* did all they could to lay the fault upon the *Portugals*, but the truth will easily appear by the Letter written to one *Leonard Campen*, a *Hollander*, wherein it is said, that when the *Hollanders* were ask'd by the Natives what Religion they were of, they made this answer, *we are no Christians*, *we are* Hollanders. I do not go about to blemish a whole Nation for the fault of a few, but only to shew what a dangerous thing it is, to make an ill choice of Officers upon the setling of a new Commerce in Regions so remote.

The *Holland East India* Company having set out a Vessel for *Batavia*, put aboard about a dozen young Boys, and as many Girls, taken out of the Hospitals in the Country. Among these Boys there was one who was design'd to serve in the Kitchin, but Fortune made him an Instrument of one of the greatest Misfortunes that ever befell our Age. During the Voyage, the Merchant having observ'd him to be a Boy of a ready wit, and for that reason believing that he might one day prove serviceable to the *Holland* Company, caus'd him to be taught to write and read; wherein he improv'd so well in a short time, that being come to *Batavia*, he was thought capable of a higher Employment. The Vessel being arriv'd, the General and his Council resolv'd to send the same Vessel to *Japon*, with some part of the Lading which was brought from *Europe*. Thereupon the Merchant was commanded upon this Voyage, and the under Accomptant happening in the mean time to dye, this Boy was by him advanc'd to the place, and by the Merchant carefully instructed in the knowledge of the *East-India* Trade.

The Vessel being arriv'd at *Firando*, the new under Accomptant believing no place more proper for him then that to raise his fortune, resolv'd to leave his Benefactor, and therefore when the Ship was to return, he hid himself out of the way, till he knew the Ship to be far enough on ward on her Voyage, and by that means becoming a Member of the Factory, he grew so perfect in the Language of the Natives, and so useful to the Company, that at length he came to be President of the Factory; the Authority of which Employment so puff'd him

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up, that he was not only for continuing and upholding the Commerce of his own, but excluding all other Nations. Now, as I have already obſerv'd, the *Portugals* were the firſt Traders, and the firſt that propagated the Chriſtian Religion in thoſe parts; therefore it was that the Chriſtian *Japonners* would not Trade with any but the *Portugals*, as having known them longer, and finding them more true to their words. This the Preſident obſerv'd, and made it his buſineſs to render them obnoxious at Court, and by vertue of his Preſents, engag'd the Governours of Provinces, and other great Lords, to favour his deſign.

However, the *Portugals* wanted neither friends nor confederates. And though they were not in a condition to be ſo liberal as the Preſident, yet they made ſhift to defend themſelves, and render his under-hand Dealings ineffectual. Thereupon finding that thoſe Tricks would not take, he had recourſe to the fouleſt of Calumnies; for he counterfeited a Letter written in the *Portugueſe* Language, containing a diſcovery of a deſign of the Chriſtian *Japonners* to have made a general Inſurrection, and a particular Conſpiracy againſt the perſon of the Emperour. This Letter he carry'd to a Lord of the Country, into whoſe favour and confidence he had wrought himſelf, who preſently thought it to be his duty to give intelligence of ſo important a deſign to the Court.

The Preſident inform'd him by what accident the Letter came to his hands, and gave an account of ſuch circumſtances, as made his Impoſture look with a probable countenance, relating, how that the *Hollanders* had taken a *Portugal* Veſſel returning from *Japon* to *Goa*, and that the *Holland* Captain having taken this Letter among other Papers, open'd it, and perceiving of what conſequence it was, had ſent an Expreſs to the Preſident to proceed as his prudence, and the affection of the *Dutch* Company toward the Emperour ſhould guide him. That the *Portugals*, who were but Subjects to the *Spaniards*, had a pernicious Maxim, not to ſuffer any Religon but their own in any place where they had to do, and that for their own ends they never ſpar'd either the Life or Liberty of Man; that they thought it an acceptable Sacrifice to God, to cut the Throats of thoſe whom they could not convert. And laſtly, that the *Hollanders* were a people that accorded with all Nations and Religions, and minded nothing but their Trade.

The Lord believ'd all theſe fraudulent Calumnies, and ſent a Copy of the Letter to the Emperour, the ſubſtance whereof was, That the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine* Iſlands, and the *Portugals* in *Japon*, being in confederacy with the Chriſtians of the Country, had ſent to the Governour of *Goa* to ſend by a time prefix'd eight or ten Veſſels, with Men and Arms, but eſpecially a good number of Officers to command the Revolters, for that then there would be a numerous Army ready, and that they ſhould eaſily make themſelves Maſters of *Japon*.

The *Portugals* were then under the Dominion of the *Spaniard*, and though they would ſuffer no *Spaniard* in their *Indian* Acquiſitions but the Viceroy, yet ſeveral of the Religious Orders did ſlip into *Japon*, carried thither by a true and real zeal; yet this zeal, when once indiſcreet, does as much miſchief as covetouſneſs it ſelf. The Father *Pauliſts*, for ſo they call the *Jeſuits* in the *Indies*, by reaſon that their Church in *Goa* is dedicated to St. *Paul*; theſe *Jeſuits* I ſay, had made a fair progreſs, and gain'd great credit among the people, notwithſtanding

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their continual persecutions, according as the Lords of the Country were well or ill affected towards them. Their number therefore encreas'd, and the new Converts had this advantage, that they enrich'd themselves by Trading with the *Portugals*, who had made a positive Agreement not to Trade with the *Bonzes*. This provok'd the *Bonzes* against them, and the multitude of the Christians so far augmented the Emperour's jealousies and fears, that in a short time they produc'd the effects of open rage and cruelty.

The *Jesuits* had converted to the Faith a great Lord of the Kingdom, who liv'd most commonly at *Bugen*, in the Island of *Ximo*, a person of great Interest and Power in the Island. He had four Sons, two of which liv'd with him, and following his Example, had embrac'd the Catholick Faith. The Father was Baptiz'd by the name of *Ignatius*; the eldest of the two was call'd *Francis*, and the youngest *Charles*: the two eldest Sons were at Court in great favour with the Emperour. The younger of the two that had embrac'd the Christian Religion, addicted himself wholly to the study of the Scripture, and retir'd with the *Jesuits* to their Seminary. His Example had wrought with a great number of young Lords, and as he was eloquent besides, he was of great use to the *Jesuits* in preaching the Gospel, and reclaiming the people from the grossness of their Errors.

The *Japonners* are naturally endow'd with a noble mind, and great inclination to Learning; so that there is nothing wanting in that Nation but able Teachers. Not but that they have Doctors of their own: the *Dairy*'s Court is full of them; where they preserve the Annals of their Country, and pretend that Printing and Artillery were in use among them before they were known in *Europe*. From this Court come all their Books, in regard the persons that attend upon this Prince apply themselves only to their Studies. It is reported, that they learnt all these things by their frequent Commerce with the *Chineses*, and that they are also originally descended from them. And in truth, the greatest Province of the Island of *Niphon* is call'd *Quanto*, according to the name of the Sea-Coast part of *China*, where lies the greatest Traffick between the *Japonners* and *Chineses*. Moreover, if there be any credit to be given to the *Chinese* Histories, they say it was but a small part of their vast Empire, which extended it self from North to South 56 Degrees of Latitude, from the Frozen Sea to the Equinoctial Line, being bounded to the West by the *Caspian* Sea, and extending Eastward over all the Southern *America* to *New Spain*.

Father *Thomas Barr*, a *Portuguese*, has often told me when I was at *Agra*, a capital City of the *Great Mogul*, where the *Jesuits* have a very fair House, that this and several other young Lords improv'd themselves so far in six or seven years, that they were as Learned as their Masters themselves, and that they were more zealous in converting those of their Nation. Now the *Jesuits* at that time had no House for the Instruction of Youth and Proselytes, and therefore they desir'd this young Lord to lend them one of his. Thereupon he having four very fair ones, with great Revenues belonging to them, gave that which was neareſt to the City to his Converters. A while after, the youngest of his Sons fell sick, and was carried to this House for the Air's sake, where he recover'd by the care of the Fathers, and the Prayers of the Christians; but his Father did not long enjoy the pleasure of so great

a Cure, which seem'd almost miraculous; for he dy'd at what time both his Sons and the Christians stood most in need of his protection.

The two eldest, who were with the Emperour, understanding the the Death of their Father, came to take possession of their Inheritance, and demanded of the *Jesuits* the House which their Father had given them, for in *Japon* no Parent can alienate the Estate of his Children; nay, when they come to such an Age, he is oblig'd to put them in possession of their Estates, reserving only such a proportion to himself. The *Jesuits*, loth to part with so fair a convenience, would not quit their hold, though it were for their own quiet, and to engage the whole Family to stand by them in their time of trouble. This refusal provok'd the two Brethren, and this quarrel between them and the *Jesuits* happen'd at the same time that the *Dutch* President was labouring to bring about his designs. He had notice of this dispute, and as he was a great Impostor, he made it his business to enflame the two Brothers, not only against the *Jesuits*, but against the *Portugals* in general, giving them a Copy of the Letter which he had fram'd, as is before-mention'd.

These two Lords, who were Favourites of the Emperour, joyning Interest of State to their particular Interest, made their complaints at Court, with extraordinary aggravations; urging that there was no security for the Estates of particular Men, for the quiet of the Empire, nor the Life of the Prince, unless not only all the *Portugals*, but also all the Natives of *Japon*, who had suck'd their Errors, were exterminated out of the Island. To make good the reasons of their Exasperation they shew'd the Emperour a Copy of the Letter, and put him into such a fright, as well for his Person, as the Empire, that he would admit of no justification on the other side.

Some of his Lords, who were Friends to the *Portugals*, besought him to examin the truth of what was alledg'd, before he proceeded to utmost extremities against a whole Nation, and against his own Subjects. But he was inexorable, and presently gave private Orders to certain Commissioners, to go through all the Provinces of the Empire, and to banish not only the *Portugals*, but also all the Christian Natives. Now in regard they had their private confederates, as well in the Court, as in other places, they had intelligence, in all parts, of the cruel resolution tak'n against them, though none were more zealous and faithful to them then the two Lords of *Ximo*, *Francis* and *Charles*. Thereupon the Christians met together to consult for their own safety, and their common preservation, and seeing all attempts to justifie themselves prove ineffectual, they resolv'd to stand upon their guards, and to dye in the defence of their Innocency and Religion. The two Lords put themselves at the head of the Christians Army, the elder of which had been a Souldier, and understood the Art of War; the younger kept up their Spirits and Courages by his continual Exhortations.

The Emperour's Commissioners understanding that the Christians were thus embody'd, gave him speedy notice thereof, but said nothing either of the number of their Forces, or of their designs. The *Jesuits* and *Austin Fryars* at *Goa*, told me, that the Army of the Christians consisted of above 40000 Men, besides those recruits that came up to them before and after the Battel was fought.

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The Emperour not beleiving that the Army was so numerous, sent against them at first not above 25 or 30000 Men, under the Command of the youngest of the two Lords of *Ximo*, that liv'd at Court. But those Troops were no sooner upon their March, but he rais'd new Forces, and sent another Army after them, consisting of 40000 Men, commanded by the young Lord, to whom the *Dutch* President had shew'd the Letter first of all.

The Christians having intelligence of the approach of these two Armies, prepar'd to receive them, choosing an advantagious place to intrench themselves. The first Army soon appear'd in sight of the Christians, who lay so encamp'd, that the Imperialists could discover no more than one part of them. However, before the Engagement, the youngest of the Christian Brothers advis'd his other Brother to send to the General of the Emperour's Army, who was their Brother likewise, to desire Peace, and to beseech him to intercede for them to the Emperour, and to assure him, that they were ready to lay down their Arms, and throw themselves at his Feet, and to justifie their Innocency. To this purpose a Letter was fram'd and sent to the General, but the Messenger that carry'd it was nail'd to a Cross in sight of the whole Army of the Christians, and at the same time the Enemy came on with great fury to assail them.

The Fight lasted almost three hours with equal advantage; the Captain of the Imperialists seeking every where for his Brothers, while they strove to avoid him. The Christians, who knew that all their safety consisted in their Victory, and that there was otherwise no hope of pardon, fought with so much valour, that the Imperialists were forc'd to give ground. Their General was slain upon the place, and at length the whole Army of the Idolaters was cut in pieces.

This Victory wrought the Conversion of several of the Idolaters; and the Christians, after they had given thanks to God three days together, prepar'd themselves for a second Combat, not doubting but the other Army would set upon them while they were weary, and weaken'd by the last Battel. But that General more prudent then the former, only posted himself where the Christians could not come at him, and writ to the Court the particulars of the Defeat of the first Army, upon which he expected the Emperour's Orders.

In the mean while, the Army of the Christians daily encreas'd, so that in a few days they were above fifty thousand strong. The Emperour, resolv'd to stifle this Revolt in the beginning, sent Orders through all his Empire to make new Levies; and all the while the *Dutch* President's Confederates ceas'd not to aggravate him against the Christians, not suffering the other Courtiers to open his Eyes, and prevent so unjust a prosecution. The defeat of his Army had put him into such a rage besides, that though the Captains of the Christians Army did all they could to clear themselves from the false accusations laid upon them, and to obtain their pardons, there was no possibility of being heard.

The Emperour call'd his Council, where the wisest were of opinion, that it would prove the best way to receive the submissions of the Christians, who offer'd to lay down their Arms upon a general pardon, and the free exercise of their Religion. But the President's Cabal carry'd it beyond this sober advice, and the Emperour, exasperated by his Impostures, took the wrong course. Thereupon the Council resolv'd with

all speed to raise a vast Army, which was to joyn with the other, and so to ruin the Christians all at a blow. The *Dairy* also, who is consulted upon all important affairs, approv'd this Council. Thereupon the Lords who are oblig'd to furnish the Emperour with Men, strove who should bring their Troops and Companies first to the Randevouz appointed, which was neer the place where the second Army lay; so that when both Armies were joyn'd together, there was in the Field a Body of 150000 Men. The Brother of the General, who was slain in the first Battel, commanded under the Emperour, who resolv'd to go in person.

But first of all he caus'd a Proclamation to be made in his Camp, whereby he forbad any Quarter to be given to any Christian, unless it were the two Brothers, whom he intended to punish openly; and that they who left the Field before the Christians were banish'd, should be put, they and their Kindred, to the most cruel Deaths that could be imagin'd; but that they should be rewarded that brought the Head of a Christian to the Emperour. The Copies of this Proclamation were scatter'd in the Army of the Christians, though they did no harm but only encourag'd them against the Idolaters, seeing there was no hope of pardon.

Nevertheless the youngest of the two Brothers offer'd to go and throw himself at the Emperour's Feet, to implore his clemency in the name of the whole Army; saying withall, That he should accompt himself happy to suffer Martyrdom to shew his Innocency; but they would not suffer him to stir. All he could obtain from them, was to write a Letter full of respect, submission, and repentance for what had been already done, declaring that they were ready to lay down their Arms, if the Emperour would grant them pardon, and the free Exercise of their Religion, offering with the hazard of their Lives to make out the falsity of all those things wherewith they had been accus'd.

This was by an Idolater carry'd to a certain Lord who secretly favour'd the Christians; but the Emperour tore it without reading it, vowing at the same time, that he would never return to his Court 'till the Idolaters were all extirpated. The Christian Army understanding the Emperour's resolution, minded nothing more then their own defence. 'Tis true, the Ground where they lay was advantagious enough for the smallness of their Number, but the Idolaters were three to one; besides that the Idolaters of the Country, who favour'd the Christians before, now declar'd all against them so soon as they saw the Imperial Army. So that now both Armies lying so near together, several hot Skirmishes pass'd between 'em; and at length it came to a general Battel. At first the Christians overthrew the Idolaters, not able to stand before them: with so much vigour did the youngest of their Chieftains assail them. He was remarkable for his Habit that day, but more remarkable for his courage; so that the Field was cover'd with the Bodies of the slain, fear and dread possessing the yielding Enemy. But while the Victor forgot his Brother's advice, and pursu'd too far from the Body of the Army, he was encompass'd on every side, wounded, and being carried away by the press of his Enemies, was at length taken, and lead before the Emperour. His eldest Brother, more experienc'd in War, rally'd and recall'd those that had follow'd his Brother, and till Night maintain'd the advantages, which he had got over the Imperialists, who were still supply'd with fresh Succours, as necessity requir'd. The next day the Fight

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was renew'd again by break of day, and with a ſucceſs as honourable, but more bloody to the Chriſtians.

The third day the Emperour enrag'd at ſuch a reſiſtance, caus'd them to be ſet upon in ſeveral places at one time. The General of the Chriſtians Army rode from Rank to Rank, encouraging the Souldiers both by his Exhortations, and his Example: but at length having receiv'd ſeveral wounds, he was overlaid by the multitude of his Enemies that crouded to his deſtruction. And now the General being loſt, and the Chriſtians having no perſon to command them, it ceas'd to be a Combat, and became a Maſſacre. However, reſolving to dye with their Swords in their hands, they flung themſelves into the thickeſt of their Enemies, and Sacrific'd themſelves to their own Innocency. Their Camp was ſoon forc'd, and all the old Men, Women, and Children put to the Sword, except ſome few that eſcap'd and hid themſelves in the Mountains, who afterwards made a relation of this bloody Story to them who rehears'd it to me.

This was the deplorable end of the Chriſtians, and indeed of the Chriſtianiſme of *Japon*, which the Preſident procur'd by his impoſtures and fallacies. And it has been made appear by three exact accompts, that there has periſh'd, either in Battels or by Tortures, above 60000 Chriſtians. The eldeſt of their Captains ſuffer'd a moſt cruel Martyrdom for ſeven days, neither could any offer, that the Emperour could make him for his Brothers and his own Valours ſake, induce him to renounce the Chriſtian Faith. After that, there was a kind of Inquiſition ſet up thorough the whole Empire, which laſted for ſeveral years, whereby thoſe that perſever'd in the Faith, were condemn'd to moſt intolerable Torments, in ſo much that the Relation which *Van Varen*, a *Hollander*, whoſe credit it would be a vanity to queſtion in this particular, cannot be read over without Horrour. In ſixteen years, that is, from 1613 to 1629, the Chriſtians were ſo multiply'd, that there were above 400000; but in the year 1649, the ſame *Hollander* relates, that thoſe *Japonners* who were brought from thence by the Company's Ships to *Amſterdam*, affirm'd, that Chriſtianity was utterly extirpated out of the Iſland.

Being at *Ogli*, a large Town upon the faireſt Arm of the *Ganges*, I met a *Holland* Merchant, who had ſerv'd the Company in *Japon* a long time, and had made ſeveral Voyages. He came thither with two Ships laden with Bars of Silver and Copper, which he had exchang'd for Silks, which the *Hollanders* buy at *Bengale*. This Merchant knowing I was there, came to viſit me; and I finding him to be a ſincere honeſt Man, and well verſt in the affairs of *Japan*, eſpecially in reference to the laſt perſecution of the Chriſtians, grew covetous of his converſe, and invited him often to my Houſe. In our familiar diſcourſes concerning the ſettlement of the *Hollanders* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and of the extraordinary gain which they make by their Trade there, and paſſing thus from one thing to another, at length I ask'd him who was the Author and Contriver of a Maſſacre ſo horrid, as that was reported to be. Whereupon he related to me all the particulars of which I have here made a recital, and many more which I have forgot or omitted, as being either not pertinent to my ſubject, or elſe already related by others. He had his information from ſuch of the Natives that had eſcap'd out of the Battel, and ſeveral of the Idolater

Merchants, in whose memories the fact was then fresh: and indeed he was so ingenious in his Story, that I could not find any motive to incite me to misdoubt the truth of it. For many times he could not forbear shedding tears, and to interrupt his discourse with his sighs, often imprecating Heav'ns Vengeance upon the President, and protesting he wonder'd the Company employ'd him so long. But God reserv'd his punishment to himself. For the deserts of his crimes always attending him, and provoking judgments and misfortunes upon whatever Enterprize he took in hand, he miserably perish'd in sight of *Lisbon* in fair weather. All the men in the Ship were sav'd; only he returning to recover a certain Cabinet of Jewels which he had there, the Ship split, and the *Portugals* had the satisfaction to see him swallow'd up in the Sea, who had been the occasion of the Ruin of so many of their Country-men in *Japon*; and immediately they rang their Bells in the City for joy of his Death.

In my last Voyage to the *Indies* I was at *Bandar-Abassi*, where the *Hollanders* have a Factory. Thither arriv'd two Vessels from *Japon* to take in Silks, which the *Hollanders* buy of the *Persians* to exchange in *Japon*. The Captain of one of the Ships told me, that during several trading Voyages which he had made to that Island, the Emperour had caus'd two Inquisitions to be made after the Christians; in the first of which the Inquisitors met with 247, who were all most exquisitely tormented to Death; in the latter they only found 63, among whom were seventeen Children, twelve Girls and five Boys, of which the eldest were not above thirteen years of Age.

Among all the persecutions which the Christians suffer'd, there was none comparable to this for extremity of Torments: For the *Japonners* are the most ingenious in cruelty of any people in the World, and the most constant in suffering. For there have been Children from ten to a dozen years old, who for 60 days together have endur'd to have their Bodies fasten'd to the Cross, half burnt, half torn in pieces, while their Executioners forc'd them to eat, on purpose to prolong their Lives in misery; and yet they would not renounce the Faith which they had embrac'd. Neither did this barbarous Inquisition extend only to the Christians, but to their Kindred and Relations, nay, to their very Neighbours. For if a Priest were taken in any House, all the people in that House, and the Houses adjoyning, were hall'd to Execution, for not having made the discovery.

At the beginning of every year there is a new Inquisition, at which time all that can write are requir'd to subscribe, or else the chief of the Family subscribes for all the rest, that they neither are Christians, nor are acquainted with any Christians, and that they abominate Christianity as a Religion dangerous to the State.

Don John of *Braganza*, being advanc'd to the Crown, that sudden change which in one day, and without the least Tumult in *Lisbon*, wrested the Crown of *Portugal* from the King of *Spain*, wrought the same effect at *Goa*. All the *Portugals* at *Goa* at the same time acknowledg'd their new Soveraign; the Viceroy who was a *Spaniard*, was sent away to *Spain* by the first Vessels that were homeward bound; and *Don Philip de Mascarennas*, a *Portugal*, Governour of *Ceylan*, came to *Goa*, and took upon him the command of Viceroy.

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So soon as he came to the Government, his first thoughts were how to Establish the Trade of the *Portugals* in *Japon*, which when they were expell'd, amounted to three Millions of *Pardo's* yearly, one *Pardo* being worth twenty seven *Sous* of *French* Money. The hopes therefore of regaining so great a loss, made him toward the end of the year 1642, take a resolution to send a solemn Embassy to the Emperour of *Japon* furnish'd with magnificent Presents: For which reason he made choice of what was most rare, and most likely to be acceptable to the Emperour, and the Grandees of his Court. The most costly of these Presents was a piece of *Lignum Aloes*, otherwise call'd *wood of Calambour*, four Foot in length, and two Foot in Diameter; a larger piece then which the *Indies* had never seen, having cost 40000 *Pardo's*. To this he added a great quantity of fair Coral Beads of an extraordinary bigness. This is the most acceptable Present that can be sent to the Lords of *Japon*, which they fasten to the Strings wherewith they draw their Pouches together. With these he sent a great number of Carpets and Hangings of Cloth of Gold, Silver, and Silk, and several pieces of Tissue of Gold and Silver. 'Tis said the whole Present cost the City of *Goa* above eight hundred thousand *Pardo's*, which amounts to about 86666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* of *English* Money. Besides all this, the two great Ships which were prepar'd for the Embassador, carry'd one of them 50 Peeces of Canon, and the other 35, both laden with all sorts of Commodities which are esteem'd and priz'd in *Japon*, amounting to about 83333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Sterling. The Equipage of the Embassador was no less sumptuous. And because the Viceroy would not be thought to give any occasion of offence to the Emperour, he would not suffer one *Jesuit* in the Train, but only four *Augustins* for the Admiral, and four *Jacobins* for the other, Men of discretion and conduct. While I was at *Goa*, in the year 1648, I met with some of these Fathers, who gave an exact accompt of the Embassy.

They made a prosperous Voyage, and arriv'd happily at their intended Port. But you must understand, that when any Ship arrives at *Japon*, no persons are permitted to come ashore, 'till the Governour of the place have an accompt who they are, that they may give notice thereof to the Emperour, and know his pleasure, whether they shall be received or no. In the mean time the Ships rode in a very dangerous place, at the entry of the Haven, into which there was no steering, without the assistance of the Native Pilots.

The Governour of *Nangasaqui* surpriz'd to understand that they were *Portugueses*, wrote in all hast to the Emperour. The *Dutch* President being inform'd of the news, play'd all the pranks he could, us'd all the contrivances imaginable to frustrate the success of the Embassy, and to ruine the Vessels that brought the Embassadour and his Presents. To which purpose he found a way to bribe the Courrier, who was sent with the Emperours Orders; so that instead of twenty days, which were sufficient for his journey, he made it above two Months before he deliver'd his dispatches. During which time the two Ships had suffer'd very bad weather upon the Coasts, and endur'd many a severe Storm. At length the Orders came that none should be permitted to Land but the Embassadour, the two Captains, and the two Pilots, to give an accompt of the subject and cause of their coming. The Embassadour being Landed, acquainted the Governour that he came to compliment

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which the Emperour had put forth, forbidding all Strangers, except the *Hollanders*, to set footing in *Japon*.

After the *Portugal* Embassadour was thus barbarously frustrated and dismiss'd, he sent News thereof to the General at *Batavia*, urging him to execute the design which the *Hollanders* had upon *Macao*; telling him also, That though there were a probability of a League between the *Hollander* and the *Portugal* against the *Spaniard*, yet that it could be no harm to seize *Macao* beforehand, as they had made themselves Masters of several places, while the *Portugals* were under the King of *Spain*. The General taking the President's advice, was ready to set Sail upon this enterprize, when a Messenger from *Portugal* brought him the News of the Treaty concluded between *Portugal* and *Holland*; as also of the Navy which the *Hollanders* had sent to *Lisbon* to aid the *Portugals*. At first he made as if it had been a false Rumour, and put the Messenger in Prison; nevertheless while he delay'd the departure of the Fleet, he receiv'd expres Orders from his Superiours to Treat the *Portugals* as Friends and Allies. So that he was constrain'd to turn all his Forces against the *Molucca* Islands, then in the possession of the *Spaniards*.

The President was very sorry for the last News, by reason that the General and he had great designs upon the Conquest of that place, and had promis'd the Company by that means to make them absolute Masters of the Trade of *China*, and of all the East. True it is, that *Macao* is very advantagiously seated for those that design to be Masters of those Seas, especially upon the Coasts of *Quantung* and *Fockien*, which are the Provinces, whither are brought down all the Merchandizes of this Empire. It lies at the Mouth of the Gulph of *Canton*, in a small *Peninsula* adjoyning to a larger Island, and built upon a kind of a Promontory, on three sides environ'd with the Sea, which no Ship can come neer by reason of the Flats, unless it be on that side next the Port, which is defended by a strong Fortress. This City drew from the only Fair of *Quanchiu* 1300 Chests of Silks of all sorts, every Chest containing 150 pieces, and 2500 Lingots of Gold, not reckoning the raw Silks, the Gold Wire, and other Merchandizes: whence it may be easily judg'd what advantage the *Portugueses* made of it; and wherefore the President desir'd so much to expell them from thence.

But his Designs were disappointed, not only by the revolution in *Portugal*, but also by the loss which the *Hollanders* sustain'd of the Island of *Formosa*, which the *Chineses* took from them, following the advice of a *French* Souldier, whom the Governour of *Tayovan* had refus'd to dismiss after his time was out. For the better understanding this accident, you must know that the *Hollanders* being setl'd in *Japon*, and having excluded all other Nations from thence, except the *Chineses*, whom the Emperour permitted to return, after that the Massacre committed by the *Japonners* in a City of *China*, of which they had a desire to make themselves Masters, had caus'd a Cessation of the Commerce between the two Kingdoms, and constrain'd the Emperour of *China* to set a price upon the Heads of the *Japonners*. Nevertheless the *Hollanders* did all they could to make a new Rupture between the people, or else themselves to seize upon some place that lay proper to ruin the Trade of the *Chineses* to *Japon*.

To this purpose, not daring to attempt upon the *Portugueses*, they over-ran the Seas which environ'd the neighbouring Islands, and took

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the Vessels of the *Chineses* which were bound for *Macao*, exercising strange Cruelties upon the people that had escap'd into those Islands, after the irruption of the *Tartars* into *China*. *Coxinga*, the Son of *Chinchilunge*, that famous Pirate, who sav'd the remainders of that ruin'd Empire, then commanded those people, and was become formidable to the *Tartars* themselves. Who to revenge himself upon the *Dutch* Pirates, undertook the Siege of *Tayovan*, where they usually retir'd, and by gaining that place drave them wholly out of *Formosa*.

This is a large Island plac'd at the poynt of the *Philippines*, stretching out in length from North to South, and to the West lying opposite to the Provinces of *Fockien*, and *Quantung*. The *Chineses* call it *Taiouankieu*. Since which time, 'tis very probable that the *Spaniards* gave it the name of *Formosa*, from its beauty and fertility. They being the first people of *Europe* that discover'd it, and inhabited it; and upon one of its Promontories to the North built the Fort of *Kilung*. The natural Inhabitants live almost all in the Woods and Mountains, where they maintain themselves by hunting the Hart, and wild Boar, whose dry'd Flesh, Skins, and Horns they sell to the *Sangleys*, who in exchange bring them other necessaries. The little Island of *Tayovan* lent its Name to the little Fort which the *English* built, over against the great Island; it was very convenient for the *Hollanders*, who made great advantage of the Cattel, Hides, and Horns, both of Harts and Bufalo's, which they carry'd from thence, and sold to the *Chineses* and *Japonners*, who make great use thereof in several of their Trades and Manufactures. But the chiefest advantage which the *Hollanders* made of this Island consisted in this, that it lay in the middle way between *Batavia* and *Japon*, and serv'd as a place of security for their Ships in bad Seasons, and to take in refreshments. There also they laded off several of the Goods of the *Chineses*, which they took by way of Piracy from the *Chineses*, or which were brought them by the *Sangleys*, who are the Original Merchants of the *Chineses*, setled at the *Philippines*, but who drive the greatest Trade of that Country, independent from the *Spaniards*.

Coxinga, though an Idolater and a Pirate, banish'd out of his Country, and provok'd by the *Hollanders*, had so much humanity as to send to the General at *Batavia* to send away Vessels to fetch away his Men, and deliver'd them all without suffering them to receive the least injury. He had his Friends and Favourers in the Emperour of *Japon*'s Court, as being a declar'd Enemy to the *Tartars*, whose neer Neighbourhood the *Japonners* cannot endure. For so quick a Conquest of so many Lands and Provinces in seven years, as it were only upon sight of the Enemy, had very much alarum'd them. He by his Friends acquainted the Emperour of the acts of Hostility, committed by the *Hollanders* against the *Chinese* Merchants: Adding moreover, that they had made private propositions to league themselves with the common Enemy; and that it was one of the Nations of the North, born for the desolation of other Countries, and to invade the Peace of Empires. That they had setled themselves in the Islands of the East only by treachery and violence. That for some years since, they had made it their business to cruise the Seas between *China* and *Japon*, on purpose to make themselves absolute Masters of the Trade, and that if he did not take a speedy course, they would do the same mischief in his Dominions which the *Tartars* had done in *China*.

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The President had much ado to divert the Storm, for the most potent Lords at Court, although his Pensioners and Friends, began to open their Eyes, and in some measure took *Coxinga*'s part, saying, That the *Chineses* were unfortunate enough, in being laid wast by the *Tartars*, without being persecuted and afflicted by the *Hollanders*. That seeing that after they had been expell'd their Country, they had nothing left but their Boats, and some few Rocks for their places of refuge, it was a piece of inhumanity to disturb them in their last Sanctuaries, and to deprive them of their liberty of the Sea, and their Commerce with *Japon*, from whence those miserable Exiles had their chiefest support. The *Bonzes*, the Merchants, the vulgar People, all took the *Chineses* part. Thereupon the Emperour sent for the *Dutch* President, and told him, I understand, said he, that thy Company abuses my Protection, and that their Vessels, instead of being contented with the Trade which I have permitted them, presume to play the Pyrates upon the *Chineses*, and to trouble the Seas adjoyning to my Empire. If I hear any more of these complaints, I will cause thee and all thy Nation to be Crucifi'd. I know not how the President appeas'd the Emperour's fury; this I know in general, that the *Hollanders* made a secret alliance with the *Tartars* against *Coxinga*. Him the Inhabitants of *Fockien* call'd to their assistance, having rais'd an Army of 200000 Men; whereupon he went to aid them with a very powerful Navy. After several Skirmishes, the *Tartars* and *Chineses* came to a pitch'd Field, where the Captain of the *Tartars* having plac'd the best part of his Cavalry in Ambush, order'd his Men to retreat by degrees, till they had drawn the *Chineses* into the Ambuscade; at what time the *Tartars* encompassing them on every side, kill'd 80000 upon the place; *Coxinga* with his Navy not being able to relieve them.

During this War, the *Hollanders* took their opportunity, and made themselves Masters of the Island of *Fishers*, between *Formosa* and the Coast of *Fockien*. In a short while after *Coxinga* dy'd, and *Savia* his Uncle, the richest Merchant of *China*, who out of his own revenue had disburs'd the expences of the last War, grew weary of the charge, and was desirous to make Peace with the *Tartars*. Of which one of the Sons of *Coxinga* being advertiz'd, seiz'd upon his Uncles person, and shut him up in a close Prison, where he kill'd himself for madness. The *Hollanders* overjoy'd at the Death of *Savia*, who had always hinder'd them from the Trade of the Province of *Fockien*, sent a Navy against his Nephew in favour of the *Tartars*, who made War against him all along the Sea-Coast. Several Combats happen'd between the *Juncks* of the *Islanders* and the *Holland* Vessels in view of the *Tartars*, who satisfi'd themselves with being only Spectators. But all the benefit which the *Hollanders* reap'd from the advantages which they obtain'd over the *Islanders*, was only to put into the Hands of the *Tartars* the Cities of *Bemos* and *Quesmoy*, and all the places thereabouts, which *Coxinga*'s Party possess'd before. For notwithstanding all their kindness, the *Tartars* would not assist them to retake *Tayovan*; so that they only were content to build certain small Forts in the small Islands adjoyning to *Formosa*: and since my return from the *Indies*, I never could inform my self of the truth of the issue of that Enterprize.

But the *Hollanders* were not content with their settlement at *Firmando*, which was an Island both desert and barren, seated upon a Streight,

which separates the Point of the Land of *Corea* from *Japon*, a place no way commodious for their Designs of Engrossing the Trade of *China*, as being too remote from *Nangisaqui*: Besides, that the North and South Winds are so violent at their Seasons in this Streight, between the two Coasts, that it is impossible to come near the shoar when they blow. The President therefore having such good luck in the Expulsion of the *Portugals* out of *Japon*, doubted not but that he might obtain the small Island of *Kisma*, an Island that had been wholly deserted ever since the Habitations of the people had been destroy'd. At first he only desir'd leave to build a small Tenement for the conveniency of the Factors. Now between this Island and *Nangisaqui*, there is only a narrow Frith, not above a Musquet Shot over. Here the President desir'd the Governour that he might make a Bridge of Boats for a more easie intercourse between the City and the Port. The Governour gain'd by Presents, gave him leave to build the Bridge; but seeing that the *Hollanders* made an ill use of it, and that they came too frequently and numerously into the City, he built two Forts at both ends of the Bridge, and furnish'd them with Souldiers, who were to take notice who pass'd to and fro. He also publish'd an Order, That such *Hollanders* as came by day into the Town, should return to their Lodgings before night, upon pain of Death. This Order, and the little conveniency which they had for Lodging in their own Quarters, very much troubl'd them; so that the President made new Applications at Court, and obtain'd leave to build a Factory, and Warehouses for their Goods.

The Governour thereupon sent a Surveyor to the *Hollanders*, to mark out the Ground which the Emperour had given them to build upon. This person being largely rewarded, made them good measure, and yet they were not contented; so that in the Night-time they had enlarg'd their Quarters, by removing the first marks. The Governour, being advertiz'd thereof, began to be very angry; but they found means to appease him with their Presents: so that he easily condescended to the slight reasons which they gave him for what they had done. Thus in a short time they finish'd their work, which was without encompass'd with a Wall, much like a Garden Wall, but within contain'd a real Fort, flanck'd and lin'd according to all the Rules of Art; and which, the outward Wall being beaten down, not only defended their Bridge, but commanded the entry into the Haven of *Nangisaqui*.

They took great care not to admit any but *Hollanders*, for fear their Design should be discover'd. So that when the whole was finish'd, the President gave advice to the General at *Batavia* what he had done, desiring him to send him eight Brass Guns, so broken, as to be easily put together in the places where they were broken. He adviz'd him also to put them up in Hogsheads, pack'd up like other Goods; and instead of Mariners, to send a good number of Souldiers, habited like Mariners, for the security of the Factory. But this Stratagem had not that success which he expected; for about that time the Emperour had sent a new Governour to *Nangisaqui*: So that when the Ships arriv'd at *Batavia*, the new chang'd Officers, being more vigilant then the former, coming to weigh the Bales as they were put ashore, and finding certain Hogsheads at the bottom of the hold, which they could not remove by reason of their weight, they presently brake them up, and perceiving there the broken pieces of Canons, carry'd some of them

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to the Governour, who immediately sent intelligence thereof to *Yeddo*, of which the President had as suddain notice by his Pensioners. He having his invention at command, repairs forthwith to the Emperour's Court, and there tells the Emperour, That he had receiv'd Orders from his Superiours to present him with certain Peeces of Canon, made according to the newest Invention of his Country, the use whereof was so convenient, that they were with little difficulty and trouble to be drawn up, and made use of, where others could not possibly be brought to play: and that he thought no Present could be more acceptable or serviceable to him, to render him Victorious over his Enemies. Upon this the Emperour was very well satisfi'd, and sent to the Governour of *Nangisaqui* to send him those Guns, and withall, not to molest the *Hollanders*, either in their Factory, or in vending their Wares.

Having so fortunately disengag'd himself out of these Briers, he lays another design, and sends to the General at *Batavia*, a person of a turbulent and unquiet Spirit like himself, to set out two Vessels, to make a discovery of all the Coasts of *Japon*, and particularly of those Coasts which were next the Gold Mines, and to see if they could find any safe Harbour for Ships to ride in, in those tempestuous Seas, or any places proper to fortifie, that they might no longer depend upon the uncertain humour of the Court of *Japon*, which was as inconstant as their Seas. The General provided two Ships, and furnish'd them with excellent Pilots, good Souldiers, expert Mariners, and Provisions for two years, with all other Necessaries and Instruments, as well for delving as building. One of the seven of the General's Council was chos'n Supervisor of the Enterprize. 'Tis said, that those two Vessels skirted all along the Coast of *Japon*, from the East to the South, and from the South to the North, fetching a compass about the Islands to the 47 *deg.* of Northern Latitude, and that they discover'd one Island which they call'd *The States Island*, and afterwards touch'd upon another Land which they nam'd *The Company's Land*, inhabited by White people, with long Hair, habited after the *Japon* fashion, which they found to be a Continent adjoyning to *Niulhan*, and *Corea*; and that after they had wander'd a long time upon the Sea, without any other design then to make new Discoveries, they pass'd through the Streights of *Sanguar*, which separates the Land of *Yesso* from *Japon*, and kept along those Coasts of *Japon* to the East, to observe the Bays of *Aizu*, and *Xendai*, where are the Gold Mines. In that part a furious Tempest took them, in sight of the Mountains, where the Gold Mines lye, which lasted four days together. The second of these Vessels run full against a Rock, and split her self, with the total loss of every Mothers Son in the Vessel. The Admiral held out a longer time, but coasting the Land where the Mountains of *Sataque* appear, the Tempest grew so violent, that she also brake against the Rocks. In this second Shipwrack only the Admiral, and thirteen persons more escap'd, partly by the help of the Planks, and partly by Swiming. The *Japonners* upon the Coast presently ran to view them, and wonder'd to see people in those parts, whose Language they did not understand. Nevertheless, they entertain'd them civilly enough; but in regard they were Strangers, and that there was a strict prohibition not to receive any Strangers among them upon any pretence whatsoever, they were at a great loss what to do with 'em. One, wiser then the rest, advis'd his

Brethren to carry them to the Emperour, whose counsel was follow'd; and so they took their journey toward *Yeddo*, which was above a hundred Leagues off.

The Emperour, being inform'd of their arrival, order'd that they should be civilly us'd; and at the end of eight days sent for them, and caus'd them to be ask'd, of what Country they were, and what Design brought them into his Seas? The Admiral, who was a person of a ready ingenuity, answer'd, That he was a *Hollander*, who all his life time had serv'd his Country as a Souldier, where he had the command of a thousand Horse, and two thousand Foot, at what time Fortune, or rather the care of preserving his Honour, forc'd him from his Native Soyl. I was, said he, one of the chief Commanders in the Army, and though I say it, my Service had gain'd me a fair reputation. The Prince, who commanded us, had a great confidence in me, which made one of his near Relations jealous of me; so that he was not only content to do me all ill Offices with the General, but sought all occasions to pick a quarrel with me. I dare be bold to say, that had he not been so nearly related to the Prince, I should not have taken his affronts so long patiently. But at length he provok'd that patience to such a degree, and so deeply and openly affronted me, that I was constrain'd to meet him with my Sword in my hand. His misfortune and mine so order'd it, that I kill'd him at the first push. My Friends assisted me to make my escape, and kept me hid for some days, thinking to have appeas'd the Princes anger; but it continu'd so violent, that they advis'd me to absent my self for some years. Therefore to render my Exile less tedious, and that I might be still doing something for the Service of my Country, I desir'd my Friends to furnish me with two Ships, with a resolution to seek out and destroy all those Pirates that infested the *Indian* Seas. I have been in chace of them for a whole year together; and sometimes we met with Tempests so violent, that drave us we know not whither our selves, my Pilots not being experienc'd in the Eastern Seas. Soon after meeting with another Tempest no less rude and boystrous, we were forc'd to let our Ships drive as the Winds themselves were pleas'd to force them, which at length drove us upon the Coasts of this Empire, where we have suffer'd Shipwrack, not having sav'd above fourteen of four hundred, which I brought along with me. Happy in such a misfortune, to be cast upon the Territories of a Prince so potent and generous, that, no question, will have compassion upon our miseries.

When the Interpreter had repeated this Relation to the Emperour, the Prince, and all the Lords of the Court were very much concern'd, and admir'd both the Courage and Aspect of the Stranger. The Emperour sent him very rich Presents, and to all those of his Company; and gave Order, that he should be conducted to *Kisma*, to the *Holland* Factory, and that he should be well treated upon the way, during the whole journey, which was five and twenty or thirty days Travel. There this famous Champion stay'd four Months, in expectation of the Ships that come every year from *Batavia* to *Japon*; so that he had time enough to make a full Relation of the Lands which he had obsery'd, and of all the particulars of the Shipwrack. One day as he was telling how he had cajoll'd the Emperour, and that the President was applauding the quickness of his wit for inventing such an imaginary piece of Knight-Errantry,

Errantry, a *Japoneſe* Boy that ſerv'd the Preſident, heard all the diſcourſe, without being obſerv'd by his Maſter. Some Months after, the Preſident had beaten this Boy, which he, as all the *Japoneſes* are of a fiery and vindicative Nature, reſolving to revenge, went to the Governour of *Nangiſaqui*, and repeated to him the whole Diſcourſe between his Maſter and the Admiral. The Governour, finding it to be a buſineſs of importance, ſends advice thereof to the Court. The Emperour was ſo enrag'd at the injury and affront put upon him, that he commanded the Governour to ſtop the Admiral and his Train, and to ſend him with a good Guard to *Yeddo*, and not to let any Ship enter the Harbour, 'till he had had a full Examination of the matter.

This Order was not ſo ſecret, but that the Preſidents Friends had notice thereof, who preſently gave him intelligence of it ſo ſeaſonably, that the Admiral was ſent away before the Order came to the Governour. Eight days after, three *Holland* Veſſels arriv'd at *Kiſma*, to whom the Governour ſent expreſs command to keep out at Sea, and not to come aſhore. The Preſident feigning to be ſurpriz'd at this Prohibition, went to the Governour to know the reaſon, who gave him this Anſwer, The Emperour, ſaid he, is acquainted with your tricks, you ſhall have no more kindneſs from me; I have ſent to Court to give notice of the arrival of your three Ships, and I ſhall follow my Orders when they come. Upon this the Preſident made no doubt but the Admiral's ſtory was diſcover'd; and recollecting with himſelf that he had beaten his *Japoneſe* Boy, and that he was run away from him, he ſoon conjectur'd at the Author of all the miſchief. In ſhort, the Governour receives his Orders, the Tenour whereof was, That he ſhould ſend away the three Veſſels, without permitting them to land either Men or Goods; and that he ſhould tell the Preſident, That the Emperour was ſatisfi'd that the Admiral was a Cheat and a Spy, whom he intended to puniſh ſeverely; and therefore, if he did not ſend for him to *Japon* by the firſt opportunity of the Winds, he would put to Death all thoſe of his Nation, and fling their Goods into the Sea.

Upon the return of three Ships to *Batavia*, there was no ſmall hurly burly in the Iſland; for by them they underſtood the danger that their Country-men were in, if they did not ſend back the Admiral. Thereupon an extraordinary Council was call'd, to deliberate upon an affair of ſo great importance, who were all of one mind, that the Admiral was to be ſent back, and that it was better for one to ſuffer, then a whole Nation.

The Admiral being advertiz'd of this their reſolution, publickly proteſted againſt the violence and injuſtice they were about to do him; telling them, that he was born a Subject of the Republick of *Holland*, who had only the Power of his life and death; that in their Service, he would expoſe his life to a thouſand hazards, but that he was not oblig'd to ſacrifice himſelf for the particular Intereſts of a private Trade. The Miniſters took his part, and made it a caſe in Religion. The common people mutiny'd againſt the General, and the Tumult grew to that heat, that the Sea-men were ſent for from aboard their Ships to diſperſe the multitude. At length, by the interpoſition of a Miniſter, the buſineſs was brought to a concluſion; who perſwaded the Admiral by his ſmooth Language, to appeaſe the diſorder of the people, by ſubmitting to the Reſult of the Council. Thereupon he

promis'd

promis'd to return to *Japon*, provided they would allow him what he demanded, not only for his reward, but also that which should bear him out in that same new part which he had in his head to act.

First he demanded two Ships magnificently trim'd, a Train of fifty chosen Men, every one of which was to have three changes of Habit, of the richest Stuffs that could be had: Moreover 50000 Crowns for his Voyage, a Cupboard of Gold and Silver Plate, with all Equipage proportionable, and that those that accompany'd him should respect him, as a person of great Quality.

All this was allow'd him, and the Admiral departed from *Batavia*, and arriv'd well at *Nangisaqui*. The Governour surpriz'd at the beauty of the Vessels, could not believe them to be Merchants, and therefore sent to know who they were; but he was more surpriz'd when he knew that it was the Admiral. Forthwith he dispatch'd a Courrier to the Emperour, to give him notice, and to inform him with what magnificence the Admiral was return'd. The President also sent, that he might have a favourable reception, and to desire his Friends to let the Emperour know, that this was a Person of great Quality, whom an Honourable Action had driven from his Country, and that he no sooner understood the accusation that lay against him, but that he was return'd with that Equipage that became him, to justifie himself.

'Till the Order came, the Governour, according to custom, caus'd all the Sails and Rudders of the Ships to be brought to him, not permitting any person to come ashore. At length the Order came, that the Admiral and his Attendants should be receiv'd into the City, together with all things necessary for their persons, and that they should be convoy'd to *Yeddo*, and that in all places where they came, they should be nobly treated. The President accompany'd the Admiral to assist him, as well with his Councils, as with the favour of his Friends. Their Entry was very magnificent, and the richness of their Habits brought the people from all parts, as being mainly greedy after Novelty, so that the noise thereof was spread all over the Court: Yet the Emperour would not admit them to their Audience upon the day which they desir'd.

Two Months were elaps'd, during which time the Admiral kept open Table, and display'd his dasling Riches to the Eyes of the *Japoneses*, and being of a quick and apprehensive wit, he caus'd himself to be instructed in the Language of the Island, and in a short time he began to understand many Words. When the Emperour sent for him, he clad himself and his Train in a richer Habit then that which they had on when he made his Entry. At first the Emperour seem'd to be angry; I understand, said he, that thou art an Impostor and a Traytor, that thy Birth is obscure, and that thou art come as a spy into my Kingdom, and therefore I am resolv'd to punish thee according to thy merits.

When the Interpreter had explain'd the Emperour's words, the Admiral with an undaunted countenance, Sir, said he, a Prince so great as you are, should rather be a comfort and support to the unfortunate, then add to their affliction. Fortune, that persecutes me, has in nothing been more cruel to me, then in raising those Calumnies, with which she has endeavour'd to blemish my reputation with your Majesty. She might expell me my Country, and cast me upon unknown Coasts at the other end of the World, but she can never inspire into

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me thoughts unworthy of my Birth. This is the second time I have been within your Dominions, the first by occasion of Shipwrack, the second to obey your Majesties commands. The first accuses none but the Winds. And had I been guilty of what I am accus'd, I should never have ventur'd my self into your hands so far off from your Power. But, Sir, my Accusers have one advantage which I have not; they speak your Language, I understand it not, nor how to make you apprehend the truth of my justification. Allow me eight Months to learn the Speech of your Country, and then, if you will be so gratious as to hear me, I make no doubt but to confound my Accusers, and to satisfie your Majesty in all things.

The Emperour was surpriz'd, and mov'd with his Answer, but more especially at his request of eight Months to learn the *Japonick* Language. I grant it thee, said the Emperour, for it is but just that a person accus'd should have both the Liberty and means to do it. And in the mean time I will take care that thou be honourably entertain'd in all places where thou hast a desire to reside.

The Admiral us'd this Liberty with so much prudence, and got so much the love of the Courtiers by his carriage and his liberality, that by their converse, he not only learnt the Language, but by vertue of their good Character, the Emperour would often send for him, and ask him several Questions concerning our *Europe*, in reference to the Qualities of the Countries, the Manners of the People, the several Forms of Government, the Extent of the several Kingdoms, their Riches, Strength, and War-like Discipline; of all which, the Admiral gave him so handsome an Accompt, that the Prince took great delight in his Discourse. And at length he had gain'd so much the favour and confidence of the Emperour, that he utterly laid aside all the ill thoughts which he had of him, and condemn'd to Death, as a false Witness, and a Traducer, the *Japonese* that had accus'd him.

After so fortunate an escape, the Admiral thought it but common prudence to make a fair retreat in the Grandeur of his Reputation, and thereupon he took leave of the Emperour, who loaded him with Honours and Presents. The Courtiers were also sorry for his departure, so that some of them accompany'd him back, and took order for his entertainment, which was very magnificent all the way to *Nangisaqui*, where he took Shipping a few days after, and return'd to *Batavia*.

All the People throng'd to the Port to see him when he Landed. He told them in few words the success of his Voyage. Some applauded his ingenuity and courage; others extoll'd the Service which he had done the Company and Nation. The Council receiv'd him also with thanks and praises, and gave him all the Gold and Plate which he had brought back. A while after he departed for *Amsterdam*, where he was no sooner arriv'd, but he presented a Petition to the States General against the *East-India* Company, for sending him back to *Japon*, and for reparation of the violence and injury done him. The business was long in debate, but at last the Company was condemn'd to pay him great damages, and Interest for the same.

But to return to the President: He began now to be weary of being confin'd to one Factory, though he made up his Pack well enough where he was. But his Ambition carry'd him farther, and he thought he had done Service enough to be advanc'd to a higher Dignity. Neither

ther was his presence so necessary at *Japon*, where he had settl'd the *Dutch* Trade in as good a condition as it could well be. And in truth, the *Hollanders* had then almost the whole Trade of the *East-Indies*. They had taken from the *English*, *Formosa*, *Amboyna*, and *Pooleron*, and by that means engross'd all the Trade of Cloves, Mace, and Nutmegs. They had taken *Baton* by surprize. The Inhabitants of the *Celebes*, *Ternate*, and *Tidor*, were become their Vassals; and the King of *Macassar* having made an Alliance with them, had expell'd the *Portugueses* out of his Dominions. By means of their Factories in *Sumatra*, they had got all the Pepper Trade of the Western Coast of that Island into their hands, besides several other advantages which they had in several other places, where they had encroach'd upon the *Portugals*, *Spaniards*, and the *English* themselves. The *East-India* Company at that time entertain'd 140 Ships, part Men of War, and part Merchant-men, provided with great Guns, Ammunition, and Provision of all sorts, and in these Ships above 6000 Men, part Souldiers, part Mariners. *Batavia* was the Soul of their Conquests, made upon the Ruins of the *Portugueses*, which had they lain all together, would have made a large Empire, and by which they might have grown infinitely rich, had not the expences of their Navies and Souldiers eaten out the gains of their vast Trade. One of their wisest Generals told me frequently, *We have*, said he, *but too many Fortresses, we need no more then the* Cape of Good Hope, *and* Batavia, *Factories well settl'd, good Ships, and honest Men to serve us.* For in short, their Officers pillage unmercifully, and cause the Commerce and Dominion of their Country-men to be detested by the *Indians*, through their *Covetousness* and *Cruelty*.

I know my self, that in the year 1664, the Expences of the *Hollanders* in the *East-Indies* amounted, *communibus annis*, to twelve Millions a year, not to reckon Shipwracks, decay of Ships, and wast of Goods, and yet their Cargo's for *Asia* and *Europe* have not amounted to above ten Millions; and sometimes the Cargo's are so mean, that the Receits do not answer the Expences. Nevertheless their perseverance and courage were worthy of admiration. For what could be more to be admir'd, then to see that a small number of Merchants, assembled at first upon the single score of Trade, should afterwards presume to make War in Regions so far distant, assail so many Princes and Nations, plant so many Colonies, besiege so many Cities and Forts, and lastly, set forth so many Navies at such prodigious Expences, that it would put many potent Soveraigns to a plunge to do as they did?

This was the Estate of the *Holland East-India* Company, at what time the President, the principal Subject of this Relation, was recall'd from *Japon* to *Batavia*, there to take upon him the Office of *Chief Director*. He carry'd thither great store of Wealth, and built several magnificent Houses in the City. His Authority also was very large; but he exercis'd it according to his usual custom, and was hated by all the Officers of the Company, and the Citizens themselves. He thought himself secure of the Employment of General, but he was deceiv'd in his hopes; upon which he took pet, and return'd for *Amsterdam*, where he liv'd quietly for some years. At length his turbulent and ambitious Spirit put him upon new Designs, to revenge the injury which he thought he had receiv'd. To which purpose he return'd to the *Indies*. His undertaking was not so prosperous for those that employ'd him, and who merited to have

have been better serv'd. He pillag'd, couzen'd, and caus'd several disorders in their affairs, and at length returning home again, perish'd in the River of *Lisbon* with his Money and Jewels, as hath been already related.

The End of the First Part.

A RELATION OF

What pass'd in the Negotiation *of the* DEPUTIES

Which were sent to

PERSIA and the INDIES,

As well on the behalf of the KING, as of the FRENCH COMPANY, *for the settling of* Trade.

IN the Relation which I have undertaken, I shall make a faithful Report of things in such manner as I saw them transacted by the Deputies sent to *Persia*, and the *Indies*, as well on the behalf of the King, as of the *French* Company, for the settlement of Trade.

The Thirteenth of *July*, 1665. the Sieur *Lalin*, Gentleman in Extraordinary to the King, and the Sieur *de la Boulaye*, a Centleman of *Anjou*, with the Sieurs *Beber*, *Mariage*, and *du Pont*, Deputies of the new *French* Company, for the settling of Trade in *Persia* and the *Indies*, arriv'd at *Ispahan*, and took up their Lodgings at *Zulpha*, being the Suburbs of the same City, where also at that time liv'd the Sieur *L'Estoile*, a *French* Merchant. *Lalin* and *Boulaye*, without saying any thing to the Deputies, deliver'd to *L' Estoile* the Letters which Monsieur *de Lyonne* had written to him; the Inscription whereof was thus. *To Mr.* L' Estoile, *first* Valet du Chambre *to the King of* Persia, *or in his absence, to Mr.* Logis, *his Son in Law.* Which was not a little to be admir'd at by the *Franks*, who had sojourn'd any time in that Country, to find that Monsier *Boulaye*, who had been before in *Persia*, and should have better understood the Custom of the Court, should be no better able to instruct a Secretary of State, then to let him give *L' Estoile* the Title of *Valet du Chambre* to the King of *Persia*, who

who has none to ſerve him in his Chamber but Eunuchs, and never ſuffers a *Chriſtian* to touch his Habits, for fear of being defil'd.

The purport of the Letters, was to admoniſh *L'Eſtoile* to ſupport, aſſiſt, and protect the Deputies in the Buſineſs upon which the Company had ſent them; and in caſe of loſſes by the way, to furniſh them with ſuch neceſſaries as they ſhould want.

The King of *Perſia* was then three days journey from *Iſpahan*; for which reaſon a Meſſenger was diſpatch'd with a Letter to the *Nazar*, or Grand Maſter of the Houſe, and another to the *Mirzateker*, or his Lieutenant, to know whether his Majeſty would command them to wait on him there, or whether they ſhould expect his return to *Iſpahan*.

In the mean while the Deputies could not agree amongſt themſelves: For the three Merchants *Beber*, *Mariage*, and *du Pont* affirm'd, that the two Gentlemen were only intereſted by the by in this Negotiation; and that having no right to take cognizance of the Affairs of the Company, they ought not to trouble themſelves any farther, then the King's Letters directed them, in the affairs of the Company. That the Effect of the King's Letters was no more, then that two Gentlemen, deſirous to ſee the Court of *Perſia*, were joyn'd with the Deputies of the Company; and therefore it belong'd to them only to treat with the Miniſters of the King of *Perſia*. That the Gentlemen had no more to do then to deliver the King of *France*'s Letter to the *Perſian* King, and to deſire a nomination of Commiſſioners to treat with the Deputies. This conteſt, which all the *Franks* in vain endeavour'd to compoſe, came at length to the *Nazar*'s Ears; who was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at it, having then a deſign to procure an Order from the King to remove out of *Iſpahan* and the Suburbs, all the *Chriſtians* of what opinion ſoever, and place them over againſt *Zulpha*.

However, the Deputies rais'd new objections and difficulties every day; which Father *Raphael* of *Mans*, Superiour of the Order of *Capuchins* in *Perſia*, employ'd all his credit and induſtry to accommodate. He wrote them out ſeveral forms of a Letter, which they were to ſend to the *Nazar*; but thoſe that pleas'd the one Party, did not like the other. At length Father *Raphael*, weary of ſcribling and altering, amending and correcting, and all to no purpoſe; told them ſeriouſly, they did ill to act in ſuch a manner, and to inſiſt upon idle formalities; that the *Perſian* Style, wherein they ought to write to the *Nazar*, ought to be conciſe and plain, without ſuperfluities, or impertinencies; and laſtly, that all their contentions did but redound to the diſadvantage of the Company, whoſe Intereſts they pretended to manage. After ſeveral conteſts, Father *Raphael*, at laſt, finiſh'd the Letter to the content of both Parties, which was tranſcrib'd into the *Perſian* Language; with another to the *Mirzateker*, and both were diſpatch'd away. The *Nazar* having read it, preſently inform'd the King of the *French* Companies deſign, and of the arrival of the Deputies. His Majeſty commanded him to let them know that they were welcome, and that in a ſhort time, he would return to *Iſpahan*, and give them Audience.

Some few dayes after, the Court return'd to *Iſpahan*, and while the King ſtopp'd at one of his Houſes near the Gates of the City, the *Nazar* ſent for Father *Raphael*, to know of him who the *French* Deputies were, and who had ſent them into *Perſia*, to which the Father gave him the beſt ſatisfaction he could. For the *Nazar* wonder'd that they were

come into the Kingdom, and ſent, as they ſaid, from ſuch a potent Prince, and yet that the Governours of *Erivan* and *Tauris* ſhould know nothing of their paſſage through thoſe Cities. The *Athemadoulet* alſo was in the ſame Aſtoniſhment; and it gave them reaſon to ſuſpect both the Quality of their Perſons, and the Reality of their Commiſſion. For either they were ignorant of the cuſtom of the Country, or elſe they did ill to travel *incognito*, like ordinary Tradeſmen, and Perſons of mean condition. But Father *Raphael* having aſſur'd them, that they were ſent by the King of *France* to ſettle a Company of Trade, and that he had Letters of Advice thereof out of *Europe*, the *Nazar* bid Father *Raphael* tell the Deputies they ſhould be in a readineſs, for that the King would give them Audience in a few days.

But the former miſunderſtanding, ſtill continuing between the Gentlemen and Deputies, Father *Raphael* fearing ſome miſchievous conſequence of it in the preſence of the King, or that they ſhould make ſome diſpute for priority, the Father repreſented to the *Nazar*, that whereas the Deptuies were of two Orders, the one of Gentlemen, and the other of Merchants; therefore to take away all ſuſpition of jealouſie, it would do well, that His Majeſty would be pleas'd when he admitted them to their Audience, to permit the Gentlemen their ſeats on the one ſide, and the Merchants on the other. Which the *Nazar* approv'd, and the King allow'd of the ſame day.

The 27th of *September*, the King being at his Palace of *Scader-Abbas*, upon the bank of the River, between the Bridge of *Zulpha*, and the Bridge of *Schiras*, caus'd a preparation of Artificial Fire-works to be made, which came to above 2000 *l.* and early in the Morning caus'd notice to be given, that he intended that day to give audience to the King of *France*'s Deputies. Father *Raphael* alſo had Order to be ready with the Deputies, to the end, the *Mehemender*, or Maſter of the Ceremonies, might not be oblig'd to wait. Accordingly that very day the *Mehemender* came to *L'Eſtoile*'s Houſe, and from thence conducted the Deputies, with all their Train, and the reſt of the Franks then reſident in thoſe parts all mounted on Horſe-back, with a march ſo ſlow and grave, and for the advantage of the ſight ſo far about, that it was almoſt Night before they arriv'd at *Scader-Abbas*; at what time the *Mehemender* enter'd the Palace alone, leaving the Merchants at the Door. In the mean while, the Merchants believing that Father *Raphael* did not favour them ſo much as the Gentlemen, cry'd out aloud, that they would have an Interpreter alſo for themſelves, or elſe would go no farther. Father *Raphael*, who acted only by the *Nazar*'s Order, and for the advantage of the *French* Nation, told them, that whither they went any farther or no it was all one to him: that for his part he was not there as an Interpreter, either for the one or the other, but only in obedience to the King's commands.

In the mid'ſt of this debate the *Mehemender* return'd to carry the Deputies to their Audience; five hundred Musketeers being rank'd in order upon the bank of the River, to give them a Volley as they paſs'd along. The *Mehemender*'s march at firſt was ſlow and grave, but approaching the place where the King was, and from whence he had a view of the Deputies, he caus'd them to double their pace to the foot of the Steps, where the Lackeys took off their Shooes; and from thence they proceeded into the Hall of Audience, where the *Kans*, and other great Lords were

fitting.

ſitting. Upon each ſide ſtood the Youth of Quality, ſumptuouſly clad in Tiſſue of Gold and Silver, their Cloaks and Mantles being lin'd with Martins, Sables, and other rich Furs. The Deputies being come into the King's preſence, the *Mehemender* caus'd them to kneel, and bow their Heads to the Ground three times: That done, he caus'd them to riſe, and lead up *Lalin* by the hand alone, as being the perſon who had in charge the preſenting of the Letter to the King. After him follow'd *Boulaye*, and the reſt of the Deputies, and thus they mounted up to the place where ſate the *Athemadoulet*, and the *Nazar*. The King was ſeated upon a Scaffold ſomewhat higher then the reſt, encompas'd with 150 young Gentlemen magnificently clad, to whom the *Sieur Lalin*, at the head of the Deputies, made his compliments in *French*, and then humbly preſented the Kings Letter, ſeal'd with a flat Seal upon a flying *Label*, enclos'd in an Embroider'd Box, with the Arms of *France* and *Navar*, in relief, upon the Lid. Father *Raphael* explain'd to the King the effect of *Lalin*'s Speech. After which the King gave a little bow with his Head, and at the ſame time gave a ſign to the Maſter of the Ceremonies to carry them back to their places. Being come to the bottom of the Hall, where the Officers had Order to ſeparate the Gentlemen from the Merchants, the Officers by miſtake put *Boulaye* with two of the Merchants, and *Mariage* one of the Merchants with *Lalin*, which made *Boulaye* cry out aloud in the *Turkiſh* Language *Menheg-Zaddè*, I am a Gentleman; but the thing being done, and the King being preſent, there was no help. Then the *Perſian* Muſick began to play for a quarter of an Hour; which having given over, the Maſter of the Ceremonies came again, and carried up Father *Raphael*, and the two Gentlemen, as he ſuppos'd, of which *Mariage* by the forementioned miſtake happen'd to be one, again to the King: at what time *Lalin* with a comely grace made his Harangue, and ſet forth the occaſion of his Deputation to His Majeſty, of which His Majeſty teſtifi'd his good liking by a nod of his Head. For *Lalin* had a handſom preſence, and ſpake with an acceptable Tone, and his magnificent Habit very much added to the comely Air of his Perſon. The Speech was expounded by Father *Raphael*; which when he had done, the King ask'd the Deputies ſeveral Queſtions, and then with his hand made them a ſign to retire to their places, beck'ning at the ſame time to Father *Raphael* to ſtay; and cauſing him to come near him, more particularly inform'd himſelf of the Power of the King of *France*, the Extent of his Dominions, his Military Diſcipline, and his Councils: of all which the Father gave him the beſt accompt he could, and then with the King's leave, retir'd to his place. This Scene being over, a Flagon of Gold, and a Glaſs were ſent to the Deputies, attended with a ſhort Banquet of Fruits, and other ſorts of Food; the Inſtrumental and Vocal Muſick playing all the while. Which being over, the King again ſent for *Lalin*, *Mariage*, and Father *Raphael*, and after a ſhort Diſcourſe, having diſmiſs'd all but father *Raphael*, he fell into a diſpute with him touching the Unity of the Divine Nature, the neceſſity of one Prophet; and how *Mahomet* was the Seal and Crown of all Prophets. He ſeem'd to admire that the *Franks*, who had the Reputation of being People of Wit and Diſcretion, could think *Jeſus Chriſt* to be a God: to all which particulars, the Father endeavour'd to give the King the beſt ſatisfaction he could. But then, Father *Raphael* being deſirous that the three Deputies

ſhould

ſhould partake of the King's favour as the other two had done. Whereupon the King ſent for the other three Deputies, and having diſcours'd a while with *Boulaye*, while Father *Raphael* interpreted between them, in a ſhort while he diſmiſs'd them all again, but Father *Raphael*, with whom he enter'd into a more jocular Diſcourſe then the former, of the Colours, Black and White, and of the Beauty of the *French* Women, the King confeſſing that naturally he did not love Brown Women, the White complection being more agreeable to him, as being that complexion which alone compos'd the Beauty of Women. The Father modeſtly made his anſwer, that Beauty conſiſted only in fancy; for that the *Perſians* lov'd thick and full Eyebrows, which were not at all eſteem'd in *France*. Then the King caſting his Eyes upon the Box wherein the King of *France*'s Letter lay, he took out the Letter, and obſerving it to be a ſmall piece of Parchment, and not ſuch a one as he had receiv'd from ſeveral Princes and Potentates of *Europe*, nor indeed like thoſe which the *Jeſuits* had brought him formerly from the King of *France* himſelf, in a fair piece of Parchment, with a large Seal deep cut, he gave evident Demonſtrations of his contempt of it, and was about to have thrown it away. Father *Raphael* perceiv'd him to be out of humour, to whom the King in purſuance of his diſlike, ſaid, *Raphael*, I never receive open Letters without a Seal, take it, and let me ſee it no more, for I do not believe it comes from ſo great a King as the King of *France*, and at the ſame time made him a ſign to retire. He durſt do no otherwiſe then take the Letter, and ſo returning to his place, he told both *Lalin* and *Mariage* what had paſs'd in his Diſcourſe between him and the King. Two hours, after that, were ſpent in beholding the *Mummeries* of their common Dancers, a paſtime very uſual in *Perſia*. Which being over, the King ſent again for *Lalin*, *Mariage*, and the Father; and after ſome few Queſtions, to whith they gave the beſt Anſwers they could, he again diſmiſs'd both the Deputies, retaining only Father *Raphael* with him. The Father, then taking his opportunity, told the King, that he had always obſerv'd it to be the cuſtom of the *Athemadoulet* to cauſe the Letters, which the *European* Princes ſent His Majeſty, to be interpreted in his preſence. And therefore, added the Father, I beſeech Your Majeſty to permit me to give the King of *France*'s Letter to the *Athemadoulet*, to the end, it may be truly interpreted to him according to uſual cuſtom. Thereupon the King made a ſign to the Father to give it him, and glad he was to be ſo rid of it. The Father obſerving the King in a good humour, ſpoke to him in behalf of the other three Deputies, that he would be pleas'd to admit them to be ſent for a ſecond time, in regard the others had been ſent for three times. But the King told him, it was enough for him to ſpeak to the Gentlemen, let his Miniſters talk with the Merchants. The Father being then diſmiſs'd, he ſent for *Lalin* alone, for whom he ſhew'd himſelf to have a very great kindneſs and affection; and at the ſame time commanded the *Nazar* to bring him the next day, together with Father *Raphael*, and *Lagis* the *Geneveſe*, who was retain'd in his Service, to Court, for that he intended to be merry with them. Then he went on, and told *Lalin*, that ſo ſoon as the *French* Ships were arriv'd, he would ſend an Embaſſadour to the King of *France*, and make a ſtrict Alliance with him. *Lalin* reply'd, that His Majeſty of *France* deſir'd nothing more. Why then, reply'd the King, is not my Alliance ſufficient

cient, but that you must go seek the Alliance of the Blacks, from whom you will not draw those advantages, with which you flatter your selves? For you must know, that the Deputies kept their affairs so secret, that no body knew of them but all the World, the Servants as well as the Masters. Not considering, that the *Persians* are good Politicians, and that that Court is never without Spies. Therefore the King knew, that as soon as the Deputies had dispatch'd at his Court, they were to depart for the *Indies*, with which Nation he keeps no good Correspondence. And for that reason, he was not a little offended with them, though they endeavour'd to persuade him, that their Errand to the *Indies* was only for Linnen and Spices.

The Deputies presented to the King a very fair *Fuzee*, together with the Kings Picture, in little, drawn to the Life, which was so much the more esteem'd, because at the same time several large Cuts had been brought to *Ispahan*, and presented to the King, which perfectly agreed with the Picture in Oyl, by which the whole Court was convinc'd that it was the real Portraiture of the King. When these Presents were laid before the King, he ask'd the Deputies, for which of the Eastern Nations the *French* had most affection; to whom M. *Lalin* made answer, that certainly for the *Persian*; thereupon the King return'd, that certainly they had reason; for that the *Persians* were white, like the *French*, and that it was impossible for them to have any affection for the *Indians* who were black.

At length the King, to shew the Deputies his highest favour, would have them drink the *HEZARD PICHE*, in a golden Cup, which holds about a Pint of *Paris*. He order'd the Wine to be the same which he drank himself, which was in a Bottle of Chrystal Glass, studded with Diamonds. *Lalin* drank couragiously, and so did *Mariage*; but Father *Raphael* made a fair excuse, and got off. After midnight the *Zerhastes*, or Table-Cloaths of Cloth of Gold were spread upon the Floor, and several roasted Viands very hot of the Spice, and Dishes of Salt Fish, purchas'd from the *Caspian* Sea, were brought and set upon the Cloaths; together with several Pastrie Meats, dry'd Raisins, Comfits, Almonds, and Pistaches, and other provocatives to drink. The repast being ended, several Buffons were brought in, who Sung and Danc'd after the *Turkish* fashion, and made a hundred wry Mouths and ugly Faces. Among the rest of the Divertisements, there were two Men introduc'd, that play'd one against another with each a Battoon in his hand, with a piece of Linnen dipt in Naphta, ty'd to the end of the Stick, which cast forth a very clear brightness in the dark; at the same time four artificial Whirle-Winds were made to rise one after another, which were all hovering in the Air at once, and in a continual Agitation.

Three Hours after Midnight the Masters of the Ceremonies came to raise the Deputies to take leave of the King; and so leading them to the lower end of the Hall, after a profound reverence, they retir'd, not one person beside stirring out of his place, to the end they might have time to take their Shoes without confusion. When they were gone, the King dismiss'd the Court, and then it is that the croud is so great, that not one in twenty but loses their own, and gets whose-ever Shoes he can lay his hands on.

The Deputies and Father *Raphael* being upon their return home, by that time they got half way, met an Officer belonging to the *Athemadoulet*, who

who told Father *Raphael* that his Master expected the *French Begzades* at his House by Ten a Clock next Morning, to treat them, by his Majesties Order.

Father *Raphael*, *Lalin*, and *Boulaye*, were punctual to their time, and no sooner did the *Athemadoulet* know of their arrival, but he came down into his Hall of Audience, to receive them, where he had also order'd a very fair Banquet to be ready for their entertainment. There Father *Raphael* left them, while he went with the *Athemadoulet*'s Secretary, to Translate the King of *France*'s Letter into the *Persian* Language; which being finish'd, and he come again into the Hall, after several Civilities past on both sides, the Father and the Deputies return'd to *Zulpha*.

The Merchant Deputies offended at the Honour which the Gentlemen had receiv'd, would have gone in their Turn; but Father *Raphael* told them, that it was not the Custom in *Persia* to visit the Prime Minister, without being sent for. In the Evening, Father *Raphael*, and the *Begzades* received new Orders to attend the King, but the King stirr'd not out that Evening, so that their Journey was in vain.

The Merchants still perceiving the Honours which were done the Gentlemen, and believing Father *Raphael* to be the cause of all, they began to rail at him, and give him foul Language, and threaten'd to write into *France* to give an accompt of his behaviour. Father *Raphael* netled at the Language of the Deputies, told them, that he had done what in him lay to procure them the same Honours, which the others had receiv'd, though they were so little sensible of it. That he would continue his endeavours for the Advancement of their Affairs, though not for their own sakes, yet for the sake of the Company, that had sent them. Which answer, though it were sharp enough, and shew'd that the Father was angry, yet he did not forget, that they were his Countrymen; so that he ventur'd to carry them twice to the Prime Minister of his own accord, contrary to the Custom. The first time he was not to be spoken with. The second time, he made an Errant to him with the three Deputies, to present him a Copy of the Letter from the Directors of the Company, in the *Persian* Language; at which time he shew'd them the Deputies, acquainting him withal that those were the Persons with whom he was to treat in point of Trade. To which the *Athemadoulet* reply'd, that he had no Commission from the King to meddle with those Deputies, but only, to entertain the *Begzade* that brought the King's Letter, which he had already done. Thereupon the Father desir'd him he would be pleas'd to speak to the King to nominate Commissioners to treat with them, which the *Athemadoulet* promis'd to do. That day in the evening, a Messenger was sent to Father *Raphael*, to acquaint him, that the King had appointed the *Nazar* to treat with the Deputies the next day, and to know their demands. Of which the Father gave the Deputies quick intelligence.

The next day, being the First of *September*, Father *Raphael* fail'd not to be with the Deputies very early in the Morning, to bring them to the *Nazar*; but he was very much surpriz'd to see, that they would not go altogether, but still look with an evil Eye one upon another, and continued their former differences. To the end therefore that he might set things to rights, he went to the *Nazar*, and told him, that he thought it would be the best way for the Merchants Deputies to come first,

firſt, becauſe that they were the Perſons with whom he was chiefly to Treat. The *Nazar* anſwer'd, that the King underſtood that they were all five in the ſame Commiſſion joyntly. To which, when the Father anſwer'd the ſecond time, that it would be the beſt way to do as he had propos'd; The *Nazar* with a Surly Countenance, why, What's the matter now? ſaid he to the Father; Are not you *French-men* aſham'd to be thus at odds one with another, and to give all the World, nay the very Foot-boys occaſion to diſcourſe of your Diviſions? What would they have us think of them and their Commiſſion? Are they ſo little afraid of offending the King? Or, is their King more indulgent then the King of *Perſia*, who would never pardon ſuch faults in his Subjects? To this rebuke the Father made no reply. Only he deſir'd the *Nazar*, that he might have two Horſe-men to attend the Deputies at *Zulpha*, telling the *Nazar* not a word of his deſign to bring the Merchants an Hour ſooner then the Gentlemen. This fell out to the Fathers deſire; For the Father ſent one of the Horſe-men to *Zulpha*, to the Gentlemen, with order to drink with them, and not to be over haſty, but to bring them fair and ſoftly along with him; with the other he made haſt to the Merchant Deputies, and cauſing them to double their pace, they got betimes to the *Nazar*'s Houſe, where they were civilly receiv'd. *Dupont* preſented the *Nazar* with the Deputies Commiſſion, tranſlated into the *Perſian* Language; after which they fell into a diſcourſe, which laſted above three quartes of an Hour, concerning the Cuſtoms, Tolls, and Quality of the Merchants, and the juſtneſs of the *French* in their Dealing. They had juſt finiſh'd their Diſcourſe of Trade, when the *Nazar* was advertiz'd, that the three Gentlemen were arriv'd; who thereupon deſir'd Father *Raphael* to go and receive them. The Father went and waited upon them in, neatly chiding them for having ſtay'd ſo long, and making the *Nazar* wait. Well ſaid he, now you are together, go into that Cabinet, and write down your demands, and the Articles of your Commiſſion. The Merchant Deputies, which had now diſcours'd with the *Nazar* what they had to ſay, were well enough content to enter into a General Conference with the Gentlemen. Then calling for Pen, Ink and Paper, they made a draught of their Demands, the chief of which were, three Years Immunity from Cuſtoms and Tolls, to begin from the time of the arrival of our Ships; and that after that, they ſhould enjoy all the Priviledges and Favours granted to other Nations. They alſo deſir'd precedence above all other Nations, when they ſhould be call'd to Court, as they ſuggeſted, that they had at the Court of the Grand Signior. And laſtly, they requir'd a Houſe for thoſe that belong'd to the Company, to live in the City.

Theſe demands were dictated word for word by Father *Raphael*, to the *Nazars* Secretary, in the Name of all the five Gentlemen; and becauſe the *Nazar*'s Secretary knew not how to pronounce them, the Father undertook to write them in the *Perſian* Character; which being done, and the writing read in the hearing of the Deputies, the *Nazar* took the Paper to preſent to the King.

Thus after a fair Banquet, accompany'd with Muſic, both Vocal and Inſtrumental, the Deputies were diſmiſs'd by the *Nazar*, who bid them rely upon his care; for that he would do them all the Favour that lay in his pow'r, and give them his Majeſties Anſwer in a ſhort time. The Deputies very well ſatisfy'd with the *Nazar*'s reception, ſent him

afterwards a Preſent, which was a Shame both to the Nation and the Company, that pretended to ſuch great and high things, and endeavour'd to fix an opinion of their Wealth and Grandeur among Strangers. For they ſent him only a *Tin Cup* Enamel'd, and eight little Cales of Perſpectives, or Looking-Glaſſes, the whole not amounting to above 40 Crowns. They alſo made much ſuch another Preſent, but meaner, to the *Mirzatcker*, conſiſting of about a Dozen Pair of Gilt Sciſſars for Women. We muſt ſpeak the Truth: For they were not a little laught at for their ridiculous Preſents, which were the Scorn and Contempt of thoſe that receiv'd them, when the Deputies were gone.

To Father *Raphael* they preſented a Purſe, with 40 *Tomans*, or Six Hundred Crowns in it, believing that he would never accept of it; and indeed he refus'd it with ſcorn; not a little angry with them, that they ſhould have ſuch mean thoughts of him, as to believe him Mercenary.

Two days after, the *Nazar* gave notice to the Father, that the King had granted the *French* their Demands; and had order'd every one of them a *Calaat*, or a Veſt-Royal, and in reſpect of Superiority, a Horſe for Monſieur *Lalin*. That the Kings Anſwer and the *Grant* were both ready for the Directors of the Company, according to their deſire.

The King was then onward upon a journey to *Mazandran*, three days Travel from *Iſpahan*, at one of his Palaces, call'd *Tajahat*. A Pleaſant Situation, in the mid'ſt of a great Valley, ſhaded with Trees, and full of Villages.

The Ninth of *October*, came a Letter from the *Nazar*, to Father *Raphael*, ſignifyiug the King's Pleaſure, that both he and the Deputies ſhould repair to *Tajahat* with all ſpeed. Thereupon the Father and they made ſuch haſt, that in leſs than three days they got to *Tajahat*, where the *Nazar* order'd them to lye in the Houſe of an *Armenian* Renegado. The King ſent them immediately eight or ten bottles of Wine, with four Gold Diſhes, full of lovely Fruits, and Tapiſtries for their Dining Room. But theſe Preſents occaſion'd new Quarrels; For there being two Factions, and both living apart, there was a great diſpute who ſhould have this preſent. Father *Raphael*, having done all that poſſible he could to reconcile the buſineſs, and not being able to perſuade them, in a juſt Paſſion, bid them take their Swords and Piſtols, and go and decide the Quarrel in the Field. Till now, ſaid he, I have done all I could to conceal your deteſtable diviſions from the Court, which nevertheleſs, is but too well acquainted therewith: Is it your deſign to publiſh your own Ignominy, and to make not only your ſelves, but the whole Nation of the *French* ridiculous to the *Perſians?* At length they were ſo far reconcil'd, that one Room ſerv'd them to Feed, and conſequently the ſame Furniture. For the Father's reproofs had put them a little out of Countenance.

The Seventeenth of *October*, the *Mehemander* came to the Deputies Lodgings, and brought five Royal Veſts; The Richeſt, which was of Tiſſue of Gold, was for Monſieur *Lalin*; the next, not altogether ſo rich, for Monſieur *Boulaye*; and the other three of a lower price, for the Merchants; The value of the whole might amount to 600 Crowns, for which the *French* Deputies moſt generouſly gave the Officers that brought them 25 or 30 Crowns, as a Gratuity. The Officers of the Stable

Stable also brought two Horses for the Gentlemen, for which they receiv'd six Crowns in Gold, as a reward. I confess, I should have been asham'd of such a poorness of Spirit, at such a time as that.

At length also the *Ragan* or Patent for the Company was deliver'd into the Hands of the Deputies, faitfully Translated by Father *Raphael* to this Effect.

" That whereas the Merchants of the Kingdom of *France*, who are " favour'd by the Favour extreemly Royal, and the Justice excessively " Royal, being made constant in the hope and participation in the " time, have presented their Petition, which is arriv'd at the Ear " of the Ministers Commissoners for the Court of Grandeur and high " Fortune; Their Intentions and Demands have found the Visage of " Acceptation, and we have strictly commanded, that the Conservatours " of Rights, Tolls and Priviledges, acknowledge them for exempt " and priviledg'd, during the space of Three Years; and that there be " nothing demanded upon their Goods and Factories, conformable to " the request of the Deputies, *&c.*

The nex day, the *Mehemander Bachi*, came early in the Morning to attend the Deputies, and bring them with all speed to the Court: Where being admitted into the Garden, they met the King a Horseback, and all the Court a Foot. The *Athemedoulet* held the King's Answer to the King of *France*, in a Bag of Cloth of Gold, Seal'd with the Kings Seal upon red *Spanish* Wax. The Sieur *Lalin* then, and the rest of the Deputies were order'd to go neer and Kiss the Kings Boot, who kept his Grandeur, without speaking a word. When they had so done, the *Athemadoulet* calling them to him, there, said he, there is the Answer for the *Grand Cha*, that is, for the King of the Kings of *France*. The Deputies having made their Obeysances to the King, the whole Court took Horse; and the King took the Road of *Cachan*; and within an Hour, that Campaign, which look'd like a thick peopl'd City, became as Desert as the most part of *Persia*.

The Deputies, having read over the Patent, began to find many defects, and *Mariage* would fain have follow'd the Court for amendments, and would have persuaded *Lalin* and Father *Raphael* to have gone along with him. But Father *Raphael* over-persuaded them to return first to their Lodgings at *Zelpha*, and there to hear the Patent distinctly read over and to consider better of it. When they came to *Zulpha*, and that they had debated upon the meer Letter of the *Patent*, then they were worse mad then they were before. Then there were so many Cavils, so many Disputes, so many Exceptions, and so many Expositions put upon the Words *Conformably* and *Reasonably*, that they must get a Horse back immediately. *Boulaye* stopp'd this fury for a while; So that after many Disputes and Consultations, it was agreed, that *Mariage*, as chief of the Negotiation, and *Lalin*, should follow the Court; and that *Boulaye*, *Breber*, and *Dupont*, should proceed forward to the *Indies*. The Sieur *Lestoile*, and all the rest of the *Franks*, were of opinion, that *Lalin* should forthwith depart for *France*, with the King's Letter. But their Counsel was not follow'd, and so the Deputies divided themselves: *Lalin* and *Mariage* to follow the Court, which was then remov'd as far as *Mazandran*: And the other three to pursue their Journey to the East *Indies*. The two former fain would have had Father *Raphael* have accompany'd them to the Court; but he fairly excus'd himself.

Neither would *L'Eſtoile* permit his Son, to whom he allow'd 20 *Tomans* a Year, to return to the Court, chooſing rather to ſend him to *Bander* with the other three. Whereupon, the Seventeenth of *November*, they ſet forward upon their Journey.

Du Pont, without doubt, was the moſt ſolid and judicious of all the Merchants, but he took it ſo to heart, to ſee the diſ-union among them, that he fell into a languiſhing Diſeaſe at *Iſpahan*, and dy'd not far from *Schiras*.

As for *Lalin* and *Mariage*, they left *Iſpahan* the Fifteenth of *December*, and arriv'd at Court ſoon after, where they lay a long time neglected, their Diviſions ſtill continuing, which made them contemptible to the *Perſians*, and ruin'd the Affairs of the Company. One Evening, the *Nazar* ſent them a Flow'r, adviſing them, that as that Flow'r never chang'd; ſo it became them not to vary in their Reſolutions. After a long and tedious ſtay, *Mariage* obtain'd ſome few impertinent Alterations in his Patent; and permiſſion to make Wine at *Schiras*, as the *Engliſh*, *Hollanders*, and *Portugueſes* had.

With theſe Alterations they both leave the Court; and *Mariage* would certainly have accompany'd *Lalin*, who had an intention to ſee *Ardevil*, *Tauris*, and *Kom*, had he not been ſolicited to return to *Zulpha*, by a Young *Dalilah*, that had ſmitten his heart. For by the means of an old Woman, the Mother of one of his Lacqueys, he had debauch'd a young *Armenian* Virgin, whom he kept privately to himſelf; yet not ſo privately, but the noiſe thereof was quickly ſpread all over *Zulpha*. All the *Armenians* were ſcandaliz'd at it, and ſent to ſeize the Baud, to puniſh her, by their Laws, as ſhe deſerv'd. *Mariage* adverti'z'd thereof, flew out of his Lodging to her aſſiſtance, and to protect her from Juſtice. But ſeeing the People in an uproar, and finding the Stones to flye too thick about his Ears, he was forc'd to mind his own ſafety, and to ſeek for ſhelter in the next Houſe where he could be admitted. But the Buſineſs was not ſo put up, for the *Armenians*, wondring to ſee that a Deputy of an Illuſtrious Company, who was come to the Court of *Perſia* upon ſo ſerious an Affair, ſhould do ſo much wrong to his Nation, by publickly appearing in ſo ſhameful an Action, and ſo unworthy of a Perſon in public Employment, that they reſolv'd to proſecute him all manner of ways. They were reſolv'd, to that end, to have ſent into *France* an Expreſs, to have Complain'd to the King of his ill Management and bad Behaviour. But *Mariage* at length reſtor'd the *Armenian* Girl which he had kept cloſe lock'd up; after which time the *Armenians* never look'd upon him but with ſcorn and contempt.

Lalin being return'd to *Iſpahan*, departed thence the 22*th* of *November*, 1666. for *Bander*, with a Reſolution, to Travel into the *Indies*. But he fell ſick at *Bander*, and thinking to return to *Schiras*, for the Air's ſake, he dy'd by the way at a Village call'd *Bend-Ali*. A Gentleman endow'd with noble Qualities, and whoſe Gentile and Generous behaviour was an honour to his Nation.

The Thirtieth of the ſame *November*, *Mariage* alſo left *Iſpahan*, and departed for *Bander*, with one Father *Mercier*, a *Jeſuite*, whom he took along with him as his Almoner, and *Lewis L' Eſtoile*, his *Kalmachi*, or Interpreter: There he ſtay'd four Months for the arrival of the Ships, but none coming, and the heats encreaſing, he reſolv'd to ſpend the reſt of the Year at *Schiras*. As for the *Jeſuit*, and young *L' Eſtoile*, becauſe

becauſe there was no Converſe but with the people of the Country, they return'd back to *Iſpahan*.

Boulaye and *Beber* arriv'd at *Suratte* the firſt of *April*, 1666. Being come to the *Bar*, they ſent to Father *Ambroiſe*, chief of the Miſſion of the *Capuchins*, who preſently attended them with a Sloop, which he had obtain'd of the Governour, and brought them home to the *Capuchin*'s Houſe, where they ſtay'd till they departed for *Agra*. Sometime before was arriv'd there a Merchant of *Aleppo*, who had run himſelf out at heels, and of a *Maronite* Chriſtian was become a *Roman* Catholick, in hopes to patch up his broken Fortune, being in truth a meer Counterfeit, and a Hypocrite: For theſe *Levantine* Chriſtians ſeldom change their Religion, but upon ſome motive of Intereſt; and when they have got a good Sum together, they preſently whip back again into their own Country, and for a ſmall piece of Money obtain abſolution of their Patriarch. Thus ſeveral of the Religious *Franks* that travel out of *Europe* into *Aſia* are often deceiv'd, making a great noiſe of their Converſion of the *Levantines*, when the Converſion, at the bottom, is only an outward Converſion, and a meer piece of Gullery. Among many others that I could relate, I will only mention one, of a *Franciſcan*, call'd *Paul Stella*, who coming with 400 Crowns, or thereabouts, in his Pocket, for his ſubſiſtance, a *Maronite* ſmelt him out, and under the pretence of giving him the Honour of his Converſion to the Catholick Religion, never left him till he had ſuck'd him dry, and turn'd the Channel of his Money. This *Maronite* Merchant before mention'd, whoſe Name was *Chelebi*, ſhew'd himſelf very zealous for the *Capuchins*, and he had reaſon enough; for the *Capuchins* of *Aleppo* had been very ſerviceable to him, and had help'd him in his Affairs when they were at the loweſt ebb. They were overjoy'd at his arrival at *Surat*, and gave it out immediately that it was he that had given them Money for the building their Houſe and Church. But when I came to look over my Accompts, I found that the Money that had pay'd for the Ground and a good ſhare of the building, came out of my Purſe; Father *Ambroiſe* having promis'd that I ſhould be reimburs'd upon my return to *Paris*. But I never heard more of my Money, nor indeed did I ever look after it.

The reaſon why the *Capuchins* were willing that the *Aleppo* Merchant, who never had disburs'd a Peny, ſhould own the Expences of their Houſe and Church, is this; becauſe no *Frangui* Chriſtian is permitted in the *Indies* to enjoy the propriety of Houſes, or to make any reparations of thoſe which they hire, without the leave of the Governour of the place. Both the *Engliſh* and *Holland* Companies are only *Leſſees* to the *Indians*; the *Great Mogul* having ſuffer'd from the Chriſtians in ſeveral places, where under pretence of repairing or adorning certain Houſes, which they poſſeſs'd by way of propriety, they have ſo well fortifi'd them, that when the Governours have come to require any Duties from them, they have made them good ſo long, till they have forc'd the Governours to yield to their demands.

So ſoon as the Deputies were landed at *Surat*, they preſently ſpread abroad a report, that there were ſeven or eight Ships belonging to the *French* Company that would ſuddainly follow them. The *Aleppo* Merchant was overjoy'd to hear the News, and was in great hopes, that by the favour of the *Capuchins*, and the advantage which he had of ſpeaking

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several of the *Asiatick* Languages, that the greatest part of the *French* Merchandize would pass through his hands. Upon these hopes he made great Treats, and presented large Presents to the Deputies, and and maintain'd their Servants at his own Charges. He found the Deputies to be sufficiently covetous, but he was still in great expectations, that his civil Entertainments, and the Presents which they receiv'd from him, would oblige them to acknowledge his kindness, and that one day he should find himself repay'd by the management of their business; but he was foully mistaken. For it cost him above 1500 *Rupies*, part which he spent upon them himself at *Surat*, and partly what his Nephew furnish'd them withall at *Agra* for their present occasions.

Three or four days after their arrival at *Surat*, the *English* President sent to visit them by some of his Council, and would have waited on them himself, but that he lay then ill of the Gout. The *Holland* Commander did the same with his Council, shewing all the civilities and kindnesses that lay in his power; and a few days after invited them solemnly to a great Feast, with as many as they could bring along with them. In the midst of their Jollity the King's Health was sent about, and after that, the Prosperity of the *French* Company; which oblig'd *Boulaye* to begin another Health to the happy Progress of the *Holland* Company. But when it came to Mr. *Beber*'s turn to drink it, notwithstanding all that *Boulaye*, and the rest of the Company could say to him, they could not oblige him to pledge it. Nay, he did worse then this, for he threw the Glass, Wine, and all at his Feet; and when he had so done, he rose in a heat from the Table, and after a pitiful manner left the Company, and went home to his Lodging, though without any attendance. The *Hollanders* were so discreet as to take little notice of his folly, but remain'd very merry at the Table with Mr. *Boulaye* till Midnight. But they could not forbear telling their Friends, that they wonder'd, in regard there were so many discreet and ingenious Men in *France*, that the Company should make choice of such a Fool for the management of such an important Affair as he was sent about; and that they foresaw he would do the Company no small injury.

While the Deputies stay'd at *Surat*, the Governour of the place, at the request of Father *Ambroise*, entertain'd them, and shew'd them all the respect that could be shew'd to Strangers. One day that they were in Discourse together, he told them, that if they would follow his Counsel, he adviz'd them not to go to Court till their Ships were arriv'd. But seeing that they were resolv'd to the contrary, he offer'd them Money, Horses, and Souldiers, to attend them, with Letters of Recommendation to some of the Grandees of the Court. The *Chabander*, or Provost of Merchants, made them the same offers that the Governour had done; all which they refus'd very obstinately. More then this, they behav'd themselves very ill, in reference to the Presents which the Governour and the *Cha-Bander* sent them, for they gave their Servants that carry'd them not a *Doight*, which is look'd upon as a very dirty action in the *Indies*. For the *Indians* never give their Servants any other Wages, then what they get by carrying Presents from their Masters. And the more they have given them, the more Honour it is, both for him that receives, and him that sends the Present.

The Deputies then being resolv'd for *Agra*, hir'd their Waynes, and their Oxen to carry their Luggage, and five and twenty Souldiers for their

their Convoy. They likewiſe made a great noiſe, of their being honour'd from ſo Great a King, and ſo Noble a Company. Upon which ſcore, they ought to have had five or ſix Wains for their Baggage, every one their *Pallaquin* and a Led-horſe, and every one a Flag with their Arms or their Cyphers, which is the gentile way of Travelling in *India*, and as I was always wont to travel. But they took but five and twenty Souldiers, whereas they ought to have hir'd an hundred and fifty at the rate they talk'd.

But inſtead of ſo doing, three Days Journey from *Surat*, *Beber* began to quarrel with *Boulaye*, that they had too great a Train at their heels, for which he blam'd the Adviſe of Father *Ambroiſe* and the Merchant of *Aleppo*: That for his part he would pay for no more than four Souldiers, and that if he would not ſend the reſt back, he ſhould pay them himſelf. Upon which, they agreed to ſend back the ſix Souldiers which the Governour had order'd to attend them as far as *Brampour*; upon their diſmiſſment, not giving them ſo much as the Worth of a Pipe of Tobacco.

When they came to *Agra*, the Nephew of *Chelebi*, the *Aleppo* Merchant, fail'd not to wait upon them, and to offer them his ſervice. There was at that time a *French* Chirurgeon, whoſe Name was *James*, he ſpake good *Indian*, and was married in the Country to the Daughter of a *Portugal*: The *Nahab*, the King's Uncle and Grand Vizier, had a great kindneſs for this Chirurgeon; and by his procurement it was, that the Deputies had Audience of *Giaſer-Kan*, for ſo was the *Nahab* call'd. They requeſted of him, that by his favour they might preſent a Letter from their King to the *Great Mogul*, as alſo that they might be admitted to treat concerning the Settlement of a *French* Trade in the Countrey. The *Nahab* told them, that he would ſpeak to the King, and take care that they ſhould be admitted to their Audience in a little time. With that he order'd them to be conducted to the Lodgings appointed for them, which they found ready furniſh'd with all neceſſary proviſion for the Belly, but their Lacqueys and Servants were to cook it themſelves; for it is not here as it is in *Perſia*, where the Meat is ſent ready dreſt out of the King's Kitchin to the Embaſſadors Table.

The *Nahab*, who underſtood that they had brought no Preſents, neither for him, nor any of the Grandees of the Court, nor for the King himſelf, was not over haſty to admit them to their Audience. So that it was above a Month before the Deputies could ſet Eyes upon the *Nahab* again, though the Chirurgeon, and other *Franguis*, us'd all their Intereſt in their behalf. Being very weary of this Delay, they gave it out, that they could ſtay no longer at *Agra*, in regard they were to be at *Surat* upon the Arrival of the *French* Veſſels. Upon which falſe Report, the *Nahab* ſent to them for the King their Maſter's Letter, that he might preſent it to the *Great Mogul* himſelf. Upon this Demand of their Letter, they were quite blank, not being acquainted with the manner how the Kings of *India* receive thoſe Letters which are brought them by Embaſſadors: For they never receive any with their own hands, but ſuch as come from the *Grand Signior*: All other Letters, according to the Grandeur of the Kings that ſend them, are put into the hands of the Grand Officers of the Court, who preſent them to the King: And the more potent the King is, from whom the Letter comes, through the fewer hands it paſſes before it is preſented

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Captain must answer for it. But they very ill receiv'd the kind proffer of the Provost, proudly answering, that they were strong enough to guard themselves, and the first that came near them should know whether the *French* had Courage or no, adding withal, that if their Captain were afraid, they would guard him, with a deal of other scurrilous riffraff which very much surpriz'd the Officers.

The next day they set up their Tents about a quarter of a League farther, because they expected something to be brought them from *Agra*. The *Conteval* or Grand Provost admiring they made such slow journeys, and that they had now pitch'd in a more dangerous place then before, sent the same Horsemen with the same proffer, or else that they would be pleas'd to lye in an Inn where they might be safe. *Boulaye* was of the mind that so kind an offer should not be refus'd: but *Beber* gave them nothing but bad language; reviling their Captain, that he was afraid they should go and lye with his wives, offering if he pleas'd to go and guard them. He spoke half Portuguese, half Italian, which being a kind of *Lingua Franca*, some of the Horsemen made a shift to understand him, and having made a report to the Grand Provost of his Insolent Answer, the Lord was not a little nettl'd at it, and therefore resolv'd to be reveng'd. About midnight fourscore or a hundred Horse came and cut all the Cords of *Bebers* Tent, thinking to have let it fall about his ears. But he found a way to quit himself by the assistance of his Servant; and endeavour'd to escape to the House of a *Dervich* on the other side of a small Rivolet, nere the place where the Tents were set up. But the Moon shining as bright as day, he could not hide himself from the pursuit of the Horsemen, who shot at him, and with their Arrows wounded him in three places, once in the thigh and twice in the buttocks. *Boulaye* hearing the noise which the Horsemen made, peep'd out of his Tent, and seeing so many Horsemen in pursuit of *Beber*, was not a little daunted. He was afraid of running the same *risco*; but not having long to consider, he took his purse of Duckets, and fled till he got about half a league off, where he lay all night under a great Tree. But by the consequence he found that the Horsemen had nothing to say to him; being satisfi'd when they saw *Beber* fall, as believing him dead. For had they not thought him so, they would never have left him, till they had quite done his business. But to colour the business, that it might not seem a point of revenge they broke open all *Beber*'s Chests; that it might seem as if he had bin robb'd; but they found very little or nothing to enrich themselves.

So soon as *Beber*'s boy saw that the Horsemen were gone, he ran to the Town for a *Pallanquin* to carry his Master thither. Being brought to the Town they laid him in the Jesuits house, where *Boulaye* also arriv'd not long after and took up his Quarters, to the great consolation of the Jesuits, whose Revenues are but small in those parts, where there are no devout people to leave them Legacies. Their Ordinary was very sparing; but it was such as the Deputies must be glad of. Though it were a feast for *Boulaye*, who was not wont to make better chear. For a Sheeps head, of his own purchase, usually serv'd him two meals. Which made him ridiculous to the *Franks*, who liv'd after a more splendid rate. At *Smyrna* and *Aleppo*, when he was not invited by the *Franguis*, he had recourse to his Sheeps tongues, or a cold piece of double Tripe, which he carri'd to the poor *Cabaretts* of the *Greeks*, taking his Chopin of Wine

to wash it down: and such was his good husbandry that what was left was order'd to be set up for his supper. One day he had drank a little more then he had bled, and the *Franguis* found him a sleep in the street, about a hundred paces from the Cabaret. They had so much charity for him as to remove him to his lodging, lest other Nations should laugh at the choice which they had made of an Envoy to settle the Trade of such a considerable Company. As for *Beber*, who lov'd good Chear when it cost him nothing, as being a true exemplar of covetousness, he complain'd of the *Jesuits* entertainment, though they out-run the Constable to treat him like a Deputy. His man who had more wit than he, and plainly saw what a trouble he was to his Hosts, made them a merry relation of the Noble Table which his Master kept for him, how he had made provision of a Barrel of Herrings; which when Invitations fail'd, he warily fed upon, rubbing his bread with the tail to give it a *haut goust*. For my part, said the Boy, I am but a poor Servant, yet I have made a shift to spend an hundred and fifty Crowns which I had got in the service of the Consul of *Smyrna*. 'Twas my misfortune to be inveigl'd out of his service, for I was with a Noble Master where I got Money; but in this man's service I have eaten all that I had got before. Two days after I arriv'd at *Agra*, and heard of *Beber*'s being wounded and where he lay, and went to give him a visit. And as I never went unprovided in my travels with all things necessary, I had some Oyntments and Plasters, which were very serviceable to him.

It was an easie thing to observe that *Boulaye* was glad of the opportunity of *Beber*'s being wounded, that he might have the sole honour of giving the Letter to the King. For he pretended to be the true *Envoy* from the King of *France*, and that *Beber* was only sent to bear him company. *La Boulaye* therefore believing that the business would take effect, perswaded the Chyrurgion already mention'd to solicit the *Nahab* who had a kindness for him, so close, that thereby the *Nahab* permitted him to bring the Letter. But *Boulaye* who thought he should give it himself to the King, was much surpriz'd when he saw that the *Nahab*, who had got the Letter into his own power, gave it to one of the meanest Officers of his Court, who by the Prime Minister's order, gave it to another, and he to a third, who brought it back to the *Nahab*, who at length presented it to the King, but not in the presence of *Boulaye*.

And thus you see the Effect of the ridiculous pride of the Deputies, *Boulaye* was forc'd to stay in an outer Court, having two more to pass thorough before he came into the King's Quarter. Where, while he remain'd big with expectation, word was brought him, that the King would return an Answer to the King his Master, so soon as the Ships should be arriv'd; and so he was forc'd to go back to his Lodging with the melancholy dissatisfaction of a frustrate hope.

The wounded Gentleman being new cur'd, but still very lame, desir'd Audience of the *Nahab*, that he might have justice for the mischief done him by an Assassination and a Robbery. The *Nahab* readily admitted him, limping when he came into his presence worse then when he first left his bed. The first Compliment he made was of the Wounds he had receiv'd, and then he demanded satisfaction for the loss of his Blood, and the Goods which had bin stolen from him. The *Nahab* promis'd him to inform the King of the business, assuring him that he should have no wrong done him upon the high-way within the Territories

ritories where he had to do. Four or five days after, the *Nabab* sent to *Beber* to know how much the Loss which he pretended to have receiv'd amounted to. *Beber* brought in an account of four and twenty thousand *Roupies*, or 12000 Crowns; and for the loss of his Blood, he left it to the Kings Generosity.

His Accompt he made out thus:

Imprimis. A Note for the value of six thousand *Roupies* which he had lent a Merchant when he departed for *Marseilles*, which Note was among the Papers he had lost. As to that, the *Nabab* ask'd him whether the Notaries in *France* did not make an Entry of such publick Acts as were sign'd before them? *Beber* made answer, that he should never be paid, if he could not produce the same Paper that had bin taken from him, and that he could not demand his Money without it. The *Nabab* replying, that that was contrary to the Custom of all Nations, and that he knew it could not be as he said, added withal, that he should take no care for his satisfaction in that particular. After that he read on.

Item. Five thousand *Roupies* in Gold and Silver Money.

Item. Four thousand *Roupies* in Gold Lace and Galoon to trim his Clothes.

Item. Two Diamond Rings at two thousand one hundred *Roupies*.

Item. Two other Rings, a Topaz, and another of sea-green water, which cost three hundred *Roupies*.

Item. His Clothes, his Linnen, and for a Chest of Medicaments, which might be worth 4000 *Roupies*; of which he had procur'd his Chirurgeon to give in a Bill.

Item. A Chain of Gold valu'd at 500 *Roupies*. In all amounting to 24000 *Roupies*, as I said before.

Two or three days after, the King caus'd an Order to be deliver'd to him for the payment of his Money at the Treasury-Chamber. Upon which Order, he agreed with a Merchant to be paid at *Surat*. And when he was ready to depart, the King commanded 12000 *Roupies* to be paid him for the loss of his Blood. But that sum he never receiv'd. For being in haste to be gone to *Surat*, and failing to present the *Treasurer*, he drill'd him out so long, that his patience was quite tir'd, and so he was forc'd to go without it.

I could never understand the Policy of the *Great Mogul* to pay *Beber* the sum which he said had bin taken from him; when the *Nabab* knew to a thread what he had lost, and had given in an accompt thereof to the King; the whole not amounting to 2000 *Roupies*. And as for the *Franguis*, so soon as they understood that he had demanded 4000 *Roupies* for his Chirurgeons Chest, they all cry'd out that it was a meer cheat. For a few days before *Beber* arriv'd at *Agra*, the Chirurgeon had receiv'd 200 *Roupies* by the Charity of the *Franks* to return to *Surat*, and he fell sick the next day that this Bill was presented to the *Nabab*.

After the *Mogul* had read the King of *France*'s Letter, the *Nabab* by order of his Master, order'd a Lodging to be provided for the Deputies, which overjoy'd the Jesuits, who were by that means rid of two very troublesome Guests. As for *Boulaye*, in regard the King had signifi'd his pleasure, that he would not return any answer to the King's Letter till the arrival of the Ships, he never troubled himself any farther, but staid till the waters were fallen, that he might go to *Bengale*, and from thence to *Golconda* to settle a Trade in those parts. But *Beber* moil'd like

a horſe, and did nothing but run to and fro, to know the King's pleaſure touching the ſettlement of Trade. But the *Nabab* either laugh'd at him, or took little notice of what he ſaid. For indeed by *Beber*'s outward appearance, and deportment, no man could make any other judgment of him, but that he was a poor ſpirited fellow, and one that knew not what it was to live. For all the *Europeans* that travel into *Perſia* and the *Indies* are always richly habited, nor would any of them keep *Beber* company, who by his Habit look'd rather like a Footman, than a Deputy of a Royal Company of Trade. At length a whim took him to make himſelf a ſuit of painted Calicut, after the *French* Faſhion, the like whereof had never been ſeen in the Country; the whole Suit not ſtanding him in above 13 *Livres* and 13 *Sous*. For the trimming of his new Suit he took off the Ribbands of his old Cloaths, which he was two days lathering, and ſmoothing with a Taylers Gooſe. When he had got this rare Habit upon his back, he went to viſit the *Nabab*, who was then attended by the Principal Lords of the Court. Who when they ſaw him enter, fell all a gazing upon him, and ask'd one another whether that *Frangui* were turn'd *Faquir*, or a *Dervich* of *Hoſſen Mamout*, which they uſually call the ragged *Saint*. For you muſt know, that all the *Faquirs* or *Dervichs* that are of this Order, never apparel themſelves but with ſuch rags as they pick up in the ſtreets, and if they meet with any pieces better than other, they make of them a kind of Galoon to trim the reſt. They alſo carry half Pikes, with a great company of Tatters faſten'd to the end of them, to make a ſhew of their beggery. *Beber*'s Habit very much ſurpriz'd the *Nabab*, and all others that beheld him ſo ridiculouſly accouter'd. As he paſs'd one morning by my window, I bid him good morrow, telling him withal, that he look'd more ſpruce and gay than he us'd to do. He reply'd, that he had reaſon ſo to do, for that he had receiv'd Letters from *Surat*, by which he had advice, that the Country people upon the Coaſt of *Cape St. John* had decry'd four Veſſels out at Sea, which they could not make to be either *Engliſh*, or *Hollanders*, from whence he concluded that they were the Companies ſhips; and that he was going to the *Nabab* with the News. But I prevented him at that time, telling him that I had often obſerv'd that raſcally ſort of people to come both to the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, with ſuch kind of Intelligence, on purpoſe to get Money; when indeed they had never ſeen any ſuch ſight, and admoniſhing him not to believe Reports upon ſuch ſlight foundations. I ask'd him what date his Letters bore? he told me, thirty days ago. Then, ſaid I, if the diſcovery had bin true, the *Nabab* would have had notice of it in fourteen; and then he would certainly have told you of it, or my ſelf; for it is but two days ſince I took my leave of him. Thereupon he took my counſel and reſolv'd for *Surat* in a few days.

Three days after that the Chirurgeon had given in his Bill for the Cheſt of Medicaments that he had loſt among *Beber*'s Baggage, he was ſo touch'd in Conſcience, that he fell ſick, and dy'd in two days. Upon his death-bed he ask'd pardon of God for the Cheat which he had conſented to, to ask 4000 *Roupies* for that which was really worth but four hundred; 200 of which he had receiv'd from the Charity of the *Franguis*, the reſt upon the ſale of a Horſe.

For my part, finding that *Beber* was reſolv'd for *Surat*, I made what haſt I could out of *Agra*, to be quit of his company. But the ſecond day

day after my departure, having ſet up my tent by a Rivers ſide, juſt as I was going to dinner I ſpy'd *Beber* coming, nor could I get rid of him afterwards till I came to *Surat*. So that we were forc'd to travel together, though he committed a thouſand Impertinencies by the way. Among the reſt, he put one trick upon the Chief of the *Cheraffs* or Bankers at *Brampour*, not to be paſſed over in ſilence.

In regard the ways were bad, and that he had but one pitiful weak Chariot, and four weak Boys, which with the help of Oxen, were hardly ſtrong enough to help him out when he ſtuck in the mire, he ſeldom came to his journeys end till two or three hours after me. Now upon the report that ran of the *French* ſhips being ſeen out at Sea, and the general belief that *Beber* would be one of the Principal Truſtees of the Company, ſeveral, as I ſaid before, courted him, and ſought to engage his Friendſhip. Being arriv'd at *Brampour*, the Chief of the *Cheraffs*, attended by a dozen of his ſervants came to viſit us. Upon the firſt acquaintance *Beber* told him that he wanted a *Pallaquin* to go to *Surat*, whereupon the *Cheraff* civilly offered him his, and caus'd it to be trimm'd up for his better accommodation. *Beber* thought that trimming would have bin finiſht in one day, when indeed it requir'd three or four. The next day I order'd my Coach to be got ready, and order'd my *Pallaquin* to be carri'd away. *Beber*, who verily believ'd that the Company's ſhips were already in the Road of *Surat*, began to curſe and bann the *Cheraff*, who preſently came to him and endeavour'd to appeaſe him with good words. He told him, it could be no prejudice to him to ſtay a day or two; for by that time the Roads would be better, and he might travel the faſter. But *Beber*, being tranſported with paſſion, was ſo far from taking the *Cheraffs* reaſons for ſatisfaction, that ſnatching a Cudgel out of his Waggoners hands that ſtood next to him, he gave the *Cheraff* three or four good Licks croſs the ſhoulders. The Merchants and other people that were in the Inn, were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at ſuch a piece of rudeneſs, and ran out preſently, ſome with Stones, and others with Cudgels, making a hideous noiſe, and crying out, that they had never ſeen the like. They took it for a moſt enormous Crime, to ſtrike the Chief of the *Cheraffs*, above fourſcore years old, whoſe very age ought to have bin protection enough from ſuch an Affront. Good luck it was for *Beber*, after ſuch a raſh action committed, that I was well known at *Brampour*, having been there ten or twelve times, and in ſome of my Travels having dealt for above 200000 *Roupies*. There were none of the *Cheraffs* with whom I had not dealt by Letters of Exchange, and very few Merchants or Brokers who had not had ſome buſineſs or other upon my accompt. They cry'd out, ſpeaking of me; See there the Monſieur *Franqui*, with whom we have dealt ſo often, yet never heard him give us an ill word. Another good chance he had to meet there the *Coutevall*'s Lieutenant, and three Merchants of *Surat*; and thus between us, having diſingag'd *Beber* out of the Brabble wherein he had ſo fillily bemir'd himſelf, we made him get into my Coach, and ſo packt him out of the City. I follow'd him two hours after: for had he ſtaid longer in *Brampour*, I believe the *Faquirs* and *Derviches* would have beat out his brains. For he was no ſooner gone, but a great number of that ſort of rabble came to the Inn, crying out, Where was that Dog of a *Cafer* that had beaten the *Cheraff*. Thereupon, ſeeing the Multitude encreaſe, I ſtole out of the Town, without ſaying a word, and rid on

till

till I got three leagues from *Brampour*, to an old Town call'd *Badelpoura*, where I overtook *Beber*, who had hir'd a Coach made after the fashion of the Country. It was but reason, that I should have my own Coach to sleep in in the night: For though in all places where you come to lye in the night, the *Indians* will offer you a little bed to lye on, yet in regard the rains were but just over, the bedsteads were so full of Punies, that there was no resting. These Punies are ingender'd by the moisture which the rains, that fall for four months together, cause in those Countries. Which being over, and the Sun recovering its wonted heat, the women carry forth their beds every morning, and beating them well with good big sticks, never leave till the Punies fall to the ground, and there turning up their bellies presently dye. These beds consist of four feet and four round staves, as broad and as long as you please. To the staves are fasten'd girths about four fingers broad, which are much more commodious than the bottoms of our beds that are plank'd with Deal or other wood. Over the girths they only lay a single Coverlet or Sheet, which is a manner of lying easie enough, considering the heat of the Country.

The fourth day after our departure from *Brampour*, being near a great Town call'd *Cancqueles*, in a flat Country, we perceiv'd all the Plain cover'd with Tents. It appear'd to be the Camp of one of the chief *Kans*, or Lords, whom the *Great Mogull* had sent with 50000 men against the Rebel *Raja Sevagi*. This Lord, understanding who we were, very civilly sent us Melons, and Mango's, and bid his Officers tell us withal, that we were out of all danger, and might safely pursue our journey. Whatever I could say to *Beber*, to perswade him that it was but an act of civility and good manners, to wait upon the Prince, I could by no means engage him. I seeing his impertinency, shifted my habit, and sent one of my servants to the Camp, to learn whether the *Kan* drank Wine; and understanding that he did, I took a bottle of *Spanish*, and another of *Schiras* Wine, and a small pocket Pistol delicately embellish'd with silver; and with this small Present away I went to wait upon the General. Being come into his Presence, I excus'd *Beber*, as not being well, and immediately presented him the little Pistol, which he took, and bid me charge, being desirous to try it. After he had shot it off, said he to his Lords that stood by, Now must we confess these *Franqui's* to be ingenious. This man sees that I am going to the Wars, and presents me wherewithal to defend my life. Then casting his eyes upon the little Hamper, where the Bottles were, he ask'd what it was? They told him in his Ear. Oh, said he, looking at the same time upon two or three *Mim Bachi's*, or Colonels that were present, This *Franqui* Gentleman has given me a bottle of Wine, well we must drink it; for I find I shall please him in so doing. When the *Mollah's* heard him talk of Wine, they slunk away; which made the *Kan* laugh heartily. These are *Agi's*, quoth he; they have bin Pilgrims to *Mecca*, and never drink Wine after they come home again. Having taken my leave, he sent me a *Pomere*, which is a kind of Scarf that may also serve for a Girdle. It was made of white Sattin with flow'rs of Gold, and might be worth about a hundred *Roupies*. He that brought it, told me, I should do the *Kan* a great kindness, to send him another bottle of Wine: thereupon I sent him two of three, which was all my store. He sent me six Horsemen to conduct us three days journey, till we had pass'd a great

great River that flows from the Mountains of the South, which washing the City of *Baroche*, from whence it takes its Name, falls into the Bay of *Cambay*.

When we came to our last stage, which is a great Town, call'd *Barnoli*, from whence it is but 14 Leagues to *Surat*, *Beber* sent one of his Hirelings to give notice thereof to Father *Ambrose*. When the News came, the Father went with the *Aleppo* Merchant, often already mention'd, to borrow the *English* President's Coaches: and there were about 15 or 16 more Coaches all in a train, with several Horsemen and Merchant *Banians* that made hast to meet the Deputy. This happen'd upon the first of *November*, 1666. They carri'd with them Provision enough to make merry, and every *Banian* had his Present ready. For my part, I as soon as I had saluted the Father Capuchin, I went directly to my Lodging, where I had left two Servants to take care of a Sum of Money which I had receiv'd of the King of *Persia*, unwilling to hazard it upon the Road. For in whatever part of the *Indies* I came, I had credit enough to buy without Money. I only gave my Bills for payment at *Agra*, *Visapour*, *Golconda*, or *Surat*, where I generally left my Money, as having receiv'd it there for the most part of the Lords or Kings of the Country.

As for *Beber*, he was no Changeling, the follies that he committed are too numerous to be related: but how he began the year 1667, is not to be omitted.

M. *Thevenot*, upon his return from *Madraspatan* and *Golconda*, lodg'd in the Capuchins house. *Beber* going to visit him, told him, that the Capuchins were the *Hollanders* Spies, and that he had often advis'd Father *Ambrose* to break with them, and not to go any more to their House. That while he frequented their Society, the *French* Company would be sure to find some obstacle in their Trade when the Ships should arrive; and that if the *Hollanders* had not been at *Agra*, they might have done what they pleas'd with the King. That the hundred thousand *Roupies* which they had presented to the King and Grandees of the Court, had hinder'd them from obtaining what they design'd. By which it appear'd, he understood not the humour of the *Hollanders*; for they are not so liberal: nor would all their tricks, or presents have any thing avail'd them, the *Great Mogul* being desirous that all Nations should be welcome to his Dominions, especially Merchants, as well they that import little, as they that bring in much. M. *Thevenot* told him, that he had never observ'd so much of the *Hollanders* in all his travels; for if it were true, that they had such a desire to hinder the Trade of other Nations, they would not afford them passage in their Ships, or to put their Goods aboard, as they often did. Moreover, they send away many times one or two Ships according to the quantity, laden all with strangers Goods, from *Masulipatan* or *Surat*, in which Ships, there is not oftimes so much as one Bale belonging to the Company. And this, added he, is farther observable, That they afford their Freight cheaper then the *English*, or any other Nation, who have Ships in these parts. Thus Monsieur *Thevenot* endeavour'd to convince M. *Beber*; who would have had Father *Ambrose* have fallen out with the *Hollanders*. But he knew better things then to disoblige persons to whom he was so much beholding as he was every day. For every week they allow'd the house a certain quantity of Bread and Meat, and upon Fast-days sent them Fish,

Eggs,

Eggs, Brandy, and Wine, which were no ſuch unkindneſſes to be quarrell'd with. Monſieur *Thevenot* at the ſame time told *Beber*, that he ſhould do well to repay Father *Ambroſe* the Money which he had borrow'd to pay for the Coach which he had broken to ſerve him, as alſo that which he had given the Seamen, for trying if they could diſcover the *Companies* Veſſels upon the Coaſt. But he turn'd his deaf ear to that diſcourſe, and would never be perſuaded to reimburſe the Money which Father *Ambroſe* laid out for him. Monſieur *Thevenot* perceiving his unwillingneſs, and preſſing him to do things handſomly, put him into ſuch a chaſe, that he fell a ſwearing after ſuch a violent rate, in a Parlour, that was parted only by a thin board from the place where the Maſs was ſaid, that one of the Fryers, juſt ready to go to the Altar, came forth to deſire him to leave his blaſpheming. But *Beber*'s inſolence took his admonition ſo ill, that he very rudely beat the Fryer in Mr. *Thevenot*'s preſence; ſwearing, That had it not been out of reſpect to him, he would have knockt him o' the head. The Capuchin being ſo injuriouſly us'd, came to Me, being hardly able to ſtir his neck, by reaſon of one of the blows that *Beber* had given him. I chaft his neck with Oyl of Coco's, and wrapt it up warm: but we durſt not ſpeak a word of *Beber*'s idle action, for fear of expoſing our ſelves to the laughter of the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, who would have made good ſport with it. Beſides theſe Enormities, he put away his Servant that had ſav'd his Life, and kept his Wages. After that he went to lye at an Apothecaries houſe, whoſe Name was *Mouillon*, who came from *Goa*, with a good quantity of *Portugal* Wine, and kept a Tavern at *Surat*. While he lay there he had a great Conteſt with the Merchant, who receiv'd the 24000 *Roupies*, which the King had given him for the loſs which he alleadg'd that he and his Chyrurgeon had ſuſtain'd. For the Merchant would acknowledge the receipt of no more then 23900 *Roupies*, the other Hundred being deducted for Fees of the Treaſury. He alſo maintain'd, That the Merchant had receiv'd the 12000 *Roupies* which the King had allow'd him for the loſs of his Blood: but it was known that the Grand Treaſurer would never pay that Money. Thus when he ſaw that his Cheats were diſcover'd to all the World, he began to bethink himſelf how to get away: and we obſerv'd, that he would fain have quitted *Surat* without noiſe. But there is ſuch good Order taken both by Land and Sea, that no perſon can go away without the knowledge and leave of the Governour. For as the Countrymen that come from the other ſide of the water cannot return unleſs they ſhew a mark in their hands made with red Earth at the Cuſtom-houſe; neither Horſe nor Coach can ſtir without a Note from the *Chabander*, and another for the *Radars*, who lye ſometimes two or three Leagues from the Town. *Beber* nevertheleſs had ſome aſſurance from his Vintner, that he might get into a Boat, by bidding the Boatmen carry him to *Reynel*, a large Town on the other ſide of the water. The Maſter of the Boat ask'd him for his Ticket, but *Beber* anſwer'd him with his Cudgel, forcing him forward, and telling him, he was not to demand Billets of ſuch a perſon as he was. As he was got half way the River a great number of Souldiers hollow'd after the Boatmen, to row the Strangers back aſhoar. But *Beber* laid his hand upon his Sword, and compell'd the Boatmen to go forward. That evening, *Beber* being return'd, the poor Boatmen were apprehended, and baſtinado'd till they were almoſt maim'd. The

people

people cri'd out, that it was the *Franqui* that ought to be so serv'd, and not the poor Watermen, who had done nothing but by constraint.

Thus did this Envoy behave himself both in *Persia* and *India*, to the great hindrance of the *French* Nation. Now let us see what became of both *Boulaye* and *Beber* after all their Extravagancies.

The *Sieur de la Boulaye*, according to the accompt given by the *Hollanders* that were at *Agra*, left the Town five or six days after my departure. Knowing I went to *Surat*, he had plaid his game so well with me, that he got a Hamper of twelve large bottles of Wine for 138 *Roupies*, though they cost me more, for which he gave me a Note of his hand, that I have still in my custody, to be paid at *Surat*, upon the arrival of the *French* Companies ships. From thence he travell'd to *Patna*, where he staid nine or ten days, partly with the *English*, partly with the *Hollanders*: from whence he departed for *Daca*, the Residence of the Governour of the Province. The Governour of the Province of *Bengale* was then the *Great Mogul*'s Uncle, whose name was *Cha-Est-Kan*, a potent Prince, who has always under his Command thirty or forty thousand men.

At *Patna*, *Boulaye* had a project, that from thence he might easily pass into *China*, and to that purpose he there embarqu'd with some *Persian* Souldiers, who were going to list themselves under *Cha-Est-Kan*. But after that, to this hour, it never could be certainly known what became of him: but by all probable conjectures, it is verily believ'd, that the *Persian* Souldiers murder'd him and his little Slave, in hopes of some good booty. Of the truth whereof, the Observation that follows was no small evidence. About a quarter of a mile from *Daca* lies a Town, where live several mungrel *Portugal* Officers, belonging to the Governour of *Bengale*, as Canoneers and Carpenters, and some of the same Nation that serve in the Cavalry of *Cha-Est-Kan*. There they have also a small Church very well built, where an *Austin* Fryar officiates, to whom, about three months after *Boulaye*'s departure from *Patna*, a certain *Persian* in the Habit of a Souldier, with two more companions, brought two large Books, the one in *Folio*, and the other in *Quarto* to sell. The Fryar, who was a mungrel also, understood no *Latin*; but finding them not to be in the *Portugal* Language, would have stopp'd the Books as stoln from the *Hollanders*, had not the Souldier been too strong for him. These Books were thought to have been *Boulaye*'s; who, to my knowledge, had two Chests full, well bound; in reading whereof he spent the greatest part of his time. His Avarice was his Ruine; for had he taken a Bark by himself, as I did when I went from *Patna*, and had oblig'd the Watermen to give him good security, he could have run no hazard. For my part I took one with four and twenty men; and every one, knowing I never spar'd for cost, gave me excellent security. These Barks are little Galliots, which will undertake to carry you to your journey's end, and name your own day. If you will lye ashoar every evening, they will set up your Tents; and stop at any Town or City to take in Provisions. I never made so pleasant a Voyage in my life, nor with less trouble. For in these Barks, there is a Room where the Sun cannot come in, where you may repose in the day time, and sit in the cool Air on that side from whence the Breez comes. There is another place cover'd for your Kitchin; and another little Garderobe for the private deeds of Nature. By the way I kill'd great

ſtore of large Geeſe, Cranes, and Crocodiles, which I gave the Watermen, who were very glad of them; for they ſold them in the Towns as they row'd along. The people in thoſe quarters are very good natur'd and officious. Dyet is little worth, as being the place where you may buy a hundred Pullets for a Crown: and for three or four Pence, you may buy a Fiſh of a prodigious length and bigneſs.

Beber's end was no leſs ſad. For when the *French* Companies Ships were arriv'd, M. *Caron*, who commanded them, and M. *Rambos*, with an *Armenian*, who had the management of the chiefeſt part of the buſineſs, had been acquainted with what had paſs'd at *Surat*, between *Beber* and the Capuchins. Preſently Affections and Intereſts parted. *Caron* and *Rambos* took *Beber's* part; the *Armenian* held for the Capuchins, which was at length the ruin of *Beber* and *Rambos*. The *Holland* Commander going aboard to viſit the Sieur *Caron*, upon his return would not permit the Captain to ſtir out of his Cabin; ſo that *Rambos* and the *Armenian* took upon them to wait upon the Commander. Upon this Occaſion the *Armenian* took upon him to precede *Rambos*, and briskly threw himſelf before the *French*-man; who being provok'd at the Affront, gave the *Armenian* a ſwinging cuff o' the Ear before all the company. To be ſhort, the Sieur *Caron*, *Rambos*, and *Beber* holding all together, the *Armenian* found himſelf too weak to reſiſt: and in regard he had the Management of the Caſh, he was accus'd of Misbehaviour, and was condemn'd to be hang'd. But becauſe they could not execute the Sentence which they had given at *Surat*, they ſent him away to the Council Royal of the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, of which M. *Mondevergue* was chief; who was ſo far from confirming the Sentence given at *Surat*, that he admitted the *Armenian* to juſtifie himſelf; and finding that he was not only innocent, but that he might be very uſeful to the Company, he ſent him back to *Surat* with more power then he had before. This put *Beber* and *Rambos* into a fit of Deſpair, to ſee the perſon whom they thought to have ruin'd, now above them. Thereupon they found a way to get 12000 *Roupies* a piece for their Wages, which they pretended to be due from the Company: and with that and 24000 *Roupies* which *Beber* had of his own they Embarqu'd both together for *Goa*. Where, being arriv'd, *Beber* dy'd ſoon after: But as for *Rambos*, he return'd home again through *Iſpahan*.

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Bay they found a River, whose Water was very good; and the Blacks of the Country brought them Refreshments of all sorts of Fowl, Fish, and Bullock's flesh. There they staid above 15 days, and before they set sail, they took two of the *Negro's*, which they carri'd along with them to *Goa*, to teach them the *Portuguese* Language; on purpose to try if they could discover by them any knowledge of the Trade of the Country. The *Dutch* Commander at *Surat* desir'd me, to inform my self, when I went to *Goa*, what the *Portugals* had learnt from those two *Negro's*. But one *St. Amand*, a *French* Ingeneer, who was Supervisor of the Fortifications of *Goa*, told me, That he could not make them learn one word of the Language; and that he could only guess by their signs, that they had some knowledge of *Ambergreece* and *Elephants Teeth*. The *Portugals* however made no question but to meet with Gold, if they could find a way to trade higher up i' the Country. The Revolutions of *Portugal*, and their Wars with *Spain* have hinder'd them from making any more particular discovery of the Coast. Which it were to be wish'd the *French* would undertake, provided they gave no cause of jealousie to the *Hollanders*, of what they were going about.

There is also a necessity of possessing, or at least having the liberty of some place near *Surat*, to ride safe in, and to wash and tallow in, in case they should be staid by the Rain-Seasons. The reason is, because that during that ill season, at what time it is impossible to keep the Seas, the *Mogul* jealous of his Fortress of *Surat* suffers no Foreign Vessel in the River, where nevertheless, the Ships being unladen, may ride securely from the terrible Tempests that last for five Months.

The only secure place for the Companies Vessels would be the Town of *Dia*, belonging to the *Portugals*.

The advantage of the situation is considerable for several reasons. The circuit of the City contains almost 400 Houses, and might be capable to receive a greater number of people, where the Ships would find all conveniencies during their stay. It is seated upon the Coast of *Guzerat*, upon a point of the Gulph of *Cambaye*, looking toward the South-east. The form of it is almost round; and above half the Circle environ'd by the Sea. It is not commanded by any Hill; and the *Portugals* have begun those Fortifications, which might be easily finish'd. It contains several Wells of very good Water, and a River which falls into the Sea near the City, whose Water is better then that of *Surat*, or *Sonali*, and the Harbour is very commodious for Shipping.

The *Portugals*, when they had first settl'd themselves in the *Indies*, kept there a Fleet compos'd of Galleys, Brigantines, and other light Vessels, whereby they made themselves Masters, for a long time, of all the Trade of the Places we have treated of. So that no Ship could trade, without the Governour of *Dia*'s Passport, who made it in the Name of the Viceroy that liv'd at *Goa*. The Imposition, which the Ships paid, was sufficient to maintain the Fleet and Garrison, and to enrich the Governour besides.

When the Rain-Seasons are over, that the wind sits at North and North-east, you may sail from *Dia* to *Surat* in three or four Tides with light Vessels; but great Ships that are laden must fetch a compass about the Bank.

The City has no Land belonging to it, but what it stands upon, yet it would be no difficult thing to agree with the *Raja*, or Governour of the

the Province, and to obtain as much as ſhould be ſufficient for the Inhabitants.

Neither is the Land about it very fertile, and beſides, the people are the pooreſt in the whole Empire of the *Mogul*. Nevertheleſs the Country is ſo well ſtor'd with Cattel, that an Ox or a *Bufalo* will not coſt above two *Piaſters*.

The *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* make uſe of theſe Cattel to feed their People, and to ſpare the Proviſions of their Ships, while they ſtay at *Souali*.

But it is obſervable that the *Bufalo*'s fleſh in thoſe parts cauſes frequent Dyſenteries, which the Bullocks fleſh or Beef never does.

The *Raja* that commands the Country has only the Title of Governour for life. Which is common to moſt of the *Raja's* in the *Mogul*'s Empire, whoſe Anceſtours were Lords of Provinces, where now their Deſcendants only enjoy the Titles of Governours.

Having thus got poſſeſſion of a good Poſt; the next thing of Importance is to chooſe out two men conſiderable for their Honeſty, Prudence, and Skill in Trade, who are to be allow'd the full of their Expences.

Theſe two perſons are to ſerve the Company, the one in the nature of a Preſident, with a Council, conſiſting of a certain number of perſons, to aſſiſt him. The other in the quality of a Broaker, who muſt be an Idolater of the Country, and not a *Mahumetan*, in regard all the Workmen he has to deal with are Idolaters.

Civility and Faith of Promiſe are altogether requiſit to gain Credit among ſtrangers. And theſe particular qualities are requir'd in the particular Broakers, who are under the Broaker-General in the Provinces where the Factories are ſettl'd.

Good Intelligence is neceſſary for theſe two perſons, to underſtand the alteration of Manufactures.

This alteration happens either through the craft and ſubtilty of the Workmen and the Merchants themſelves, or by the correſpondence of the Broakers and Workmen.

Which alteration may cauſe ſo much dammage to the Company, that the Broakers ſhall gain ten and twelve i' the hundred by it.

If the Preſident and Broaker-General combine with the particular Broakers and Merchants, it will be a difficult thing for the Company to avoid being deceiv'd; but if theſe two perſons are but faithful and honeſt, the fraud may be eaſily remedi'd by changing the particular Broakers.

The Officers of a Company may be unfaithful to their Truſt in this reſpect:

When a Veſſel arrives in Port, the Preſident for the Nation receives the Company's Letters, and the Bills of Lading; upon which he calls his Council, ſends for the Broaker, and gives him a Copy of the ſaid Bills.

The Broaker ſhews them to three or four of the principal Merchants of the Country, who are wont to buy by whole ſale. If the Preſident and the Broaker hold together for their own profit, the Broaker inſtead of facilitating the ſale as he ought to do, adviſes the Merchants to be ſhie, and to offer only ſuch a price: Then the Preſident ſends for the Broaker and theſe two or three Merchants; and in the preſence of the Council he asks the Merchants what they will give for the Goods in the Bills of Lading mention'd. If the Merchants are reſolute to give

no

no more then ſo much; The Preſident puts off the ſale 15 days longer, more or leſs, as he pretends himſelf preſs'd to ſell. In the mean time he ſends for the Merchants ſeveral times for a ſhew, and at length, to avoid ſuſpicion, and to diſcharge himſelf, he asks the advice of the Council, and as they approve, orders the delivery of the Goods to the Merchant.

But though the Temptations be very great, to which theſe two Officers are ſubject, by reaſon of their pow'r, their frequent opportunities, and their diſtance from their Superiours, the Company, beſides their being wary in their Election, may remedy theſe diſorders by depriving them of that pretence, which the *Dutch* Commanders and Broakers have, of being conſtrain'd to ſell off preſently to the Merchants in groſs, to avoid the expences of delay.

The Errour which the *Hollanders* commit in this reſpect is, That their Officers beſpeak every year upon Credit all the Goods which they have occaſion for in the Empire of the *Mogul*, according to the Orders which they receive from *Batavia*.

The credit of this Advance coſts them ſometimes twelve, ſometimes fifteen *per Cent*; ſo that ſo ſoon as their laden Veſſels are arriv'd in the the Port where they are to be ſold, they are oblig'd to ſell them preſently off at the Merchants rate firſt offer'd to their Broakers, to make up a preſent ſtock to pay off their credit for the Goods beſpoke for their Ships to carry back again, and to get more credit for the next year. This is that which cheriſhes that confederacy between the Preſident, the Broaker and the Merchant, who makes advantage enough of this neceſſity of ſelling.

Whereas the better way were, for them that carry the ſame Commodities which the *Hollanders* do, to carry Money alſo to pay the Workmen for the Goods beſpoken for the next year.

The Company making this advantage ſhall not be put to pay that great Intereſt of 12 and 15 *per Cent.*: and beſides, they ſhall have better Goods, and better cheap. The Ships loading ſhall be ready before they arrive in Port; and being quick laden they may return before the bad Seaſon. Neither ſhall the Company be put to ſell their Goods at a low price; becauſe their Broakers will have time to ſtay for the coming of Merchants from other parts; or elſe becauſe they have time enough to ſend them to other places, where they are ſure of a quicker ſale.

Obſerve alſo, That it is far more profitable to carry to the *Indies* Gold and Silver in Ingots, rather then ready coin'd; for being coin'd the Money is valu'd only according to their Alloys; and there is always a defalcation made for the charge of Coinage.

The Broaker alſo, if he be diſhoneſt, may combine with the Maſter of the *Mogul*'s Mint, which is ſettl'd in ſeveral parts of the Empire, and put a lower value upon the Gold and Silver then it deſerves, by telling the Preſident and Council, that upon the touch it appears to be no more worth.

But it is an eaſie thing to avoid this deceit, provided the Preſident be a perſon of credit and prudence, by ſending for one of the Refiners of Gold and Silver, that live in the Country, who perfectly underſtand the Touch of Metals, and to let him Eſſay the Gold and Silver before the Broaker's face.

This is that which the Sieur *Walkenton* did for the *Holland* Company

in

in their Factory at *Cassimbazar*, where he bought every year six or seven thousand Bales of Silk. For by this Essay he found, that his Broaker being in confederacy with the Master of the Mint, had cheated the Company of one and a half and two *per Cent.* in the value of the Gold and Silver which was brought him from *Japan*, as well coin'd as in barr, to a very considerable sum of Money.

The Broaker also may confederate with the Master of the Mint to couzen the Merchant in weghing his Gold or Silver, by making use of false Weights or Scales unduly pois'd.

But that fraud is easily avoided, if the President and his Council will be but so patient as to see their Metal weigh'd themselves, and take care that the Weights be right, and the Scales true.

One of the most important Observations in reference to the Trade of the Company, and discipline of their Factories is this:

To prevent the Merchants or under-Merchants, Accomptants and under-Accomptants, who officiate under the Commanders and Broakers, from driving any particular Trade by themselves, for they having a familiarity with the men of Manufacture, and finding by the Letters of Advice what Goods are likely to be most vendible next year, buy them up upon their own accompts, and find a way to lade them off in the Company's Vessels, to the great dammage of the whole, though to the great gain of particular people.

And this the President permits them to do, either for his own Interest, or by connivance under the pretence of their small Wages. The Captain of the Vessel also winks at what they do, because he has a spell for loading and unloading. And because these people having no great Stocks, are desirous to put off their Goods with the first opportunities, they give order to their Correspondents to under-sell the Company ten or twelve in the Hundred, which is the absolute ruin of a Trade.

To remedy this disorder there ought to be a Fiscal, or King's Proctor, in every of the chief Factories belonging to the Company, to act in the King's Name, and by his Authority.

He is to be independent from the President and the Broaker, in the Exercise of his Office; so that he may have an eye, as well upon their behaviour, as upon the demeanour of the under Officers.

He ought to be a person of good Credit, resolute and vigilant; and he must have a strength of men correspondent to his Employment, and a Deputy to act under him.

He is to have good Information of the departure of all Ships when they are once laden, and when they are ready to set sail for the Port whither they are bound. When he hears of the Arrival of any Ship, he ought to go himself, or send his Deputy with a sufficient Guard, to take an Accompt of the Ship's Lading.

If it be a place near to which there are any small Islands, or by-Nooks, it behoves him to take care that no Goods be privately convey'd ashoar in those private corners, where there are receivers a now ready: and whatever he finds thus privately unladen he shall have power to confiscate.

He shall also confiscate whatever he finds not Mark'd with the Company's Mark.

He may also discharge any inferiour Officers to whom any such Bales shall

ſhall belong; and for the ſuperiour Officers, he ſhall complain of them to the Company.

He ſhall have pow'r to open all private Letters, to inform himſelf of Prohibited Goods, and Private Correſpondencies.

This Prohibition of Private Trading cannot be too ſeverely impos'd, and it is obſerv'd with ſo much exactneſs in *Holland*, that when one of the Company's Ships is ready to ſet ſail from *Amſterdam*, a Burgomaſter gives the Captain and all the reſt of the Seamen their Oaths, that they ſhall be contented with their Wages, and meddle with nothing of Trade.

All the Officers of the Factory ſhould be advanc'd by degrees, ſo that a ſub-Accomptant may have hopes to be a Preſident; that the hopes of Advancement may oblige them to live with more credit, and cauſe them to ſtudy to make themſelves more capable of all the Intrigues and Subtilties of the Trade of the Country.

It is of great importance not to ſhew any favour in this particular of preferment, unleſs he have paſs'd through all particular Degrees and Offices beforehand. And thus much concerning the Diſcipline of the Factories.

OF

OF THE

COMMODITIES

WHICH ARE

Brought as well out of the Dominions of the GREAT MOGUL, *as out of the Kingdoms of* Golconda *and* Viſapour, *and other neighbouring Territories; And alſo of the* Weights *and* Prices *of the ſaid* Commodities.

Of their Silk.

Aſembaſar, a Village in the Kingdom of *Bengala*, ſends abroad every year two and twenty-thouſand Bales of Silk; every Bale weighing a hunder'd pound. The two and twenty Bales make two millions and two-hunder'd-thouſand pound, at ſixteen ounces to the pound. The *Hollanders* uſually carry away ſix or ſeven-thouſand Bales, and would carry away more, did not the Merchants of *Tartary*, and the *Mogul*'s Empire oppoſe them: for they buy up as much as the *Hollander*; the reſt the Natives keep to make their Stuffs. This Silk is alſo brought into the Kingdom of *Guzerat*, the greateſt part whereof comes to *Amadabat*, and to *Surat*, where it is wrought up.

In the firſt place they make Carpets of Silk and Gold, others of Silk and Silver, others all of Silk: for the Worſted Carpets are made at *Vettapour*, ſome twelve leagues from *Agra*.

In the ſecond place they make Satins with ſtreaks of Gold and Silver; others plain: with Taffata's after the ſame faſhion.

In the third place they make *Patoles*, which are a ſort of Silk-ſtuff very thin, but painted with all ſorts of Flowers, the manufacture whereof is at *Amadabat*. They coſt from eight *Roupies* to forty the piece. This is a Commodity wherein the *Dutch* will not ſuffer any one of the *Hollanders* to trade in particular: for they tranſport it to the *Philippine-Iſlands*, to the Iſlands of *Borneo*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, and other neighbouring Iſlands.

The raw-Silk of *Kaſembaſar* is yellowiſh, as are all the raw-Silks that come from *Perſia* and *Sicily*; but the Natives of *Kaſembaſar* have a way to whiten it, with a Lye made of the aſhes of a Tree which they call *Adam*'s Fig-tree; which makes it as white as the *Paleſtine*-Silk. The *Hollanders* ſend away all their Merchandize which they fetch out of *Ben-*

gala, by water, through a great Canal that runs from *Kasembasar* into *Ganges*, for fifteen leagues together; from whence it is as far by water down the *Ganges* to *Ouguely*, where they lade their Ships.

Of the Calicuts: and first of the painted Calicuts, call'd Chites.

Chites or Painted Calicuts, which they call *Calmendar*, that is to say, done with a Pencil, are made in the Kingdom of *Golconda*; and particularly about *Maslipatan*. But there is made so little, that though a man should employ all the Workmen that understand the Art of weaving Calicuts, he would hardly find enough to make three Bales.

The *Chites* which are made in the Empire of the Great *Mogul* are all printed; and nothing so beautiful, neither for the figures nor the fineness of the Linnen. Those which are made at *Lahor*, are the coarsest, and consequently the cheapest of all. They are sold by *Corges*, every *Corge* consisting of twenty pieces, which cost from 16 to 30 *Roupies*.

The *Chites* which are made at *Serounge*, are sold from 20 to 50 *Roupies* the *Corge*, or thereabouts.

These *Chites* serve for Coverlets for Beds, for Sofra's or Table-cloaths after the Country-fashion, Pillowbears, Handkerchiefs, but more especially for Wastcoats as well for the men as women in *Persia*.

The fine Calicut-*Chites* are made at *Brampour*; and are us'd for Handkerchiefs by those that snuff Tobacco.

The women also, over all *Asia*, make Veils of these Calicuts, to wear over their heads, and about their shoulders, which Veils are call'd *Ormis*.

The *Basta's* or Calicuts painted red, blue, and black, are carri'd white to *Agra*, and *Amadabat*; in regard those Cities are neerest to the places where the *Indigo* is made that is us'd in colouring. They cost from two *Roupies* to 30 or 40 a-piece, according to the fineness and the quantity of Gold at the ends, and sometimes upon the sides. The *Indians* have a way to dip some of these Calicuts in a certain water that makes them look like Water'd-Chamlets, which adds also to the price.

That sort which is sold for two *Roupies*, and so onward till ye come to twelve, is transported to the Coast of *Melinda*, and it is the greatest Trade the Governour of *Mosambique* drives, who sells them to the *Cafres*, that vend them again among the *Abyssins*, and into the Kingdom of *Saba*: for those people not understanding the use of Soap, need no more but only to wash these Calicuts in water. That sort which is valu'd from 12 *Roupies* upward, is transported to the *Philippine*-Islands, the Islands of *Borneo*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, and other adjacent places. Where the women wear no other clothes, then a single piece of this Calicut. One part whereof, without cutting it, serves for a Petticoat; the other they wind about their stomachs and their heads.

White Calicuts.

WHite Calicuts come partly from *Agra*, and about *Lahor*, part from *Bengala*: some from *Brouda*, *Baroche*, *Renonsari*, and other places. They are brought out of the Loom to *Renonsari*, and *Baroche*, where they are whiten'd by reason of the convenience of their Meadows, and the great store of Limons that grow thereabouts. For the Calicuts are never so white as they should be, till they are dipt in Limon-water.

The

The Calicuts that come from *Agra*, *Lahor*, and *Bengala*, are ſold by the *Corge*, and they are of ſeveral prices, from ſeventeen *Roupies* to three or four-hunder'd, as the Merchant will have them wov'n.

The Calicuts that come from *Renonſari*, and *Baroche*, are one and twenty cubits long, new out of the Loom; but in the whitening they ſhrink to twenty cubits.

Thoſe of *Brouda* twenty cubits from the Loom, and ſhrink in the whitening to nineteen and a half.

All the Calicuts or *Baſta's* that come from theſe three Cities, are of two ſorts: for ſome are broad, ſome are narrow. The narrow are thoſe I have already mention'd, the prices whereof are various, from two *Mamoudi's* to ſix.

The broad *Baſta's* are a cubit, and one third part wide; the whole piece twenty cubits long. The uſual price of them is from five *Mamoudi's* to twelve: but a Merchant being upon the place, may cauſe them to be made much more large and fine, till they are worth five-hundred *Mamoudi's* a-piece. I ſaw two pieces ſold for a thouſand *Mamoudi's*.

The *Engliſh* bought one, and the *Hollanders* another, each Piece containing eight and twenty cubits.

Mahamed Alibeg returning into *Perſia* out of *India*, where he had been Embaſſador, preſented *Cha-Sef* the ſecond with a Coco-nut, about the bigneſs of an Auſtrich-egg, all beſet with Pearls: and when 'twas open'd there was taken out of it a Turbant that had ſixty cubits of Calicut in length to make it, the Cloath being ſo fine, that you could hardly feel it in your hand: For they will ſpin their thread ſo fine, that the eye can hardly diſcern it, or at leaſt it ſeems to be but a Cob-web.

Twiſted-Cotton.

COtton twiſted and untwiſted comes from the Provinces of *Brampour* and *Guzerat*. Untwiſted Cotton is never tranſported into *Europe*, being too cumberſome, and of little value; only they ſend it to *Ormus*, *Balſara*, and ſometimes to the *Philippine*-Iſlands, and the Iſlands of *Sinde*. As for the twiſted Cottons, the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* tranſport a good quantity, not of the fineſt, but of that ſort which is pric'd from fifteen to fifty *Mamoudi's*: It ſerves for wieks for Candles, for Packſaddles, and for the ground of Silk-ſtuffs.

Indigo.

INdigo comes from ſeveral parts of the Great *Mogul*'s Empire; and according to the diverſity of the places it differs in quality, and conſequently in price.

In the firſt place, it comes from the Territories of *Biana*, *Indoua*, and *Corſa*, a day or two's journey from *Agra*: which is eſteem'd the beſt of all. It is made alſo eight days journey from *Surat*, in a Village called *Sarqueſs*, two leagues diſtance from *Amadabat*. Here the flat *Indigo* is made. There is alſo *Indigo* little inferior in goodneſs and price, which comes from the King of *Golconda*'s Territories. The *Mein* of *Surat*, which contains 42 *Serre's*, or 34 and a half of our pounds, is valu'd from 15 to 20 *Roupies*. They make as good as this at *Baroche*. That which is made up about *Agra* is made up in half Balls, and is the moſt ſought for in all *India*.

It is sold by the *Mein*, which in those places contains 60 *Serres*, or 51 and three quarters of our pounds. The usual price is from 36 to 40 *Roupies*. There grows also *Indigo* some 36 leagues from *Brampour*, about a great Village call'd *Raout*, and round about the neighbouring Towns in the road to *Surat*: Of which the Natives usually make above a hunder'd-thousand *Roupies*.

There comes *Indigo* also from *Bengala*, which the *Holland*-Company transports for *Maslipatan*. But they buy this *Indigo*, and that of *Brampour* and *Amadabat*, cheaper by 24 in the hunder'd, then that of *Agra*.

Indigo is made of an Herb which they sow every year after the rains are over: which when it is grown up, is very like our Hemp. They cut it three times a year; first when it is about two or three foot high; and they cut it within half a foot of the ground; the first cutting far exceeds the two latter. The second cutting is worse then the first by ten or twelve in the hunder'd. And the third worse then the second by 12 in the hunder'd. The difference is found by breaking a piece of the Paste, and observing the colour. The colour of that *Indigo* which is made of the first cutting, is a Violet-blue, but more brisk and lively than the two others: and that which is made of the second is more lively then the third.

When they have cut the Herb, they throw it into Pits which they make with Lime, which becomes so hard, that you would judg it to be one intire piece of Marble. They are generally fourscore or a hunder'd paces in circuit; and being half full of water, they fill them quite up with the Herb. Then they bruise and jumble it in the water till the leaf, for the stalk is worth nothing, becomes like a kind of thick mud. This being done, they let it settle for some days; and when the setling is all at the bottom, and the water clear above, they let out all the water. When the water is all drain'd out, they fill several baskets with this slime, and in a plain Field you shall see several men at work, every one at his own basket, making up little pieces of *Indigo* flat at the bottom, at the top sharp like an egg. Though at *Amadabat* they make their pieces quite flat like a small cake. Here you are to take particular notice, that the Merchants, because they would not pay custom for an unnecessary weight, before they transport their *Indigo* out of *Asia* into *Europe*, are very careful to cause it to be sifted, to separate the dust from it; which they sell afterwards to the Natives of the Countrey to dye their Calicuts. They that sift this *Indigo* must be careful to keep a Linnen-cloath before their faces, and that their nostrils be well-stopt, leaving only two little holes for their eyes. Besides, they must every half hour be sure to drink milk, which is a great preservative against the piercing quality of the dust. Yet notwithstanding all this caution, they that have sifted *Indigo* for nine or ten days, shall spit nothing but blew for a good while together. Once I laid an Egg in the morning among the sifters, and when I came to break it in the evening it was all blew within.

As they take the Paste out of the Baskets with their Fingers dipt in Oil, and make it into Lumps, or Cakes, they lay them in the Sun to dry. Which is the reason that when the Merchants buy *Indigo*, they burn some pieces of it, to try whether there be any dust among it. For the Natives who take the Paste out of the Baskets to make it into Lumps, lay it in the Sand, which mixes with the Paste, and fouls it. But when the Merchants burn it, the *Indigo* turns to Ashes, and the Sand remains. The Governours do what they can to make the Natives leave their

Knavery;

Knavery; but notwithstanding all their care, there will be some deceit.

Salt-Peter.

GReat store of *Salt-Peter* comes from *Agra* and *Patna*; but the refin'd costs three times more then that which is not. The *Hollanders* have set up a Ware-House fourteen Leagues above *Patna*, and when their *Salt-Peter* is refin'd, they transport it by water by *Ogueli*. A Mein of refin'd *Salt-Peter* is worth seven Mamoudi's.

Spice.

CArdamom, Ginger, Pepper, Nutmegs, Nutmeg-Flowers, Cloves and Cinnamon, are all the different sorts of Spices known to us. I put Cardamom and Ginger in the first place, because that Cardamom grows in the Territories of *Visapour*, and Ginger in the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*. And as for other Spices, they are brought from other Foreign parts to *Surat*, which is the grand Mart.

Cardamom is the most excellent of all other Spices, but it is very scarce; and in regard there is no great store in the place where it grows, it is only made use of in *Asia*, at the Tables of great Princes. Five hundred pound of Cardamoms, are pric'd from a hundred to a hundred and ten Rials.

Ginger is brought in great quantities from *Amadabat*, where there grows more than in any other part of *Asia*; and it is hardly to be imagin'd how much there is transported candited into Foreign parts.

Pepper is of two sorts. There is a sort which is very small, another sort much bigger; both which sorts are distinguish'd into small and great Pepper. The larger sort comes from the Coast of *Malavare*; and *Tuticorin* and *Calicut* are the Cities where it is brought up. Some of this Pepper comes from the Territories of the King of *Visapour*, being vended at *Rejapour*, a little City in that Kingdom. The *Hollanders* that purchase it of the *Malavares*, do not give Money for it, but several sorts of Commodities in Exchange; as Cotten, Opium, Vermilion, and Quicksilver; and this is the Pepper which is brought into *Europe*. As for the little Pepper that comes from *Bantam*, *Aschen*, and some other parts toward the East, there is none of it carried out of *Asia*, where it is spent in vast quantities, especially among the *Mahumetans*. For there are double the Grains of small Pepper in one pound, to what there are of the great Pepper; besides that the great Pepper is hotter in the mouth.

The little Pepper that comes to *Surat*, has been sold some years for thirteen or fourteen Mamoudi's the Mein; and so much I have seen the *English* give for it, to transport it to *Ormus*, *Balsara*, and the Red Sea. As for the great Pepper, which the *Hollanders* fetch from the Coast of *Malavare*, five hundred pound in truck brings them in not above thirty-eight Reals; but by the Commodities which they give in Barter, they gain *Cent. per Cent.*

The Nutmeg, the Nutmeg-Flow'r, the Clove, and Cinnamon, are the only Spices which the *Hollanders* have in their own hands. The three first come from the *Molucca* Islands; the fourth, which is Cinnamon, from the Island of *Ceylan*.

'Tis

'Tis obſervable of the Nutmeg, that the Tree which bears it is never planted, which has been confirm'd to me by ſeveral perſons that have liv'd ſeveral years in the Country. They related to me, that the Nutmeg being ripe, ſeveral Birds come from the Iſlands toward the South, and devour it whole, but are forc'd to throw it up again before it be digeſted. The Nutmeg then beſmear'd with a viſcous matter, falling to the ground takes root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive were it planted. This puts me in mind of making one obſervation upon the Birds of Paradiſe. Theſe Birds being very greedy after Nutmegs, come in flights to gorge themſelves with the pleaſing Spice, at the ſeaſon, like Felfares in Vintage time; but the ſtrength of the Nutmeg ſo intoxicates them, that they fall dead drunk to the Earth, where the Emets in a ſhort time eat off their Legs. Hence it comes, that the Birds of Paradiſe are ſaid to have no Feet, which is not true however, for I have ſeen three or four that had Feet; and a *French* Merchant ſent one from *Aleppo* as a Preſent to *Lewis* the Thirteenth that had Feet; of which the King made great account, as being a very lovely Fowl.

But notwithſtanding all the *Hollanders* Projects, you may buy Cloves at *Macaſſar* without purchaſing them of the *Hollander*; in regard the Iſlanders buy them of the *Dutch* Captains and Soldiers, which the *Hollanders* have in thoſe places where the Cloves grow, giving them in exchange Rice, and other neceſſaries for the ſupport of life, without which they would ſtarve, being very ſadly provided for.

When the Natives of *Macaſſar* are thus furniſh'd of Cloves, they barter them in Exchange for ſuch Commodities as are brought them; ſometimes they give Tortoiſe-Shells in exchange, and Gold Duſt; by which the Merchant gains ſix or ſeven in the hundred, being better than the Money of the Iſland, though it be Gold, by reaſon the King oftimes enhances the value of it. The places where Cloves grow, are *Amboyna*, *Ellias*, *Seram*, and *Bouro*.

The Iſlands of *Banda* alſo, in number ſix, *viz. Nero*, *Lontour*, *Poulcay*, *Roſeguin*, and *Grenapuis*, bear Nutmegs in great abundance. The Iſland of *Grenapuis* is about ſix Leagues in compaſs, and ends in a ſharp point, where there is a continual fire burning out of the earth. The Iſland *Damme*, where there grows great ſtore of Nutmegs, and very big, was diſcover'd in the year 1647, by *Abel Taſman*, a *Dutch* Commander.

The Price of Cloves and Nutmegs, as I have known them ſold to the *Hollanders* at *Surat*, was as follows.

The Mein of *Surat* contains forty Serres, which make thirty-four of our Pounds, at ſixteen Ounces to the Pound.

A Mein of Cloves was ſold for a hundred and three Mamoudi's and a half.

A Mein of Mace was ſold for a hundred and fifty-ſeven Mamoudi's and a half.

Nutmegs for fifty-ſix Mamoudi's and a half.

Cinnamon comes at preſent from the Iſland of *Ceylan*. The Tree that bears it is very much like the Willow, and has three Barks. They never take off but the firſt and ſecond, which is accounted the beſt. They never meddle with the third, for ſhould the Knife enter that, the Tree would dye. So that it is an art to take off the Cinnamon, which they learn from their youth. The Cinnamon Spice is much dearer to the *Hollanders* then people think; for the King of *Ceylan*, otherwiſe call'd

King

King of *Candy*, from the name of his principal City, being a ſworn Enemy to the *Hollanders*, ſends his Forces with an intention to ſurprize them; when they gather their Cinnamon; ſo that they are forc'd to bring ſeven or eight hundred men together to defend as many more that are at work. Which great expence of theirs very much enhances the price of the Cinnamon. There grows upon the Cinnamon Tree a certain fruit like an Olive, though not to be eaten. This the *Portugals* were wont to put into a Caldron of Water, together with the tops of the Branches, and boil'd it till the Water was all conſum'd. When it was cold, the upper part became a Paſte like white Wax; of which they made Tapers to ſet up in their Churches, for no ſooner were the Tapers lighted, but all the Church was perfum'd. Formerly the *Portugals* brought Cinnamon out of other Countries, belonging to the *Raja's* about *Cochin*. But the *Hollanders* have deſtroy'd all thoſe places, ſo that the Cinnamon is now in their hands. When the *Portugals* had that Coaſt, the *Engliſh* bought their Cinnamon of them, and uſually paid for it by the Mein fifty Mamoudi's.

Drugs that are brought to Surat, *and brought from other Countries, with the price of every one by the Mein.*

Salt Armoniack according to the uſual price, coſts by the Mein twenty Mamoudi's.

Borax, comes unrefin'd from *Amadabat*, as does Salt Armoniack, and coſts by the Mein thirty-five Mamoudi's.

Gum-Lack, ſeven Mamoudi's and a half.

Gum-Lack waſh'd, ten Mamoudi's.

Gum-Lack in ſticks of Wax, forty Mamoudi's.

There are ſome of theſe Sticks that coſt fifty or ſixty Mamoudi's the Mein, and more when they mix Musk in the Gum.

Saffron of *Surat*, which is good for nothing but for colouring, four Mamoudi's and a half.

Cumin White, eight Mamoudi's.

Cumin Black, three Mamoudi's.

Arlet ſmall, three Mamoudi's.

Frankincenſe, that comes from the Coaſt of *Arabia*, three Mamoudi's.

Myrrh, that which is good, call'd *Mirra Gilet*, thirty Mamoudi's.

Myrrh *Bolti*, which comes from *Arabia*, fifteen Mamoudi's.

Caſſia, two Mamoudi's.

Sugar Candy, eighteen Mamoudi's.

Aſutinat, a ſort of Grain, very hot, one Mamoudi.

Anniſe-ſeed groſs, three Mamoudi's and a half.

Anniſe-ſeed ſmall and hot, one Mamoudi and a half.

Oupelote, a Root, fourteen Mamoudi's.

Cointre, five Mamoudi's.

Auzerout, from *Perſia*, a hundred and twenty Mamoudi's.

Alloes Succotrine, from *Arabia*, twenty eight Mamoudi's.

Licorice, four Mamoudi's.

Lignum Aloes, in great pieces, two hundred Mamoudi's.

Lignum Aloes, in ſmall pieces, four hundred Mamoudi's.

Vez-Cabouli, a certain Root, twelve Mamoudi's.

There is a ſort of Lignum Aloes very Gummy, which comes to, by the Mein, four thouſand Mamoudi's.

Gum-

Gum-Lake for the most part comes from *Pegu*; yet there is some also brought from *Bengala*, where it is very dear, by reason the Natives fetch that lively Scarlet colour out of it, with which they paint their Calicuts. Nevertheless, the *Hollanders* buy it, and carry it into *Persia* for the same use of painting. That which remains after the colour is drawn off, is only fit to make sealing Wax. That which comes from *Pegu* is not so dear, though as good for other Countries. The difference is only this, that it is not so clean in *Pegu*, where the Pismires foul it, as in *Bengala*, where it grows in a heathy place, full of shrubs, where those Animals cannot so well come at it. The Inhabitants of *Pegu* never make any use of it in painting, being a dull sort of people, that are in nothing at all industrious.

The Women of *Surat* get their livings by cleansing the Lake after the Scarlet colour is drawn from it. After that they give it what colour they please, and make it up into Sticks for sealing Wax. The *English* and *Holland* Company carry away every year a hundred and fifty Chests. The price is about ten Pence the pound.

Powder'd Sugar is brought in great quantities out of the Kingdom of *Bengala*; it causes also a very great Trade at *Ougeli*, *Patna*, *Daca*, and other places. I have been told it for a very great certainty, by several ancient people in *Bengala*, that Sugar being kept thirty years becomes absolute poison, and that there is no Venom more dangerous, or that sooner works its effect. Loaf-Sugar is also made at *Amadabat*, where they are perfectly skill'd in refining it; for which reason it is call'd Sugar Royal. These Sugar Loaves usually weigh from eight to ten pound.

Opium is brought from *Brampour*, a Town of good Trade between *Agra* and *Surat*. The *Hollanders* buy great quantities, which they truck for their Pepper.

Tobacco also grows in abundance round about *Brampour*; sometimes there has been so much that the Natives have let vast quantities rot upon the ground, for want of gathering.

Coffee grows neither in *Persia* nor in *India*, where it is in no request; but the *Hollanders* drive a great Trade in it, transporting it from *Ormus* into *Persia*, as far as Great *Tartary*, from *Balsara* into *Chaldea*, *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, and the other Provinces of *Turky*. It was first found out by a Hermite, whose name was *Sheck-Siadeli*, about twenty years ago, before which time it was never heard of in any Author either ancient or modern.

Deceits in Silk Wares.

PLain Silk Wares may be alter'd in length, breadth, and quality. The quality shews it self when they are of an even thread, when the weight is equal, and when there is no Cotton thread in the Weft.

The *Indians* not having the art of gilding silver, put into their strip'd Wares threads of pure Gold, so that you must count the quantity of Gold threads to see whether the Silk have its due number. And this also you must observe in your Silks wov'n with Silver. As for Taffata's, you are only to mind whether the pieces be all of a fineness, and to see by unfolding some of them, that there be nothing within to augment the weight, and then weighing all the pieces by themselves, to see that they all agree.

The

The colours of those Carpets which are made in *India*, do not last so long as the colour of those which are made in *Persia*; but for the workmanship it is very lovely. The eye of the Broaker is to judge of the largeness, beauty, and fineness of those Carpets which are wrought with Gold and Silver, and whether they be fine and rich. But whether they be Carpets, or other Stuffs mix'd with Gold and Silver, it behoves the Buyer to pull out some of the Gold and Silver Threads, to see whether they be of the right value or no.

Deceits in the White Calicuts.

THe deceits usually put upon Calicuts, are in fineness, length, and breadth. Every Bale may contain two hundred pieces; among which they will juggle in five or six or ten, less fine, or less white, shorter or narrower than according to the scantling of the Bale, which cannot be found out but by examining them piece by piece. The fineness is discern'd by the eye, the length and breadth by the measure. But the *Indians* practise a more cunning way, which is to count the number of threads which ought to be in the breadth, according to the fineness of the scantling. When the number fails, it is either more transparent, more narrow, or more course. The difference is sometimes so difficult to be perceiv'd, that there is no way to find it out but by counting the threads. And yet this difference in a great quantity comes to a great deal. For it is nothing to couzen a Crown or two Crowns in a piece that comes but to fifteen or twenty Crowns. Those that whiten these Calicuts, to save charges of a few Limons, will knock the Calicuts excessively upon a Stone, which does fine Calicuts a great injury, and lowers the price.

As for their Calicuts dy'd blew or black, you must take care that the Workmen do not knock them after they are folded, to make them look sleek; for many times when they come to be unfolded, you shall find holes in the creases.

As for your painted and printed Calicuts, which are painted and printed as they come out of the Loom, the Merchant must take care that what he bespeaks be finish'd before the end of the Rains, for the thicker the Water is where they are wash'd, the more lively will the printed and painted colours appear. It is easie to distinguish between the printed and the painted Calicuts; and between the neatness of the work: but for the fineness and other qualities, they are not so easily discern'd; and therefore the Broaker must be more careful.

Cheats in Cotton.

THe cheat in the weight is twofold. The first, by laying them in a moist place; and thrusting in the middle of every Skain something to add to the weight. The second, in not giving good weight when the Broaker receives it from the Workman, or Merchant that delivers it.

There is but one cheat in the quality, that is by putting three or four Skains, of a coarser Commodity then that which is uppermost, into one *Mein*. Which in a great quantity mounts high; for there are some Cottons that are worth an hunder'd Crowns the *Mein*. These two cheats

being often us'd by the *Holland*-Company, there is no way but to weigh your Commodity in the presence of the *Dutch*-Commander, and his Councel, and to examin every *Mein* Skain by Skain. When this is done, they who are order'd to be at his examination, are oblig'd to fix to every Bale a ticket of the weight and quality: for if there be a faileur, they who fix the ticket are engag'd to make good what is wanting.

Deceits in Indigo.

I Have told you, that when the Work-men have made up the Indigo-Paste into lumps, with their fingers dipt in Oil, they lay them in the Sun a drying. Now those that have a design to cheat the Merchants, dry them in the sand, to the end that the sand sticking to the Indigo, should encrease the weight. Sometimes they lay up their Paste in moist places, which makes it give, and consequently renders it more heavy. But if the Governour of the place discovers the cheat, he makes them severely pay for it: and the best way of discovery is to burn some pieces of Indigo, for the sand will remain.

Indian Broakers.

THe Broakers are as it were the Masters of the *Indian* Families; for they have all Goods at their disposal. The Work-men choose the most aged and most experienc'd, who are to endeavour equal advantages for the whole Tribe they undertake for. Every evening that they return from their business, and that, according to the custom of the *Indians*, who make no Suppers, they have eaten some little piece of sweet-meat, and drank a glass of water, the eldest of the Tribe meet at the Broaker's House, who gives them an account of what he has done that day, and then they consult what he is to do next. Above all things, they caution him to look to his hits, and to cheat, rather then be cheated.

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FINIS.

A New and Particular

RELATION
Of the KINGDOM of
TUNQUIN:

With a MAP of the COUNTRY and several FIGURES.

CHAP. I.

A Discourse in general concerning the City of Tunquin, *and of the Manner how the Author came to have knowledge thereof.*

THE Kingdom of *Tunquin* has been long unknown to the People of *Europe*; neither have they, who have given us Relations thereof, well understood the Country, as having trusted too much to defective and fabulous Descriptions and Observations. Not that I am willing to be over severe in censuring; but submissively I am bold to affirm, That this which I here make Public was extracted out of my Brother's Writings, of which I had the overlooking in

my ſecond Voyage that I made to the *Indies*; and of which I was the more confident, for that the Author had been one who had made Eleven or Twelve Voyages from *Batavia*, *Bantam*, and *Achem*, to *Tunquin*. Other Obſervations I collected from the *Tunquineſi* themſelves, with whom I have had ſeveral Diſcourſes, during the time that I was at *Batavia* and *Bantam*, where they principally trade. And that which gave me the more light was this, That thoſe Merchants ſeveral times bring along with them ſome of their *Bonze's* or Prieſts, as alſo ſome of their Learned Men to teach their Children to Write and Read. For theſe Merchants when they make a Voyage by Sea, carry all their Families along with them. And from theſe *Bonze's* and other Learned Men I had ſeveral Obſervations and Memoirs in Writing, as being deſirous to be inform'd by me of the Government and Situation of our *France*. And as I was never without an *Atlas* and ſome other particular Maps, they were raviſh'd with admiration, when I ſhew'd them the Structure and Compoſure of the whole World, and the Situation of its ſeveral Kingdoms and Eſtates.

Therefore may the Reader with the more pleaſure and delight peruſe theſe Relations, when he has ſo much reaſon to be perſuaded that they are cordially done, and that they are made public by a perſon whoſe ſincerity has no deſign to abuſe him. My Brother, who was a perſon both cunning and couragious, and one that lov'd to Travel as well as my ſelf, having heard much talk in the *Indies* of the Grandeur of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, reſolv'd to go thither, and as he had a particular gift to learn a Language in a little time, he ſoon grew familiar with the *Malaye*, which is the Language of the Learned in thoſe quarters of *Aſia*, as *Latin* is among Us in *Europe*. He underſtood that Silk, Musk, and other Commodities of the like nature, were much cheaper there then in other places adjoyning, and that the People dealt with more fairneſs and honeſty. Upon the encouragement of which Information he prepar'd a Ship, and made his Voyages with good ſucceſs.

He always carri'd with him a good Sum of Money; and more then that, he ſtor'd himſelf with a conſiderable number of ſmall Curioſities, to preſent the King and his Nobility, according to the general Cuſtom of all the Eaſtern Countries:

Thus

This he came to be well receiv'd the first time that he set foot in the Country; so that the Customer being by him oblig'd with a small Clock, a pair of small Pistols, and two Pictures, which were the Pictures of two *Curtesans*, immediately gave notice to the King of his arrival. Thereupon having order to attend the Court, and coming to kiss the King's hands, the whole Assembly was surpris'd to hear a Stranger, born in a Country so far distant, speak the *Malaye* Language so fluently. The King gave him a favourable reception, and kindly receiv'd the Present which he brought along with him. It was a very noble Sword, of which the Handle and Hilt were all over enchac'd with Rubies and Emraulds, with a Backsword Blade. To this he added a pair of Pistols, adorn'd and inlaid with Silver, a *Persian* Saddle and Bridle, embroider'd with Gold and Silver, a Bow and Quiver full of Arrows, and six Pictures, like those which he had given the Customer. These things highly pleas'd the King, who presently drew forth the Sword out of the Scabbard, the better to look upon and consider it. At length one of his Sons took it up, to try whether it would fit his hand as well as those of his own Country, and offer'd to make a blow. My Brother, seeing the young Prince handle the Weapon gracefully enough, after the manner of the Country, told the King, that if he pleas'd, he would show the King how they handled that Weapon in *France*, of which the King readily consented to be a Spectatour.

This was my Brother's first Reception at Court; for he made several Voyages to *Tunquin*, and every time that he return'd, they still the more and more obligingly entertain'd him. But that which fix'd him more in the good opinion and favour of the King and Lords of the Court, was his frolic and gentile behaviour in playing with them for several large Sums, insomuch that being one that ventur'd deep, he lost above 20000 Crowns in one Voyage. However the King, who was a generous Prince, would not suffer him to be a loser, but gave him those considerable Presents that suppli'd his losses. By means of my Brother's thus long sojourning in *Tunquin*, and the familiar acquaintance which he had at Court, together with the Trade which he drove in the Kingdom, as he was diligent to inform himself of all the Curiosities of the Country, it was easie for me upon

the ſame foundation to lay the Structure of theſe Memoirs. Though I may ſafely ſay, I was no leſs laborious in my own particular, and by the frequent Diſcourſes which I had with a great number of the *Tunquineſes*, with whom I met both at *Bantam* and *Batavia* that came thither to Trade, and whom I often treated at my own Expences, to inform my ſelf of the particular Ceremonies and Cuſtoms of their Country.

Thus you ſee the Grounds and Foundations of this Relation, which is both faithful and exact, and by which that noble Country, of which the Deſcriptions hitherto have been ſo obſcure and uncertain, ſhall be truly diſcover'd and ſet forth, ſuch as it is; declaring withal, that no other Conſideration or Intereſt, then that of ſpeaking truth, has incited me to undertake this Deſcription.

For the better obſervation of a right Method in purſuance of this Relation, and to conduct the Reader *gradatim* to the more perfect knowledge of this Kingdom, I will ſpeak firſt of its Situation, its Extent, and its Climate. Next I ſhall come to diſcourſe of its Qualities, its Riches, and its Trade, which are the three Springs and Sources of the Strength and Force of a Nation. Next I ſhall give an Account of the Cuſtoms and Manners of the People as well in their particular OEconomy and Civil Society, as in relation to their Marriages, their Viſits and Feſtivals. Next to this we ſhall give a brief Account of the Learning, and learned Men, and among them of their Phyſicians, and the Subject of their Art, that is to ſay, of the Diſeaſes particular to the Country. We ſhall alſo give a Relation of the Original of the Government and Policy of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, of the Condition of the Court, of the Inauguration and Funerals of their Kings, and in the laſt place of the Original of the Inhabitants.

And I dare ingage, that the Map of the Country, and the Cuts which were drawn upon the place, will no leſs contribute to the Divertiſement of the Reader, then to the Explanation of the Matter which they contain.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Situation and Extent of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

WE ſhall have the leſs reaſon to admire wherefore our Predeceſſors had ſo little knowledge of this Kingdom, when we conſider that having formerly been a conſiderable part of *China*, the Inhabitants in the ſame manner as the *Chineſes* did, kept themſelves cloſe within their own bounds, never minding to have any Commerce with other People, whom they contemn'd and lookt upon as *Barbarians* come from the other part of the World. But now that they find that Strangers come to find them out in their own Territories, they begin to ſee that other People have as good Government as themſelves; which has bred in them a deſire to Converſe and Trade with Foreigners; ſo that now they aſſociate themſelves in friendly manner with all other People, as I have obſerv'd them to do both at *Batavia* and *Bantam*. Moſt people believe this Country to lye in a very hot Climate; nevertheleſs it is now known to be very temperate, by reaſon of the great number of Rivers that water it; which, together with the Rains that fall in their Seaſons, cauſe a briſk freſhneſs of the Air; which indeed happ'ns moſt uſually over all the *Torrid-zone*, as I have obſerv'd in my *Indian Travels*. From whence we may alſo have reaſon to believe the Country to be very fruitful and thick inhabited.

To the Eaſt this Kingdom lies upon the Province of *Cauton*, one of the beſt of *China*.

To the Weſt it is bounded by the Kingdom of *Brama*.

To the North it borders upon two other Provinces of *China*, *Junnan* and *Quanſi*.

To the South it lies upon *Cochinchina*, and the great Gulph of the ſame name.

To return to the Climate, the Air is ſo mild and temperate, that all the year long ſeems to be but one continual Spring; Froſt and Snow are never there to be ſeen; and beſides,

beſides, the Peſtilence, the Gout, the Stone, and other Diſeaſes ſo frequent in *Europe*, there are never known. There are but two Winds, which divide the whole Year between them; the one blowing from the North, the other from the South, and both continuing the ſame for ſix months together. The firſt refreſhes the Earth in that manner, that there is nothing ſo delightful as the Country of *Tunquin*. The other begins to blow from the end of *January* to the end of *July*; and the two laſt months are their months of rain. The greateſt inconvenience is, that there ariſe once in ſeaven years, as well in this Country as in other parts of the *Indies*, thoſe hideous and terrible Tempeſts, that blow down Houſes, tear up Trees by the roots, and make ſtrange Deſolations. They ſeldom laſt above four and twenty hours, nor are their ſad Effects to be felt but only upon the Seas of *China*, *Japon*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunquin*, and the *Manilles*, being rarely known in any other Seas.

The Aſtrologers of thoſe parts believe that theſe terrible Tempeſts proceed from the Exhalations that riſe out of the Mines of *Japon*. It comes with that ſuddain force that when it ſurprizes a Veſſel out at Sea, the Pilots have no other remedy then to cut down all the Maſts, that the ſtorm may have the leſs force upon the Ship.

In this fair extent of Land, almoſt equal to that of *France*, are ſeveral Provinces, whoſe limmits are not well known; the *Tunquineſes* being no great Geographers, nor having bin over curious to write the Annals of the Nation. But the moſt underſtanding and knowing among them aſſur'd me at *Batavia*, that the whole Kingdom contain'd above twenty thouſand Cities and Towns. They alſo affirm'd that there might be many more, but after the manner of their Neighbours the *Cochinchineſes*, many of the People chooſe rather to upon the Water then upon the Land; ſo that you ſhall ſee live the greateſt part of their Rivers coverd with Boates, which ſerve them inſtead of Houſes; and which are very neat, though they alſo keep their Cattel in them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Quality of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

THis Country for the moſt part is a level Extent; which riſes up and down into pleaſant Hillocks; the greateſt Hills which it has lying to the North. It is water'd by ſeveral Rivers which inter-cut and glide through the Country: ſome of which carry Galleys of good burthen, and large Shallops, very commodious for trade. Yet in all the Country there grows neither Corn nor Wine, by reaſon of the want of rain, which never falls but in the Months of *June* and *July*. But it bears an infinite quantity of Rice, which is the chief ſuſtenance of the People. Of this Rice alſo they make their Drink, beſides which they have good *Aqua Vitæ* or Strong-water. Their Fruits are excellent, but much different from ours, as are alſo the Trees that bear them. The chiefeſt of theſe Trees are the Palm-tree, which bears a Fruit bigger then in any part of *Aſia*. The Nut is about the bignels of a Man's Head, in ſhape like a *Coco*-nut; the Shell is very hard, and being open'd, the Pulp within is as white as Snow, having a taſt like our Almonds, and every one of the Fruits contains about two glaſsfuls of Liquor, very refreſhing and pleaſing to the Palate. The *Gogavier*, very much reſembles our Lawrel, of which there are two ſorts; the one bears a Plum, green without and red within: but the Fruit of the other Tree, which is in much more eſteem, is yellowiſh without and white within, the top of the Fruit being like a ſmall Noſegay: the Pulp is full of ſmall Kernels, leſs then thoſe of a Pomegranate; and if they be eaten before they are ripe they bind the belly, whereas being eaten when they are come to full maturity they work a contrary effect. Formerly this Fruit was not known in the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, but after the *Portugals* ſeated themſelves at *Macao*, they carri'd ſeveral Plants thither, ſo that now the Fruit is grown very common. The *Papager* bears a Fruit which very much reſembles a ſmall Melon, the taſt whereof is very delicious. The *Arager* grows upright and ſtreight, like the Maſt of a Ship,

Ship, bearing no Branches but at the top, which makes it appear like a Crown. The Fruit which it produces is like a Nutmeg, but a little more round. The People break this Nut, and bruising it together with *Betle* leaves, mix both with a little Chalk, and make use of the Powder to keep their Teeth clean, to dye their Lips of a Vermilion colour, and to keep their Breath sweet.

They have but two sorts of Figs, the one like ours, and the other like those which are call'd *Adam's* Figs, as long as a Man's finger.

There is also another Tree, very like our *Willow*, which they call the *Powder Tree*, because that of the Wood they make Charcoal, and of the Coal a Powder which they make use of in their Wars.

The *Jambager* is another Tree, that grows very high, which bears a Fruit about the bigness of a Citrul-Cucumber, the Pulp whereof is full of Kernels like a Granate, very cooling and pleasant, and very frequently eaten in the Season of heat.

The High-ways are also planted with Trees on both sides for the convenience of Travellers: And there are some of these Trees so big that two or three thousand men may stand under them, like that at *Ormus*, or *Bandar Abassi*, by me describ'd in my Relations of *Persia*, and of which many other Travellers have made mention. When the Branches of these Trees are about ten or twelve foot long, there issue forth other little Branches which turn downward, and by little and little descending to the ground, take root and afterwards become as it were so many Pillars to support the *Master*-Branches. There are some of the *Master*-Branches three hundred Paces long, which are supported by these out-growing Branches at the distance of every ten or twelve foot. The Fruit is of the bigness of one of our great Nuts, the Shell whereof is red, containing within nothing but a Kernel like a grain of Millet. The Rere Mice feed upon 'em, and also make their Nests in the trees. These Rere-mice are as big as a good Pullet, insomuch that their Wings are above a foot and a half long. They never light upon the tree like other Birds, but you shall see them all the day long hanging at the branches of the trees, fasten'd by their Claws to the tree with their heads downward. Upon every Wing

they

they have seven as it were little Hooks or Claws, so that being shot, they never fall to the ground, but remain fixed to the branches, that at a distance you would take them to be some great Pears that hung upon the tree. They are accounted a great dainty among the *Portugals*, who leave their Pullets to eat them. 'Tis true that their Flesh is very white, and when they are young they are a delicate sort of Diet. I happen'd to eat of them two or three times with the *Portugals*, who thought they had oblig'd me with a great dainty; and had I not known what they were, I should have taken them for Pullets. And now I am talking of the Delicacies of the Country, I will tell you of one sort of Dyet which is very singular. This Food is the Nest of a certain Bird which is no where to be found, but in the four Islands that lie upon the Coast of *Cochinchina*, and of which you have the Figures in the Table *A, B, C, D*. These Birds are about the bigness of a Swallow, and build their Nests in such a manner, that they are neither too close compacted, nor altogether transparent; they are like an Onion compos'd of several rings and envelopings; that compose a Nest of a certain sort of *Gunim*, which is steep'd in warm water, and mix'd with all the Sawces which are made both for Fish and Flesh. It is transported all over *India* and into *Holland* for Curiositie's sake. You would believe in eating those Meats which are season'd therewith, that those Nests were compos'd of all the Spices in the Orient. I have not only brought this Diet into *France*, and presented of it to several Persons of Quality, but I have also my Vouchers for the truth of what I relate, several of my Friends who have brought it from *Holland*, among the rest *M. de Villermont*, whose Name is famous for his Travels into the *East-Indies*. He and all those that have eat thereof agree with me, that all the Spices of the *East* put together, do not give that effectual relish and savour as these Nests do, to the Meats and Dishes wherein they are us'd.

Near to these four Islands, where these Birds Nests are found, are five others mark'd in the Map 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. In these five Islands are such infinite number of *Tortoises*, and such excellent Food, that the *Tunquineses* and *Cochinchineses* do not believe they have entertain'd their Friends at a Banquet as they ought to do, till the *Tortoises* are brought in. Those

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Through the whole Kingdom are neither Lions, Asses, nor Sheep; but the Forests are full of Tigers, Harts, and Apes, and the Fields are full of Beeves, Cows, and Hogs. As for Hens, Ducks, and Turtles, they are not to be number'd, which is the general Provision for their Festivals. Their Horses are very well shap'd; of which there are always five or six hunder'd in the King's Stables; He also keeps the same number of Elephants, of which some are for the Service of his House, the rest bred for the Wars. These Elephants are of a prodigious bigness, neither are there any so tall nor so nimble in any part of *Asia*; for they will bow themselves; and stoop so low, that you may get upon their backs without help. They have no Cats, but they have Dogs that serve for the same purpose, and will watch all night to kill the Rats and Mice, which are very large and very troublesom. Very few Birds are to be seen in the Air, which toward the evening grows duskish, by reason of those vast number of Gnats that get into the Houses in the night time and hinder people from sleeping, not only by the noise which they make, but with their continual stinging; which is one of the greatest inconveniencies of the Country. For remedy whereof in some measure, an hour before they go to sleep they take the Husk or Chaff of the Rice, which flies from the Rice when it is beaten, and strew it upon a small Fire in a Fire-shovel, and so let it smoak, and by that means they kill or drive those Flies away. Besides this, they cover the Bed with a Pavilion or Tent that trails upon the ground, made like a Net with very small holes to let in the Air. But notwithstanding all the prevention can be us'd, they will be about a man when he rises i' the morning. But there is yet a far greater inconvenience in this Country, which proceeds from the infinite numbers of white Emmets, which though they are but little, have teeth so sharp, that they will eat down a wooden Post in a short time. And if great care be not taken in the places where you lock up your Bales of Silk, in four and twenty hours they will eat through a Bale, as if it had been saw'd in two in the middle. Several of them have fallen from the Cieling into my Neck, where they rais'd Blisters upon the Skin, which presently fall again being wash'd with cold Water.

I have told you that Hens and Ducks are infinitely numerous in *Tunquin*; I will now tell you how they preserve the Eggs of these Creatures, which they will keep for two or three years together without being spoil'd. They salt them, and to make them take salt, they fill a Vessel full of Water, and throw a good quantity of Salt into it. If the Egg sink to the bottom, the Pickle is not good; then they throw in more Salt, till they find that the Eggs swim. The Pickle being thus made, they take Ashes, and make them up into a Past with this Pickle: and in this Past they enclose every Egg by it self, and then wrap it up in a leaf of an Herb, not unlike one of our Pear-tree leaves, but much larger, and then put the Eggs into Earthen Pots close cover'd: after which manner they keep their Eggs for two or three years together.

In other parts of the *Indies* where there is great store of Oyl, as in the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, the Kingdoms of *Pegu*, and *Arocham*; they put their Eggs into great Earthen Pots well varnish'd, and then fill the Vessel with an Oyl which is made of a small Seed like Rape-seed. For as for Sallad Oyl, after you are once pass'd *Aleppo*, you see no more Olive-trees over all *Asia*, but only in one place of *Persia* near *Casbin*, where between the Mountains lies a little Valley, about a League long and half a League broad, full of Olive-trees, but they make but very little Oyl, preserving the Olives only to eat. But to return to the Eggs; they are the chief Provision which they eat a Ship-board. But the Eggs which are preserv'd in Salt are preferr'd much before those that are kept in Oyl; because that in using the first, there is no need of carrying Salt to Sea, or of boiling Salt with their Rice. When they eat them, they boil them till they are hard, and with every mouthful of Rice they eat a Pea's bigness of Egg, which is as good and better then Salt with their Rice. As to what remains, there are neither Mines of Gold nor Silver in the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, neither do they Coin any Money.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Riches, Trade, and Money of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

THE chief Riches of the Country of *Tunquin* consist in the great quantity of Silks which they sell to the *Hollanders*, and other Foreigners, and in their *Lignum Aloes*. Of which there is some worth a thousand Crowns the Pound, according to its goodness and oylines. There is some that is not worth above three Crowns, but it is dry and good for nothing but to make Cabinets, or Beads to hang about Womens Necks. All the *Mahumetans*, especially such as let their Beards grow, make great account of this Wood; and when they give a Visit, they presently bring a little Chafing-dish, and cast a small piece of this Wood upon the Coals, which yields a smoak and pleasing mist; with which they perfume their Beards, at the same time lifting up their hands to Heaven, and crying, *Elhemed Illah*, or *God be thanked*. If the Wood be oily, the bigness of a Pea will serve to throw upon the fire, which being a little moisten'd in Water, will yield as much smoak as a dry piece as big as a Man's fist. Which is the reason, that if it be oily and good it wants no price. One of the chief Presents, as I have observ'd in another part of this Book, which the *Portugals* of *Goa* sent to the Emperor of *Japon*, was a piece of *Lignum Aloes*, six foot long, and two round. It cost 40000 *Pardo's* or 54000 *Livres*.

It is so much the more pleasure and profit to trade with the People of *Tunquin*, by how much the more faithful and frank they are in their dealing then the *Chineses*, who will deceive you if they can; so that it is a hard thing to be too cunning for them, as I have often found by experience. When you have sold them any Commodity, and they find that their Bargain is not very advantageous, their general way of getting off is this: As they have generally three sorts of Reals, one sort that is full weight, others which are light, four, others eight *per Cent.* if they have no mind to stand to their bargain, they offer to pay you for your Goods

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in light Reals, which they have clipt themſelves, and ſo you are deceiv'd. There are no ſuch People for Trade in the World: they refuſe to deal in nothing, even in old Shoes, and if you will ſell them but one of them too, they'l buy it, without ever enquiring why you will not ſell the other. But for thoſe of *Tunquin* they are more blunt and plain in their dealing, ſo that it is a pleaſure to have to deal with them. I have told you, there are neither Mines of Gold or Silver in *Tunquin*, neither do they Coin Money there. So that in Trade they make uſe of certain Lingots of Gold, as they are brought out of *China*, ſome of which amount to 300 Livres of our Money, others to ſix hunder'd. They alſo make uſe of Bars of Silver as they are brought from *Japon*. As for ſmall Payments they either cut the large Bars into ſmall pieces, to which purpoſe they have their Scales, like our *Stelleers*; or elſe they pay in Foreign Coin, which are the Reals of *Spain* generally. This Gold and Silver is brought from *China*, and *Japon*, in lieu of thoſe vaſt quantities of Silk which are exported out of the Country, which with Musk and *Lignum Aloes* are the chief Riches of the Kingdom.

CHAP. V.

Of the Strength of the Kingdom of Tunquin *by Sea and Land.*

THey who have written before me concerning the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, have ſpoken largely of its Forces both by Sea and Land, and allow it a prodigious number both of Souldiers and Galleys. They write that the Forces which were uſually wont to meet at the Rendevouz were 12000 Horſe, 2000 Elephants, as well to carry the King's and the Nobilities Tents and Baggage, as for the Service of the War, 300000 Foot, and 300 Galleys. And in regard the Kingdom is well ſtor'd with Proviſion and Ammunition, that in time of War the whole Army exceeds 500000 Men. But the number which my Brother

ſaw

The King of *Tunquin*'s Setting out for the War.

1. *The King going out of his Palace is carried in his* Palanquin *or Chair by the Chief Officers of his Houſhold.*

2. *The Order of the King's March when he goes to the War.*

3. *The Muſicians and Trumpeters who follow his Chair.*

4. *An Officer who carries a Baſon full of Water, on which doth float a Braſs Boul with a hole in the bottom of it; ſo that exactly in an hour this Boul becomes full of Water, and ſuddenly ſinks to the bottom.*

5. *Then preſently two other Officers do ſtrike the Hour upon two great Braſs Platters, N.5. of about a Yard Diameter, and much after the Form of our Burning Glaſſes, yet of the Metall that Bells are made of, which cauſes that they are heard a very far off.*

Afterwards he that carries the Baſon of Water takes up the Cup from the bottom, and ſets it again a ſwimming atop of the Water, juſt as it was before. When it is full and ſinks, they after the ſame manner ſtrike on the ſaid Platters. And this is their way of reckoning the Hour and Times in Tunquin, *as well as in the* Indies, *and almoſt throughout the Eaſtern Parts betwixt the* Tropicks; *for that the Clocks which are made in* Europe *become uſeleſs in thoſe Countries during the Rainy Seaſon, the Air being there ſo heavy and damp, that all Iron and Steel, nay the very Knives and Watches in peoples Pockets do grow ruſty, though you wrap them up never ſo well in Cotton or Leather, and take all the care imaginable to keep them dry; yet it will be impoſſible otherwiſe to preſerve them from Ruſt, than by letting them lie in Oyl while that Weather laſts.*

This Foggy Dampneſs of the Air is predominant as ſoon as you are paſt Perſia, *in all the* Mogol's *Countrey, from the Fifteenth of* June *to the end of* September. *The further one goes on toward the Eaſt, the later theſe Rains do begin and are met withall.*

It's

It's good likewise to observe, that in the Empire of the Great Mogul, *in* Tunquin, *and in other Easterly Parts between the* Tropicks, *they do as we divide the Day and Night into 24 Hours, making the Day of 12, and the Night to be of as much; so to proportion equally the Times of Working and of Rest. But they do subdivide both the Day and the Night into 4 equal parts, and this Division is made known by the Strokes given upon those Platters. As for Example: The first Hour of the first Watch of the Night is mark'd by one Blow, the second by another, and the third likewise by another. In the second Watch of the Night the first Hour is made known by two Blows one after another, and so of the rest untill the third Watch; then at the first Hour of that they give three Strokes. And this Order is observed till the last Hour of the fourth Watch, which is mark'd by four Knocks. In this manner they continue to marck the first Hour of the day with the same Regularity.*

All Persons of Quality do keep Eight Officers on purpose for this Imploy; who likewise are to have a care of keeping the Palace Gates. This Engine for the marking of the Hours is ordinarily hung up at the Entry of great Palaces near the Porter's Lodge.

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Order of The March of The king of Tunquin When he goes out of his Pallice.

The order & March of The king of Tunquin When He goes To

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The Order of the March of the Queens of *Tunquin*, when they go abroad out of the Palace.

A. *Six Elephants go in the Front, drawing a kind of a Sedan close shut up, with Grate-like Windows.*

B. *Fifteen Captains or Officers walk next, Armed with Fire-locks.*

C. *The Sedan wherein the Queen is.*

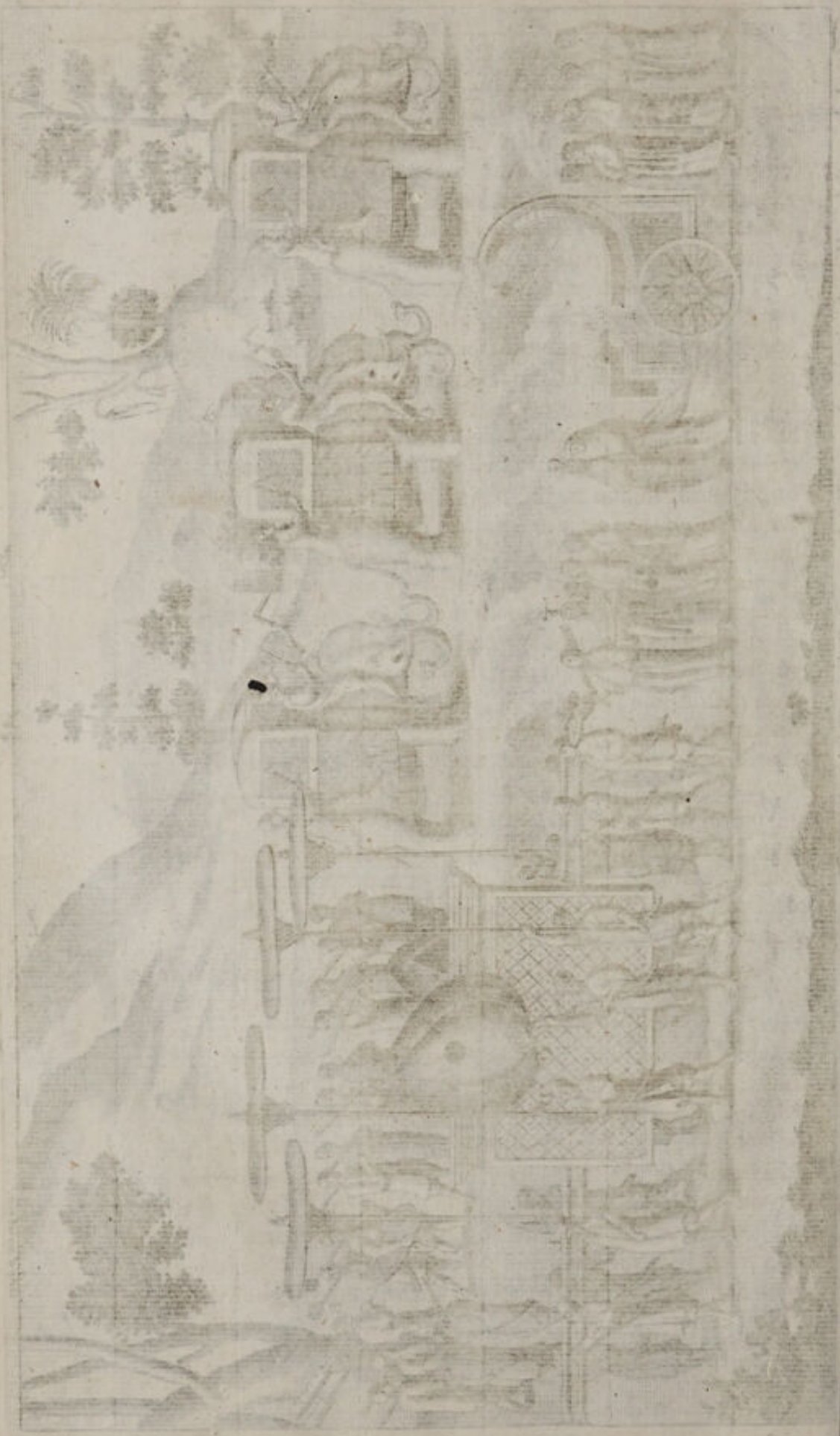
D. *Six of the Queens Gentlemen do carry* Parasols, *for to guard the Queens Chair from the Scorching of the Sun.*

F. *Six Ladies of Honour of the Queens go next. The first hath the Command of the Queens Eunuchs: these Eunuchs, though throughly Spaded, yet are never admitted into the Queens Apartment; the Kings of* Tunquin *being in that particular more jealous than other Kings and Mahometan Princes, who allow this sort of Eunuchs to serve their Queens within the Palace. The next in Office of these Ladies presents the Queen with Sweet Meats when she is about to drink; for they usually eat some before they drink, they alleaging that this keeps them from having the Cholic, to which they are very subject in* Tunquin. *The third in rank carries a Box of Perfumes and* Betel. *The others usher the Queen when she gets into the Sedan, or alights.*

G. *Here is a Chariot drawn by Eight Maids of Quality, when she gets out of the Sedan; but before she appears, all the Men and Eunuchs do withdraw into such places, whence they cannot have the sight of her, it being a Crime to look upon her: then the Ladies help her out of the Sedan, and the Maids draw her along to whatever place she has a mind to go in unto.*

Place this next to, The King of *Tunquin* setting out for the War.

The Order of the March of the Queen Mother and Reigning Queen of Tunquin when they goe abroad out of ȳ Palace.



saw in the year 1649, when the King was preparing to make War against the King of *Cochinchina*, for certain Ships which the *Cochinchineses* had taken from the *Tunquineses*: though the Quarrel was taken up by certain Embassadors which the King of *Cochinchina* sent to the King of *Tunquin*, to whom the former made satisfaction.

The Army that was then prepar'd to march upon this Expedition was compos'd of 8000 Horse, 94 thousand Foot, and 722 Elephants; 130 for the War, and the rest to carry the Tents and Baggage of the King and the Nobility; and 318 Galleys and Barks, very long and narrow, with Oars and Sails; and this was that which my Brother saw. The Condition of the Souldiery is very toilsom and laborious, and of little advantage in the Kingdom of *Tunquin*. For they are all their life time so ti'd and engag'd to the Service of the Wars, that though they are capable of other Labours for the support of their Families, they are not permitted to undertake it. Those days that they are not upon the Guard, they are oblig'd to attend their Captains where-ever they go, and two days in a week they are compell'd to Exercise with their Bows and Arrows in their presence. Their Companies consist of a hundred or a hundred and thirty Men; and they of each Company that have made the best shot, have one of them two Months Wages, the other one, which is paid them in Rice. He that makes the worst shot, next time he mounts the Guard, is oblig'd to stand Centinel double his time. All the Captains look upon it as a great piece of glory to have their Souldiers Arms and Weapons neat and bright. If they find any rust upon them, they sconce them eight days Wages for the first fault, and for the second they are very severely chastis'd. As for those that serve in the Galleys, they are entertain'd and listed proportionably. And sometimes the Captains send their Souldiers aboard for some days, that they may learn to row. For it is one of the chiefest Pastimes of the Kings of *Tunquin* to see the Mock-fights of the Galleys. When he has a mind to delight himself with this Divertisment, the King, with some part of his Court, removes to one of his fair Palaces, that stands upon one of the largest Rivers in his Country; and it is a great Honour for any of the Captains whose Souldiers carry the Victory. Now as the Victory is only got by the force

force of the Oars, it happens ſometimes that there are ſome Souldiers who ſtrain themſelves ſo hard, that they fall down dead with the Oar in their hands: for the King is the only Judge of the Combat. Wherein the pleaſure that he takes is ſuch, that he ſends an Elephant to the Captain that obtains the Victory, and gives him three Months Wages beſides. If any Souldier chance to die in this Exerciſe, his Widow or his Heirs have two years Pay. But notwithſtanding all their pain and labour, their Wages are ſo ſmall, that they are not able to maintain their Wives and Children. But in regard they Marry very young in this Country, the Wives as well of the Souldiers as of all the meaner ſort of people, take care to learn ſome Trade beſides, that they may be able to maintain their Families. The Captains alſo have their work prepar'd for them. For they are oblig'd to look after the King's Elephants, and to manage them for the Wars, and ſo to breed them, that they may not be afraid of Wild-fire, or any other Artificial Fires: as alſo to build places all along the Rivers, for the Galleys to ride ſhelter'd in, when they can no longer live out at Sea. All theſe Officers and Captains, and Lords of the Court, which are generally call'd *Mandarins*, have but four days in a Month to divert themſelves, two at the firſt change of the Moon, and two at the full.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

THe People of *Tunquin* are naturally mild and peaceful, ſubmitting eaſily to reaſon, and condemning the Tranſports of Choler. They eſteem the Manufactures of ſtrange Countries far beyond thoſe of their own; though they are not very curious of ſeeing any other Countries but thoſe where they were born; and where, as they ſay, they always deſire to live, to honour the Memory of their Anceſtors. They have a tone in ſpeaking, naturally

N; The Great Chancellor of The Kingdome of Tunquin. 2: 3: 4. The Mandarins or Officers of Warr. 5 Cheif Chancellor of all The Jurisdictions of The Kingdom. 6: 7 Mandarins. of Learning or officers of Judicature. : 8 The Chief Vsher.

rally ſoft and pleaſing; happy memories, and in their Language, which is very florid, they uſe ſeveral appoſite Comparilons. They have good Poets among them, and People that love Learning; in which reſpect they are no way inferiour to the *Chineſes*, their Neighbours.

The *Tunquineſes*, as well Men as Women, are for the moſt part well proportion'd, of an Olive Complexion, very much admiring the whiteneſs of the *Europeans*. Their Noſes and Faces are not ſo flat as thoſe of the *Chineſes*, as being generally better made. Their Hair is very black, which they uſually wear as long as it will grow, being very careful in combing it. The Common People plait it in treſſes, and tie it like a great Roll upon the top of their Heads. But the Nobility, Men of Law, and Souldiers, tie their Locks about their Necks, that they may not flutter in their Faces. They do not believe their Teeth to be handſom, till they have made them as black as jet; and they ſuffer their Nails to grow; the longeſt being accounted the faireſt.

Their Habit is grave and modeſt, being a long Robe that reaches down to their heels, much like that of the *Japonneſes*, without any diſtinction of Sex. This Habit is bound about at the waſt with a Girdle of Silk, interwoven with Gold and Silver, the Workmanſhip whereof is alike on both ſides. As for the Souldiers, their upper Garments reach no farther then their Knees; only their Breeches reach down to the mid Leg, without either Hoſe or Shoes.

The vulger ſort of People are altogether ſlaves for one part of the year. For unleſs they be the Citizens of the Capital City, where the King keeps his Court, all the other Handicrafts of what Trade ſoever, as Joyners, Carpenters, Lockſmiths, Maſons, and the like, are oblig'd every year to work three Months at the King's Palace; and two Months, or Moons more (For the *Tunquineſes* reckon their Months by the Moon) for the *Mandarins*, or great Lords. The reſt of the year is for themſelves, all which time they have liberty to work for the ſupport of their own Family. This Service in their Language is call'd *Viecquan*, or the *Condition of a Slave*. But they are liable to other drudgeries worſe then thoſe before mention'd; as to lop Trees, with which they chiefly feed their Elephants. This is a ſevere days work, to which they were condemn'd by the great Grandfather of

the King that now reigns, after he had put an end to the Civil Wars that turmoil'd his Kingdom, and that he had brought his rebellious Subjects to submit themselves. They had occasion'd him a great deal of trouble, and in regard he could not subdue them without a great hazard of his Army, his Council advis'd him to famish them; but he rather chose to give them their Lives, and to condemn them and their Posterity to this laborious Service, of which he might in time reap the benefit.

I have told you elsewhere that the *Tunquineses* take great delight to live upon the Rivers, which are there free from Crocodiles and all other dangerous Animals, which haunt the Waters of *Nile* and *Ganges*. Where we are to observe, that these Rivers overflow their Banks every year, after the Rains are fall'n, with that terrible violence, that many times they carry away whole Towns and Villages, at what time a good part of the Kingdom looks like a Sea, resembling the lower *Egypt* under Water upon the Inundation of *Nile*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Marriages of the Tunquineses, *and their severity toward Adultereſſes.*

THE *Tunquineses* cannot Marry without the consent of the Father and Mother, or if they be dead, without the allowance of their neareſt Kindred. They must also have the permission of the Judge or Governour of the place where the Marriage is to be made, for the obtaining of which they must give him some Present. But in regard they were wont to exact upon the poor people more then they were able to give them, so that many Marriages were disappointed, to the great damage of the Public; the King, who reign'd in the year 1639, being inform'd of these Extortions, and their ill Consequences, set forth a Law to regulate those Abuses, and to curb the Authority of the Governours. He order'd that the young Man who was desirous to Marry, should pay no more then such a Sum, according to

to the proportion of his Estate, amounting to one or two fourths *per Cent.* and that they that were not worth above a hundred Crowns should pay nothing. Now in regard the Common People, both Men and Women, are naturally laborious, all that the Maids can get they preserve for their Portions, and to buy them two or three handsom Garments, with a Neck-lace of Coral or yellow Amber, and a certain number of Beads, to garnish their Locks; which they suffer to hang down upon their Backs, accounting the beauty of their Hair to consist in the length.

There is no Wedding kept without a great Feast; and they must be very poor when the Feast lasts not above three days; for sometimes they junket for nine days together. The next day after the Wedding the Bridgroom calls the Bride his Sister, and she calls the Bridegroom Brother. The Law of the Land permits the Man to divorce his wife when he pleases, which they do many times for very slight causes. But the Woman has not the same Priviledge: or at least, if she desire a separation, it is much more difficult to obtain; and the occasion must be very notorious. The *Tunquineses* say that this Law was made to keep the Women in subjection, and to oblige them to be respectful to their Husbands. When the Husband desires this separation, the Ceremony is this. You must know that many of the Eastern People never touch their Victuals with their hands, but make use of two little sticks about six inches long, gilt and varnish'd, which serve them instead of Forks. The Husband then, when he goes about to repudiate his Wife, takes one of his own sticks, and one of his Wife's, and having broken them, they take each one half, and sow it up in a piece of Silk, in which they keep it. Then the Man is bound to restore the Woman what she brought with her, and to keep the Children which they had between them. But these Divorces are not half so frequent as formerly.

The Laws are also very rigorous against Adulteresses. So that if a woman accus'd of this crime be convicted thereof, she is cast to an Elephant bred up to this purpose, who presently throws her up into the Air with his Trunk, and when she comes to the ground, tramples her under his feet, till he can perceive no life in her.

While my Brother was at the Court at *Tunquin*, he was a

witneſs of the ſevere Puniſhment, to which a Princeſs was condemn'd, for being taken in the Act with a certain Prince. It is the Cuſtom in the *Eaſt*, when a Prince dies, to ſhut up in the moſt private and retir'd part of all his Palace all the women which he made uſe of in his life time. There they are allow'd two Maids to attend them, they eat alone, and ſee no perſon living any more to the very day of their deaths. I cannot tell by what means one of the Princes of the blood had got a view of one of the deceaſed King his Uncle's wives; but being deſirous to ſee her again, and to overcome all difficulties that oppos'd him, and to deceive the Guards that watch'd the Dores, he made uſe of a ſlight not eaſily diſcover'd. For you muſt know, that in the Kingdom *Tunquin*, as in all the Kingdoms of *Aſia*, in the Houſes of the Kings and other great Lords, the Kitchin is uſually ſeparated from the Houſe, and that the Garden is between them; ſo that for the better carrying the Meat from one place to another, the Servants make uſe of a kind of Flasket, or rather Iron Cheſt. And to keep the Meat warm, the Diſhes are ſupported by little ſticks laid athwart, about an inch diſtant one from another, under which is an Iron Plate with holes pierc'd quite through, about half a foot above another, which makes the bottom of the Cheſt; between which Plates they put lighted Coals, to keep the Meat warm. Theſe Cheſts being to be carri'd by two men, the *Tunquineſe* Prince plaid his game ſo well, that he was put into one of theſe Cheſts wherein the Princeſſes Meat was wont to be carri'd up into her Apartment. But he was not there many days before the thing was diſcover'd. He was preſently brought before the King, who caus'd him to have ſeveral weighty Chains to be put about his Neck and Waſt, and upon his Hands and Leggs; and thus chain'd and manacled, he order'd him to be led about for five Months together, to be ſeen by the People. After that he was ſhut up in a cloſe Priſon, where he remain'd ſeven years, till the death of the King, whoſe Son coming to the Throne, ſet him at liberty, upon condition he ſhould ſerve as a private Souldier upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom. As for the Princeſs ſhe was ſhut up in a little Chamber upon the top of a Tow'r, where ſhe remain'd twelve days without having any thing given her to eat or drink; after that the Chamber

was

was all uncover'd at the top, that the ſun might come at her, and ſcorch her to death, and ſo ſhe di'd in three days: The two Maids that ſerv'd her had a little more favour, for they were thrown to the Elephants, who preſently trod them to death. The two Porters of the Cheſt, or Flasket, were ti'd to four ſmall Galleys, by the two Hands, and two Leggs, and as they Row'd ſeveral ways were preſently diſmembred. Being at *Daca*, in the Kingdom of *Bengala*, I ſaw the ſame Juſtice done to a *Bramerè*, who would have betraid *Cha-Eſt-Can* to the King of *Aracham*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Viſits, Feaſts, and Paſtimes of the Tunquineſes.

AMong all the *Eaſtern* People the *Tunquineſes* are the moſt ſociable, and moſt frequently viſit one another. Generally they make their Viſits about Noon, in the hotteſt time of the day, and then every one walks with a Train ſuitable to his Condition. The Princes and *Mandarines* ride upon their Elephants, or elſe they are carri'd in a kind of Litter, where they may either ſit or lie. Six Men carry it, and behind them follow ſix more to eaſe them by times. Their Train conſiſts generally of fifty or ſixty Perſons; neither are they permitted to exceed that number. As for the ordinary Gentry, and Officers of the Court, they ride a Horſe-back, not being allow'd above ſeven or eight Servants to attend them. They chew *Betlè* continually, as all the other *Aſiaticks* do in ſuch places where it is to be had. And when any one comes to viſit another, it would be taken for a great affront, if at his taking leave, he ſhould not be preſented with a Box of *Betlè*, to take what he pleas'd.

The richer that Box is, the more Honour is given to the Perſon to whom the *Betlè* is preſented: Inſomuch that when a Prince is about to be marri'd, he uſually ſends three of theſe Boxes to his Spouſe, of which I have ſeen ſome at

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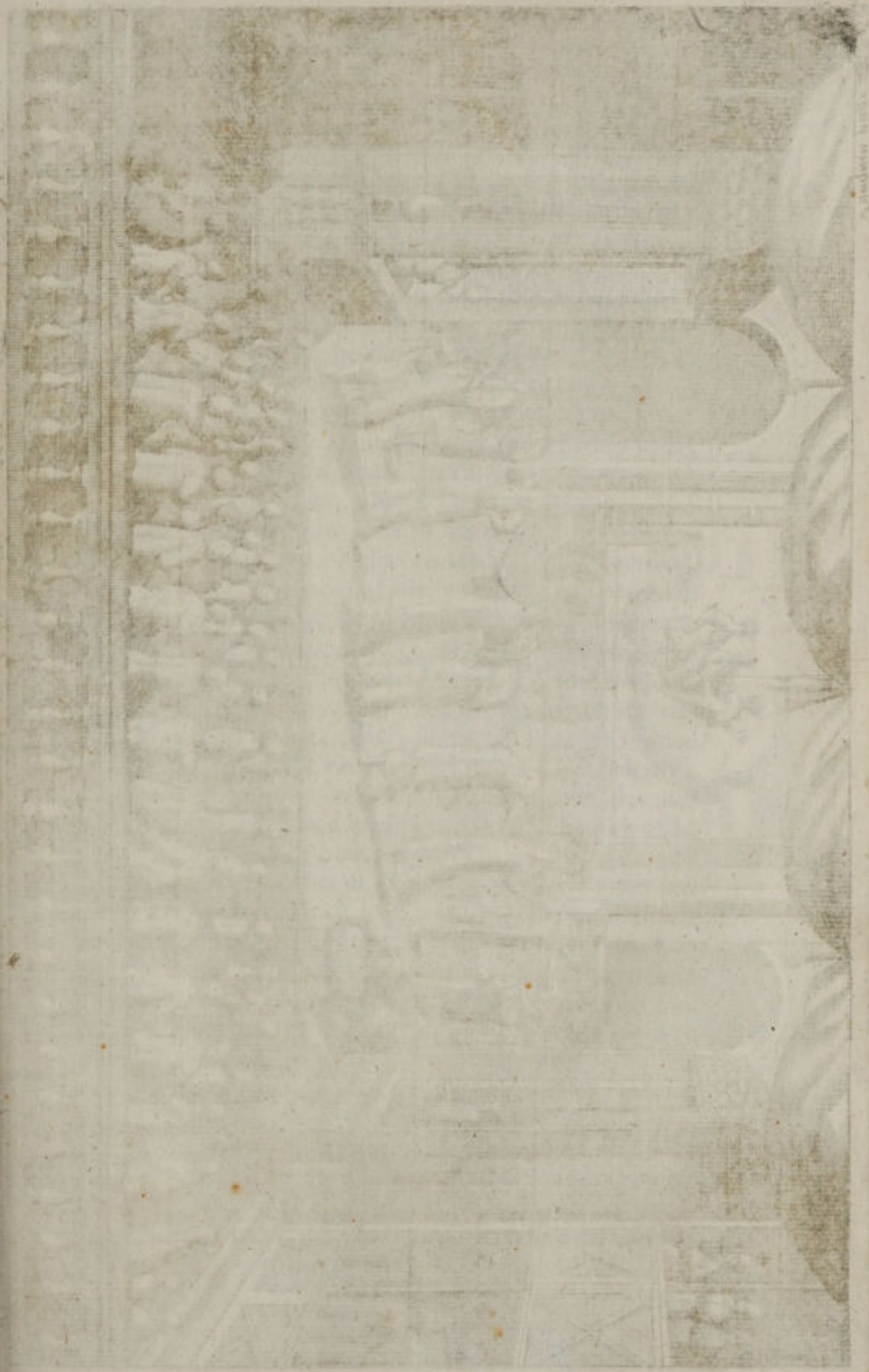
the Apartments of ſome of the Princes that came to the Court of the *Great Mogul*, which were worth above 4 or 500000 *Livres*: One ſhall be cover'd with Diamonds, another with Rubies and Pearls, another with Emraulds and Pearls, or elſe with other Jewels.

The *Tunquineſes* take it for a great diſhonour to have their Heads bare, which is only for Criminals, whom they cauſe to be ſhav'd ſo ſoon as they are taken. So that it is a difficult thing for a Criminal to eſcape the hands of Juſtice, for wherever they go, when they find that a man has no Hair, he is taken and carri'd to the Governour, who cauſes him to be nail'd to a Croſs immediately.

They ſit croſs legg'd, after the manner of the *Aſiatic* People. At great mens Houſes, in the Halls, where they receive their Viſits, there is as it were an *Alcove*, with a kind of a Bedſted rais'd about a foot from the ground. It is cover'd with a very fine Mat, made of little Reeds bound together, as it were with fine thread. For it is not the Cuſtom to ſpread Carpets upon the Floors, as in other Countries of *Aſia*. Not that the deerneſs hinders them from making uſe of them, for theſe Mats coſt them more then a fine *Perſian* or *Indian* Carpet would do, but becauſe they are cooler to ſit upon, and becauſe the *Punies* do not get ſo eaſily into them. Being at *Bantam* I bought one of theſe Mats of a *Tunquineſe*, which was admir'd for its fineneſs. It was nine Ells ſquare, and as even and as ſoft as Velvet. With theſe Mats they cover the Beds or Couches, upon which the *Mandarins*, or *Princes*, and the Nobilty which accompany them, ſeat themſelves round the Chamber, every one having one Cuſhion under him, and another at his Back.

As for their Diet the *Tunquineſes* are not very curious. The Common People are contented with Rice boil'd in water, and dri'd Fiſh, or ſalted Eggs. For as for Fleſh they eat none but at their Feſtivals. The great Lords are ſerv'd every day with Fleſh and Fiſh, but their Cooks know not what belongs to bak'd Meats. Otherwiſe they are more neat in their Kitchins and Chambers then we, only they make no uſe either of Napkins or Table-cloaths. Whatever is ſet before them to eat, is ſerv'd in little Plates, not ſo big as our Trenchers, being made of wood lacker'd with all ſorts of Flow'rs, like the Cabinets which are brought from *Japan*.

All



The Representation of ye Theatre where they Act their Comedies for the Divertisement of ye King of Tunquin and his Court.
1 the Kings box. 2 the box of the Ladys 3 the Pages 4 the Eunuchs 5 the Theatre for the Actors. 6 the Machines and decoration.

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King when he pleaſes to come. The Actors and Actreſſes are very magnificently clad. The dreſs for the Womens heads being a kind of Miter or Diadem, which exceedingly becomes them, from the hinder part whereof two Ribonds, three fingers broad, hang down below their waſts. Both the one and the other Act their parts very perfectly, and, according to their manner, obſerve an exact time in their Dancing.

At one of the corners of the Hall ſit the two Judges of the Comedy, one of whom beats time upon a Braſs Drum. Their other ordinary Paſtimes, eſpecially for the Lords and *Mandarins*, are Fiſhing and Hunting, though they take more pleaſure in the former, by reaſon of the plenty of Fiſh which their Rivers afford them. But, as I ſaid before, they follow theſe ſports only upon the days that are permitted them, as being better husbands of their time then we, not ſparing any part of it from buſineſs. So that they who at the beginning of that little knowledge which we had of theſe People, wrote that their Manners and Cuſtoms were wild and barbarous, were miſinform'd. For as there is no reaſon to doubt of the truth of what I affirm, and what others have confirm'd by other Relations, we may well conculde from what I have ſaid, That all the Duties of Civil Society and Politeneſs are not confin'd within our *Europe*; but that the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, anciently a part of *China*, ſtill retains the good Government and Civility of the *Chineſes* themſelves.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Learned Men in the Kingdom of Tunquin.

CErtain it is, that the *Tunquineſes* have a very great inclination for Learning, and that they apply themſelves to their Studies with diligence and ſucceſs: for that they cannot be advanc'd without it to the Offices and Dignities in the Kingdom. I do not here, by Learning, mean the underſtanding of the Languages of our Learned Men

Men of *Europe*, which are altogether unknown to the Eastern People, and much less the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, of which they never so much as heard. But we mean the knowledge of the Laws of their Country, by means whereof they obtain the charges of Judicature; the *Mathematicks*, and particularly *Astronomy*, to which all the Orientals have a great inclination, as being great observers of the Stars, by whose assistance they flatter themselves to be able to foretel things to come. The *Tunquineses* are also passionate lovers of *Music* and *Poetry*, as being great admirers of *Comedy* and *Tragedy*, of which those two Sciences are the main Composition; so that the Musicians and Actors of *Tunquin* are accounted the best in the whole Eastern part of the World.

That you may acquire Nobility by Learning, in your Youth, you must pass through three degrees, of the *Synde*, the *Doucan*, and the *Tansi*, from which degree you may ascend to that of the Nobility.

To attain the first degree, it behoves the Youth of *Tunquin* to apply themselves for eight years together to their Studies, and that very close, to enable themselves for the Office of a Notary, Proctor, and Advocate, to which there is nothing more conducing then to speak Eloquently in public. At the end of eight years, they are examin'd concerning the duty of those Employments; and if any one fail to give an Answer to the Questions propounded, he is sent back again as incapable to obtain any Employment for the future, or to study any longer. For those that acquit themselves well of their Examination, which is very rigorous, their Names are set down in a Register, and presented to the King, who first grants them the liberty to take upon them the Title of *Synde*, and then if it be their aim to enjoy the Quality of *Doucan*, they are commanded by the *Tansi*'s to study *Music*, *Astrology*, and *Poesie*, not only to be able to be judge of it, but also to perform themselves upon occasion. For to be good judges of *Comedy*, which is a great Honour among them, it behoves them to be both good Comedians and Musicians. Nor indeed is there any Pastime more frequent then that of the Theater in this Country; for there is never any solemn Festival among them, which is not accompany'd and set

forth with Artificial Fire-works, in making whereof these People are exquisite; after which they have their Comedies, with Machines, and change of Scenes in every Act. Besides this, their Actors have a prodigious memory, so that let the part be never so long, they never make use of Prompters to assist them, as we do in *Europe*.

They that will learn the *Mathematicks*, must make their own Instruments themselves, and spend five years in this study. They are examin'd every year, and if they fail to answer such Questions as are ask'd them, for the first four they are pardon'd; but at the end of the five years, if upon the grand Examination, they fail to answer the Questions demanded them by the *Tansi's*, they are utterly degraded; whereas if they satisfie their Examinors, they are permitted the Name and Dignity of *Doucan*. After thirteen years thus spent, before they can arrive to the degree of a *Tansi*, they must spend four years more in learning to write and read the *Chinese* Character to such a certain number of Words. For the life of a Man would not suffice to learn to write and read the *Chinese* quite through. The reason is, because that as to this particular, it is not in *China* as in other Nations, where one Word is compos'd of several Letters. The *Chineses* for every Word have a different Figure, all which Figures are very numerous, as you may easily conjecture. By the by let me tell you, that these Figures are made with small Pencils, and that the *Chineses* make use of a certain Ink, which is made up into a Paste, and so moisten'd in Water as you make use of it. They have also another sort of Colour for certain Words. But they cannot make use of Pens, as our *Europeans*, which are made of Quils; nor of those of other Eastern People, which are made of small rediſh brown Reeds, the best of which grow in certain Mershes in the Kingdom of *Pegu* and *Arachan*.

But to return to the Students of *Tunquin*, they are also oblig'd to understand the Laws and Customs of the *Chineses*, as well as their own; and the last four years being at an end, the last and great Examination is made in the great place, within the Enclosure of the Palace of *Tunquin*, which is a stately Marble structure. There the King is present, with the Princes and great Lords of the Court, the *Mande-*

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rins for Learning, and all the *Tanſi's*; and many alſo come on purpoſe from diſtant Provinces to the Solemnity. Some Relations of *Tunquin* have been a little too ridiculous in this particular, aſſerting extravagantly, that ſometimes there are above 30 or 40000 Students preſent at theſe Examinations; but by what I could learn from my Brother, or gather by that diſcourſe which I have had with the Natives, the number of Students never exceeds three thouſand. There are in the place nine Scaffolds ſet up; of which the one is for the King and Princes, the other for the Examiners, and thoſe that are to be Examin'd: And for the better hearing what is ſaid, the Scaffolds are built like an Amphitheater. But whereas there are eight days ſpent in this Examination, the King and the *Mandarins* are never there but only the two firſt days. The laſt day all the Names of them who have been Examin'd, as well they who have anſwer'd well, as of them that have falter'd, are left in the Hands of the ſixteen chief *Manderins*, who are as it were ſixteen Counſellors of State, and then it is at the King's pleaſure to favour whom he thinks fit, of thoſe who have not given full ſatisfaction to the Queſtions propounded to them. As for thoſe who were found very ignorant, they are degraded with ſhame, and there is no more ſaid of them. All thoſe Names are uſually written upon large Tables, ſet up at the Gate of the King's Palace for eight days together, to the end, that all the People may know who are receiv'd into the Rank of *Nobility*, and who not.

The eight days being paſs'd, they are all to appear again upon the ſame Scaffolds, where in the view of all the World, they who have had the misfortune to have falter'd in their Examinations, are diſmiſs'd as unworthy of any Employment: while they who have behav'd themſelves worthy of approbation, are honour'd with a Veſt of Violet Satin, which they preſently put on, and then take upon them the Name of *Tanſi's*. Then they have given them a Liſt of the Towns and Villages, where they are to receive the Rents which the King allows them; wherein however they have not an equal ſhare; ſome being allow'd more, ſome leſs, according to their merit, or the favour of the Prince. Preſently they ſend notice to the places aſſign'd them of the

time, at which they intend to be there: and then all the Inhabitants come forth to meet them, in Honour of their Dignity, with all sorts of Music, and a Guilded *Branquar*, carried by eight Men. There they are permitted to stay three Months to divertize themselves, and for their own recreation. After that they return to Court, to instruct themselves in the affairs of the Kingdom, and the King's House, and to perfect themselves in the knowledge of those things, which is the way to obtain the Dignity of a *Mandarin*. All Embassadours who are sent to the Princes adjoyning, especially to the *Chineses*, are chosen out of these *Tansi's*, among whom they always make choice of the ablest, and not of the richest, the King allowing them sufficient to maintain their Port, and defray the expences of the Embassy.

CHAP. X.

Of their Physicians, and the Diseases of the Tunquineses.

THe Physicians belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunquin* do not make it their business much to study Books; spending their Youth in searching after the nature and qualities of the Roots and Simples, and how to apply them according to the nature of the Distemper. But more particularly they apply themselves to the beating of the Pulse, and its diversity of Measure, by which they chiefly pretend to understand the cause of the Disease, and what Remedy to make use of for cure. And therefore when they go to feel a Pulse, they feel it in several parts of the Body; and according to the diversity of the part, and the beating, they judge of the quality of the Distemper. Therefore upon their first coming, they feel the Patient in three places, first upon their right sides, and secondly upon their left. By the Pulse which they feel upon the wrist of the right hand, they guess of the condition of the Lungs; by that which they feel upon the Vein of the Arms, where gene-

generally People are let Blood, they gueſs at the Diſtempers of the Stomach, and the Region of the Kidneys. The Pulſe of the left Wriſt diſcovers to them the condition of the Heart: By that in the Veins of the left Arm, where uſually they let Blood, they are inform'd of the eſtate of the Liver. By the Pulſes of the Temples, both right and left, they give a more exquiſite judgment of the Kidneys. They are very careful to count how many times a Pulſe of a ſick Perſon beats in the time of one Reſpiration; and according to theſe ſeveral Pulſes, they tell you which part of the Body is particularly diſtemper'd, whether the Heart, the Liver, or the Lungs; or whether the Diſtemper proceed from any outward cauſe, as from Cold, Sadneſs, or any other diſorderly Paſſion.

They never make uſe of any other Remedies but of Herbs and Roots, which they chooſe themſelves; there being no diſtinction among them of *Apothecary* and *Phyſician*. Theſe Herbs they mingle ſometimes with a little Ginger, which they boyl in Water, and give the Decoction, being ſtrain'd, to the Patient. They have very good Receipts for the Purples, Epilepſie, and ſeveral other Diſeaſes which are accounted incurable in *Europe*. They make uſe of *China* Ink to ſtop a Dyſentery, and for the cure of Wounds. When the Sea Ebbs from the ſhoar upon theſe Coaſts, they find upon the Sand a little ſmall kind of Crabs, which dye immediately, and by the heat of the Sun, which is there extraordinary, become as hard as a Stone in a ſhort time; theſe the *Tunquineſe* Phyſicians beat to Powder, and give to their Patients in Dyſenteries, and Feavers, ſometimes in *Aqua Vitæ*, ſometimes in plain Water. They mightily admire the Herb *Tea*, which comes from *China* and *Japan*; which latter Country produces the beſt. It is brought to them in Tin Pots cloſe ſtop'd, to keep out the Air. When they would uſe it, they boyl a quantity of Water, according to the proportion they intend to uſe, and when the Water ſeeths, throw a ſmall quantity into it, allowing as much as they can nip between their Thumb and fore-Finger to a Glaſs. This they preſcribe to be drank as hot as they can endure it, as being an excellent Remedy againſt the Headach, for the Gravel, and for thoſe that are ſubject to the Griping of the Guts; but then they order a little Ginger

to

to be put into the Water when it boyls. At *Goa*, *Batavia*, and in all the *Indian* Factories, there are none of the *Europeans* who do not spend above four or five Leaves a day; and they are careful to preserve the boyl'd Leaf for an Evening Sallad, with Sugar, Vinegar, and Oyl. That is accounted the best *Tea* which colours the Water greenest; but that which makes the Water look Red, is little accounted of. In *Japan*. The King and great Lords, who drink *Tea*, drink only the Flower, which is much more wholsom, and of a tast much more pleasing. But the Price is much different, for one of our ordinary Beer Glasses is there worth a *French* Crown.

The most dangeroug Distempers that befall the *Tunquineses*, most usually happen when the bad Air surprizes the People; for of a sudden it deprives them of their Speech, and then Death suddenly follows without a speedy Remedy. The best Remedy for this sudden Distemper is to mix some Counterpoison with *Aqua Vitæ* instead of Wine, and to let the Patient drink it as hot as he can. The Patient also must at the same time be rub'd with a Cloth dip'd in *Aqua Vitæ*, where Ginger has been boyl'd. This takes away the pains caus'd by cold Winds, and unwholsom Airs. Though some for the more speedy cure of these pains, lay the Patient upon a Bed made only of Girts, four Fingers distant one from the other; and then setting a Chafing-dish underneath, cause the sick Person to sweat in a Cloud of Frankincense, till the pain is gone, repeating the same thing Morning and Evening.

As for Blood-letting, it is by no means us'd in that Country. They make use of Fire, especially for the Purple-Feaver, a Disease so dangerous in *France*. For the cure of this, the Physitians of *Tunquin* take the Pith of a Reed, which they dry very well; dip it in Oyl, and set it on Fire: and then apply to every Purple Spot one of these lighted Wicks. The Spot will give a whif like a small Squib, and that's an infallible sign that the Venom is gone out of the body. This Remedy is seldom apply'd but in the night time, because the Spot does not appear so well in the day time. And the Physician must be very careful, that when this Venom flies out of the Patient's Body, it does not find a way into his own; for then there is no Remedy but

but Death. There are ſome Phyſicians that will prick the Purple Spot with a Needle, and let out the Peſtilential Blood; after which they burn the part ſo prick'd, and then rub it with Ginger, not permitting their Patient to take the Air in 20 days after they are cur'd. While they are under cure, they drink nothing but Water, with Citron-peel boyl'd in it, and abſtain from Fleſh and Butter. They give them to eat Rice boyl'd in Water, and ſalt Fiſh; but the more they abſtain from eating and drinking, the ſooner they are cur'd. And indeed it is a wonderful thing to ſee the excellent effects of their Remedies in ſo ſhort a time; for they have no lingring Diſtempers to hold them years together, as they do among us.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Original, Government, and Policy, of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

IT is not above ſix hundred years ſince *Tunquin* was firſt govern'd by particular Kings, in regard it was ancient-ly a part of the Dominion of the *Chineſes*. What is reported of the firſt *Tunquineſes*, That they were without Governours, and without Kings, is altogether fabulous; like to that which is related of a certain Infant of three years of Age, who appearing before a great Aſſembly of the People, exhorted them to free themſelves from the power of the *Chineſes*, who were their Oppreſſors. Upon which a lovely Horſe miraculouſly appearing to the ſaid Infant, he mounted the Horſe, and immediately ſetting forward with thoſe that were gather'd after him, as alſo others that appear'd as wonderfully to aſſiſt him, he ſet upon the *Chineſes*, and defeated them in ſuch manner, that they never durſt venture after that to return any more to reconquer what they had loſt. But the moſt certain truth of *Tunquin* Hiſtory aſſures us, That for theſe ſix Centuries laſt paſt, it has been govern'd by ſix various Families. The firſt that aſſum'd the Title of King was a famous Robber, whoſe Name

Name was *Din*, who having gather'd together a great Number of Malecontents, and Vagabonds, became ſo powerful and formidable through his own Valour, that after ſeveral bloody Battels gain'd, it was no difficult thing for him to ſeize upon the Throne. But he did not reign long in peace, for the moſt part of the People rebell'd againſt him; and in the firſt Battel that he fought, he loſt his Life. However his own Party won the day; and having left two Sons, his eldeſt reigned three years; after whoſe death, the younger Brother rul'd in his ſtead, but dy'd ſoon after, neither of the Brothers leaving any iſſue behind them. After that the Kingdom was miſerably diſtracted by ſeveral Civil Wars, till the weaker Party calling in the *Chineſes* to their Aſſiſtance, became the moſt puiſſant. Then it was that a certain *Mandarin*, of the Family of *Lelequel*, was advanc'd to the Throne, who being a valiant and prudent Prince, reſtor'd tranquillity to the whole Kingdom. Who, when he ſaw himſelf Eſtabliſh'd in peace, built that large Palace, which they, who have ſeen it, admire, as well for it's Circuit, as for its magnificent Structure, being all of Marble of divers Colours, both within and without. This King had but one Daughter, who ſoon after her Father's death, the better to ſecure her ſelf, marry'd one of the moſt powerful *Mandarins* in the Country, of the Houſe of *Tran*. But ſoon after, one of her Subjects rebelling againſt her, gave her battel, took her Priſoner, and put her to death. Having thus got the Power into his hands, the Rebel uſurp'd the Throne; but nine years after, he was alſo ſlain in Battel by his own Subjects, who had call'd the *Chineſes* to their Aſſiſtance. They being thus Maſters of the Kingdom, held it for twenty years, and ſet Governours over every Province. But at length the *Mandarins* grew weary of their Oppreſſion, becauſe of the heavy Tributes which they laid upon the *Tunquineſes*; ſo that a valiant Captain of the Houſe of *Le*, having aſſembled a numerous Power together, gave the *Chineſes* three Battels, and in every one overcame them. The *Chineſes* thus expell'd out of *Tunquin*, the Conquerour ſeiz'd the Crown, and in his Family the Regal Government continu'd for above four-ſcore years. After which time, a great Lord, of the Family of *Marr*, which had formerly enjoy'd the Scepter,

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to Revenge himself of an affront which the King had put upon him at Court, found a way to escape his hands, and being assisted by a great Number of discontented Persons, of which the best regulated Kingdoms are always full, and the *Chineses*, who always sought an opportunity to regain what they had lost, after a bloody Battel, he possess'd himself of the Kingdom, it being never known what became of his Predecessor. But this new King enjoy'd the Fruits of his Victory but a small while. For two years afterwards, a *Mandarin*, of the House of *Trin*, having espous'd the Daughter of another great Lord, openly declar'd War against his Soveraign, with a design utterly to extirpate the House of *Marr*. Unhappily for him, death put a stop to his designs, though he left two Sons behind him, able enough to have pursu'd his undertakings. But the eldest, naturally timorous, and fearing to engage himself in a dangerous War, voluntarily submitted himself to the King, who gave him the Government of a Province, and marry'd him to one of his Sister's Daughters. The younger Brother being a valiant Prince, and having his deceased Father's Army at his Devotion, though the King propos'd him great advantages, would give ear to nothing, but out of his ambition to Reign himself continu'd and successfully accomplish'd what his Father had begun. In the second Battel which he gave the King, who was there in person, he took him Prisoner, together with his Brother, who had submitted to him, and some few days after he put them both publicly to death at the head of his Army; the one as an unjust usurper of the Throne; the other as a desertor, who had abandon'd his Father's Army, and so ill follow'd his intentions.

Now though as Victor he might easily have ascended the Throne, and tak'n upon him the Name and Title of King, yet he would not accept of any higher Title then that of General of the Army; and the better to Establish himself in his Authority, and to gain the affection of the People, he caus'd Proclamation to be made through all the Provinces of the Kingdom, that if there were any Prince of the House of *Le* yet remaining alive, he should shew himself, with full assurance that upon his appearing, he should be put into possession of the Kingdom. There was but one to be found,

who had been so closely pursu'd by the House of *Marr*, while it rul'd, that to save his Life he was forc'd to abscond himself in the Frontiers of the Kingdom, under the Habit of a private Soldier. The General was overjoy'd to find that there was yet a lawful Heir of the House of *Le* to be found, that he might place him upon the Throne. So that so soon as he was known to be of the Legitimate Race, all the Equipage and Attendance of a King was sent to him, with Order to all the Provinces as he pass'd along, to receive him as if he were already crown'd. The whole Army march'd two days march to meet the King, and brought him to *Checo*, the capital City of the Kingdom, where he was plac'd in the Throne of his Father, and with great Pomp proclaim'd King of *Tunquin*. But General *Trin*, who car'd not so much for the Royal Title, as the Royal Power, so order'd his business, that leaving to *Le* all the outward shew and Pomp of Royal Authority, he reserv'd to himself the whole command of the Army, and the greatest part of the Revenues of the Kingdom absolutely to dispose of at his own pleasure. So that from that time to this hour, we may affirm that there has been, and still are, two Kings of *Tunquin*, of which the first has only the Name and Title of King, and is call'd *Boüa*, and the second *Choüa*, who has all the Authority, disposing of all things at his pleasure, while the other remains shut up in his Palace like a Slave, not permitted to stir abroad but upon certain days: and then he is carry'd through the Streets of *Checo*, like an Image, though with a magnificent Train and Royal Equipage. He has generally 2000 Soldiers for his Guard; and sometimes 20000 which are quarter'd upon the Frontiers, chiefly toward *Cochinchina*. He also has ready upon the Frontiers 50 Elephants for War. And upon the Rivers of the Kingdom where the Enemy can come to damage him, he usually keeps 100 great Galleys, with a vast company of small Galliots, to which the Soldiers and Rowers that belong, have more pay then the others at Land. And these, that they may row with more strength, row standing, with their Faces toward the Prow, quite contrary to our Rowers, who turn their backs.

The King gives public Audience almost every day; but he makes no Edict, or public Decree, that is of any effect,

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if it be not also Sign'd by the *Choua*. At these Audiences he has with him thirty two Councellors of State, and besides these, a hundred others to judge of all Appeals of the Kingdom. The Eunuchs have a very great Power at Court, as in all other Courts of *Asia*, and the King, as to his most important affairs, confides more in them then in his own Children. The eldest Children do not always succeed their Father; for the *Choua*, or General, with all the Councellors, which are generally his Creatures, thought it convenient, that when the King should have more Sons then one, he should make choice of whom he pleas'd to succeed him. So that so soon as he has nam'd him, the *Choua*, attended by the principal Officers of the Army, Councellors of State, and Eunuchs, come to congratulate him, and to give him their Oaths to set him upon the Throne after the death of his Father; and for the other Brothers they are always shut up in the Palace, as in a Prison, without medling with any affairs of State. They never stir out of the Palace but four times a year, and they never stay abroad above six days at a time, the Officers that attend them being put upon them by the *Choua*, who is as it were Lord high Constable of the Kingdom. The first of these six days of liberty they go to visit the Temples, and the Priests, to whom they give large Alms; the two next days they take their pleasure in hunting; and the three last days they spend their time upon the Rivers, in Galleys sumptuously trimm'd and adorn'd.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* is divided into eight large Provinces, every one of which has its Governour, and its Magistrates, from whose sentence there lies an Appeal to the Court. We should wrong this Country to say that there were no Nobility therein; as indeed there are none in most Kingdoms of *Asia*. But they must all attain to this degree their merit; some by the Warrs, and some by their Learning. They who attain their Nobility by Arms, have wherewithall to live handsomly at home; and they begin to learn their Exercises betimes, at fartherst by eleven or twelve years of Age. The first thing they are to understand, is how to handle their Swords; the Blades of which are streight, long, and broad, like those of the *Switzers*, having but one Edge. They are also taught to aim with their Bows,

and to fire a Musket with Matches, (for they know not the uſe of Fire-Locks) to ride the great Horſe, to ſhoot running, and to manage their *Zagay's*, which are a ſort of Staves, cheek'd with Iron, like a Half-Pike. When they are ready in all theſe Exerciſes, then they learn to make all ſorts of Artificial Fire-works; as alſo how to invent new ones, to make uſe of them againſt the Elephants. By the way I muſt needs tell you, there are ſome of theſe Elephants as I have ſeen ſeveral times, that are ſo accuſtom'd to theſe Artificial Fires, that they regard them not at all, neither are any way diſturb'd at the Squibs that are thrown, and go off under their very Noſes and Bellies. Nevertheleſs of 200 of theſe Creatures which the Eaſtern Kings carry to their Wars at a time, you ſhall have hardly fifteen that are ſo hardy and valiant. So that unleſs their Governours take not great care, inſtead of running upon the Enemy, they turn upon their Friends, and put the whole Army into a moſt diſmal confuſion; as you ſhall hear by the following Story. For *Aurenge-Zebe*, the preſent *Great Mogul*, being then a young Prince, obtain'd of *Cha-gehan*, his Father, to let him have the command of an Army of threeſcore thouſand Men, and fourſcore Elephants; and with this force, out of his Antipathy to the Chriſtians, he laid Siege to *Daman*, a Town belonging to the *Portugals*, fourteen Leagues from *Surat*. The Governour was a perſon of great Valour, and had alſo two Sons with him, who, together with himſelf, had both ſerv'd the King of *France*. He had alſo in the Town eight hundred Gentlemen, who voluntarily put themſelves into the Garriſon for its defence, from all parts of *India* where the *Portugueſes* had to do, and were all excellently well mounted. For the *Portugals* at that time made uſe of none but *Arabian* Horſes, the worſt of which coſt a thouſand Crowns at leaſt. The Governour finding that the *Indian* Prince began to preſs hard upon him, having already made two Aſſaults, reſolv'd with all his Cavalry and Infantry to make a Salley upon *Sunday* Morning, cauſing them to fix at the ends of their Spears and Lances certain Artificial Fire-works, to which they were order'd ſuddenly to give fire, as ſoon as they ſhould gain the Elephants Quarter. This deſign was ſo ſucceſsful, that when it came to be executed, the Elephants were ſo ſuddenly terrifi'd,

terrifi'd, that running impetuouſly through the *Indian* Army, they trod to the ground, and cut in pieces with the Swords and Scithes which were faſten'd to their Trunks, what ever ſtood in their way. The *Portugals* taking advantage of this confuſion, made no leſs havock among the amazed Multitude, whom they had ſurpriz'd ſecurely and profoundly aſleep. For they had an opinion, that the *Portugals* would never attack them upon the Sabboth day, believing they had the ſame veneration for that day which the *Jews* had. But they were utterly deceiv'd, in ſo much that the *Portugals*, by virtue of this Stratagem ſo cloſely purſu'd, obtain'd a notable Victory, to the utter deſtruction of 20000 of *Aurenge-Zebe*'s Army, the ſpoils whereof are reported to have amounted to above twelve Millions.

But to return to the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, I muſt tell you, that the *Tunquineſes* have often wag'd War againſt the *Chineſes*, becauſe the firſt would not pay the latter the Tribute which was accorded them by a Treaty made by one of their Kings, of the Houſe of *Le*. But in the year 1667, the *Chineſes*, ſeeing that the *Tartars* had made themſelves Maſters of their Country, made a Peace with the *Tunquineſes*, wherein it was agreed, that the ſaid Tribute ſhould be no longer paid; but that they ſhould every year ſend an Embaſſador only to *Pequin*, to do homage to the Emperour of *China*.

As for their Juſtice and Policy, they obſerve a very exact Order and Regulation over all the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, as well in their Cities, as in the Country. So that few of the beſt regulated Kingdoms exceed them. More eſpecially they have a great care, for the public good, to repair the Bridges and High-ways; and every quarter of a League there is ſuch Proviſion made, that any Traveller may there meet not only with Water, but Fire alſo to light his Pipe, being generally great ſmoakers of Tobacco.

As for Murder, they are very exact in puniſhing that crime. For they carry the Perſon apprehended before the Judge; and then he muſt hold to his Mouth a little wiſp of Graſs, to ſhew, that by his diſorderly life he had made himſelf a Beaſt. Not much unlike this is the cuſtom in *Perſia*, where the King and his Council condemn or pardon all but ſuch as have murder'd a Man that has any Kindred. For then all the favour that the King can ſhew him is, to deliver

deliver him into the hands of the next of kin to the Person kill'd, who has power to agree with the Criminal for a Sum of Money, which is rarely done, as being accounted an Act both infamous and ignominious. So that if there be no agreement made, then it behoves the next of kin to be the Executioner himself, and put the Criminal to that death to which he is before condemn'd.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Court of the Kings of Tunquin.

ALthough the King, as I have already said, have not much Authority in his Kingdom, which is govern'd altogether by the General, who has the whole *Militia* at his Devotion, yet he is highly honour'd by his Subjects, and he keeps a very Splendid Court. The first and fifteenth day of every Month, all the *Mandarins* who are the Grandees of the Kingdom, are bound to come in their *Chinese* Habits to kiss the King's hands. The Constable, or General, was formerly wont to perform the same Office, but by degrees he has obtain'd a dispensation, and only sends another Prince in his stead. As for all the other *Mandarins*, Governours of Provinces, Justiciaries, and Military Officers, every year they go to kiss the *Choüa's* hands, and to congratulate him upon the first day of the year, which is the fifteenth of the fifth Month; as also when he has obtain'd any great Victory over his Enemies. So that the General has more Honour done him then the King himself. 'Tis also the custom of the *Tunquinese*, among the Men, that when they meet any Person higher in condition then themselves, they make four profound obeysances to the very Earth. But for the Women, what ever their condition be among themselves, they never make but one. They who are desirous to be admitted into the Palace to see the King, are oblig'd to put on Violet Robes, and their Servants must be clad in the same colour. They that approach the King's presence to obtain any favour, must carry

carry a Preſent along with him. For though the Conſtable be the perſon that diſpoſes of all Offices and Commands over all the Court and Kingdom, yet every year upon the fifteenth day of the ſeventh Month, the King diſtributes ſeveral conſiderable Gifts and Largeſſes to his Courtiers; as alſo to the Children of ſuch Fathers who have perform'd any important Service for the good of his Kingdom. He gives them Pains of Gold, every one worth ſix hundred *Livres*; and Bars of Silver, amounting each to forty ſix *Livres*. The ſame day he alſo releaſes all Priſoners, both Criminal and Debtors, provided the crime do not deſerve death; and that the debt do not exceed two Bars of Silver. Alſo every year, the three laſt days of the laſt Month, the 40 *Mandarins*, who are the chief Councellors of State, take the Oaths of all the Lords and Officers of the Court, and of their Wives; cauſing them to ſwear to be faithful to the King, and if they know of any thing that concerns the King's perſon, or his Kingdom, to diſcover it. All Governours of Provinces give the ſame Oaths to the Lords and Gentlemen under their Juriſdictions; and the Governours of Cities to the Citizens, and other Inhabitants. They that diſcover any Treaſon never fail of any reward; only with this diſtinction, in reference to the quality of the Perſons that reveal it. For as for the *Mandarins* and Gentlemen, the King rewards them according to his own pleaſure: But as for the meaner ſort, whether Men or Women, they are ennobl'd, and gratifi'd with a reward of 50 Pains of Gold, and 500 Bars of Silver, which in all amounts to 53000 *Livres*. But they eſteem their Nobility far beyond their Money.

At certain times of the year, there is a Muſter of the Youth of the ſeveral Provinces; and all thoſe who are found not to be either of the Nobility, or not to have learnt any Trade, are preſently enroll'd for the Service of the King, who every five years make choice of ſuch as he intends for his Guard, and ſends them to the Frontier Garriſons. There are ſome who endeavour to get off by Money; but if they be diſcover'd, both the Officers and the Soldier are puniſh'd without redemption. For they hang a little Bell about his Neck, Fetter his Arms, and in that poſture ſend him to the Conſtable, who preſently orders his Head

to

to be ſtruck off. But in regard the *Tunquineſes* are very averſe from ſeeing any Blood ſhed, the Kindred or Friends of the condemn'd Perſon, intercede that he may be hang'd, believing that death to be moſt honourable which is not defil'd with Blood-ſhed; wherein they ſeem to be of the Opinion of the *Turks*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Ceremonies obſerv'd when the Kings of Tunquin *are advanc'd to the Throne.*

BEfore we ſpeak of the Enthroning the Kings of *Tunquin*, and of the Ceremonies that attend it, it behoves us to relate the manner of their ſetting out of the Palace, when they go at any time to take their pleaſure. The King is ſeated upon a moſt magnificent *Palanquin*, carry'd by eight Men, where he may be beheld by all the People; the Lords and Officers of the Court attending him on foot, provided he do not go out of the City: for when he goes into the Country he rides upon an Elephant, and the Lords follow him on Horſe-back. When the Queen Mother, or his firſt Wife go abroad, they are likewiſe carry'd upon a cloſe *Palanquin*, with Lattice-Windows, to the end, they may ſee and not be ſeen; and behind the *Palanquin* follow the Maids of Honour on foot.

The *Mandarins*, and great Princes, ſolemnize their Birth-days every year, with great Feaſting, Paſtimes, Comedies, and Fire-works, and all their Friends and Kindred fail not to attend them to honour the Solemnities. In the year 1645, the eldeſt Son of the King, who was by his Father appointed for his Succeſſor, upon one of his Birth-days ſhew'd the Court all the divertizements he could imagin, and the King who had a great affection for him, ſent him a thouſand Pains of Gold, and five hundred Bars of Silver, to the value of 120000 *Livres*. At which time, large Alms are diſtributed, eſpecially to poor Widows and Priſoners.

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When the King dies, and leaves ſeveral Sons, they ſet up him whom (when alive) he choſe for his Succeſſor. The third day after the Deceaſe of the King, the Conſtable with all the Military *Mandarins*, the Lords of the Council, and all the Governours of Provinces, repair to the Prince's Apartment, where they preſent him with a *Chineſe* Habit, after which having mounted him upon an Elephant, they bring him into one of the great Courts of his Palace, which is all covered with Cloth of Gold and Silver as with a Tent. There it is, that being placed upon a Throne magnificently enrich'd, all the *Mandarins* proſtrate themſelves upon the Earth with their Heads downward; in which poſture having lain for ſome time, they riſe, and cloſing their Hands together, with their Arms and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, they ſwear to the new King to be faithful to him till death. This firſt Ceremony being over, the new King, to ſhew himſelf liberal upon his firſt coming to the Crown, cauſes four Panes of Gold, and ſix Bars of Silver, to be given to every one. But to diſtinguiſh the Conſtable from the reſt, he gives him twenty Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver: and to the Preſident of the Council or Chancellour ten of Gold and twenty of Silver. Theſe Preſents being thus made, ſeveral Pieces of Artillery are fired round the Palace, accompanied with ſeveral Volleys of ſmall Shot, there being then in Arms above 30000 Horſe and Foot; and then the King is ſet upon a magnificent *Palanquin*, and the Conſtable and chief of the Council ride before upon lovely Horſes. Sixteen of the principal Officers of the Court carry the King, *viz.* eight Military *Mandarins*, and eight of the Council. And in this manner they ſet forward to the Apartment of the deceaſed King, from whence all the Lords retire for two hours, except the Eunuchs; and then it is, that the Princeſſes, Ladies of the Court, and chief Wives of the *Mandarins*, come to kiſs the King's Hand, and congratulate his Advancement to the Throne. Which done, all the Lords return again to a noble Feaſt after the manner of the Countrey ready prepar'd. Their Viands are not ſo delicate, nor ſo deliciouſly dreſs'd as ours, neither have they ſo much variety. 'Tis true, they have thoſe *Birds-neſts*, already mention'd, which they mix in the moſt part of their Diſhes, which gives the Meat a taſt of

almoſt all ſorts of Spices. Of all the Meats which they eat Colts Fleſh is in moſt eſteem, and Dogs Fleſh, neither of which agree with our Palates. The Feſtival is concluded with Comedies and Fireworks, which la allſt the night. The next day the 30000 Men that gave their Volleys of ſmall Shot the day before, are drawn up in good order in a Field next, and all the principal Officers of War, Colonels, Captains, and Lieutenants, leave the Frontiers to be at the ſame place. Then the King mounted upon his *Palanquin*, and carried by ſixteen of his principal Officers, the Conſtable and grand Squire riding before, and attended by ſeveral other Commanders on foot, with ſeveral Mummers that play and dance before the *Pallanquin*, goes forth of his Palace, the Drums, Trumpets, Cornets, and other Warlike Inſtruments, filling the Air with their Martial Sounds. In this Pomp, and with this Equipage, the King being come to the Camp, quits his *Palanquin*, and mounts one of his great Elephants of War, which are us'd to the noiſe of the Guns and ſight of the Fireworks. Being thus mounted, he rides into the middle of all his Troops, in which place all the Officers ſwear Fidelity to him; after which he beſtows his Gifts upon them, to every Colonel two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; to every Captain the half of what he gives a Colonel, and to every Lieutenant the half of what he gives a Captain: and as for the Souldiers, they have every one a Moneths Pay. Theſe Preſents being made, the whole Army diſcharges three Volleys, and then every Company retreats into a large Hutt, where they have Meat and Drink prepar'd for them, enough to ſerve them a whole day and a night. In the ſame Field is alſo ſet up a fair wooden Palace, ſumptuouſly enriched within with Paintings and ſeveral pieces of Workmanſhip in Gold. There the King ſpends all the night, ſome part in Feaſting, ſome part in Plays and ſeeing the Mummers dance, and the reſt in beholding the Fireworks. The next day the King leaves his wooden Palace, which is afterwards fir'd by the Souldiers, as well as their own Hutts, and ſo returns to the City. Being arrived at his Palace with the ſame pomp that he went forth, he ſeats himſelf upon his Throne, and there ſhews his Liberality to thoſe that made the Fireworks, to the Comedians and Dancers, and all the reſt that were any way contributary,

tributory to the setting forth the Pomp of the Ceremony. Then he gives Access to all the People, and two Commissioners, one for the Merchants, and the other for the Handicrafts, make a Speech to the King, the substance whereof is, that all the Burgesses and Inhabitants of the good City of *Checo* do acknowledge him for their King, and that they will be faithful to him till death. The Speech being ended, the King presents the Body of the Merchants with 50 Panes of Gold, and 300 Bars of Silver; and the Body of the Tradesmen with 20 Panes of Gold, and 100 Bars of Silver. The People gone home, every one strives who shall spend most in Feasting and Comedies, adding of their own to the Kings Bounty; so that every Quarter of the City is full of Jollity and Rejoycing for a week together. Some days after come the Commissioners for the Commonalty, from all parts of the Kingdom, who in the behalf of their Cities and Towns make known to His Majesty the universal Joy of the People for their lawful Prince, assuring him of their Fidelity, and of their Service against the *Chineses*. They name particularly the *Chineses*, because the *Tunquineses* have no greater Enemies than they, and for that the Hatred between them is irreconcileable. The King observing the good will of his People, testifies his Acknowledgment in this manner: All that have not time out of mind been Rebels to their lawful Sovereigns, but have constantly taken up Arms for their Defence, are discharged for a year from all Taxes and Impositions; and for the rest, who have at any time formerly assisted the Enemy, they are onely exempted for six moneths. All Prisoners for Debt partake also of the King's Bounty, so that after the President of the Council has made a Composition with the Creditors for half the Summe, the King pays the rest.

It is a thing almost incredible, what a vast number of Sacrifices the King sends to the Temples of his false Gods, to be there offer'd to the Idols.

The number of Beasts is said to exceed an hundred thousand, besides the value of a million in Panes of Gold, Tissues, and Silks, to adorn the Idols, and Orange-coloured Calicuts for the *Bonzes*, and those that attend the Service of the *Pagods*. Among the rest of these Presents he sends a vast number of Pieces of blue Calicuts for the poor people that are

kept in the *Pagods*, as our Poor are kept in Hospitals. The Idolatrous Princes also consume incredible Summes to adorn the *Pagods* and Images of their false Gods. There are some of them three foot high, all of massy Gold; others of Silver bigger than the Life.

The new King after all these Ceremonies are over, takes his time to go and give thanks to his false Deities for his coming to the Crown when the Moon first changes, shutting himself up for the first week with the *Bonzes*, and living in common with them with a great deal of Frugality.

During this time he visits the principal Hospitals, to see how the poor people are us'd, especially the old Folks, whom they have in great Veneration, to whom he distributes new Alms; for naturally the *Tunquineses* are very charitable. To conclude, he makes choice of some fair Situation, where he orders the building of a new *Pagod*, which he devotes to some of his Idols. Thus his Devotion being ended, upon the first day of the second Quarter, he mounts one of his Elephants of War, attended by all the Officers of his Court on Horse-back, and ten or twelve thousand men on foot, chosen out of the whole Army to attend him. All the second Quarter the whole Court stays in a certain Plain, where are three Houses set up, one for the King, one for the Constable, and one for the President of the Council; with a world of Huts for the rest. There are also several small Cabins set up, which are not covered and closed but upon one side, which they turn as the Wind blows; and these are the places where they dress their Victuals: For at that time the King allows two meals a day to all his Attendants.

Through this Plain runs the River of ———— which is very broad in that place. Upon this River are several Galleys richly gilded and painted, but especially the Admiral, which exceeds all the rest in Magnificence. The Prow, the Poop, the Ropes, the Oars, but onely that part which goes into the water, glitter all with Gold; the Benches very ingeniously painted, the Rowers well clad. For there the Rowers are all Souldiers and Freemen, contrary to the Custom in *Europe*. The Souldiers in their youth are taught to handle their Oars, and have somewhat better Pay than the Land-Souldiers. The Galleys are not so big as

ours,

ours, but they are longer, and cut the water better. While the King ſtays in this place, he diverts himſelf with ſeeing theſe Galleys row one againſt another. In the Evening the Rowers come aſhoar with their Captains to kiſs the King's Hand, and they that have behav'd themſelves moſt ſtoutly and nimbly, carry off the Marks of his Bounty. The ſeven days being paſt, the King calls before him all the Souldiers of the Galleys with their Officers, and gives them two moneths Wages extraordinary, as he does to his Land-Souldiers. 'Tis a wonderful thing to behold the vaſt number of Fireworks which they throw about, as well upon the Land as upon the Water. For my Brother, who has been preſent at all theſe Shews, has told me, that for theſe ſeven days together you would think the Air and Water all on fire. Being at *Bantam* I once ſaw one of theſe artificial Firework-Shews which the *Tunquineſes* that were there plaid off before the King, and I muſt confeſs it was quite another thing from what we make in *Europe*.

The ſeven days being paſt, the King returns to the City in the ſame order, and with the ſame pomp, as he went forth; and being come to his Palace, he goes directly to the Apartment of his Princeſſes, where none but his Eunuchs accompany him, where he ſtays all the reſt of the moneth. Every Evening he diverts himſelf with new Fireworks, which are plaid off before the Womens Lodgings; where alſo the Eunuchs, together with the Comedians and Mummers, contribute to divertiſe the Ladies.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Funeral Pomp of the Kings of Tunquin, *and of their manner of Burying their Dead.*

WHen the King of *Tunquin* dies, he is presently Embalm'd and laid in a Bed of State, where for sixty five days the People have liberty to come and see him. All that time he is serv'd as he was when he was alive; and when the Meat is taken from before the Body, one half is given to the *Bonzes*, and the other half to the Poor. So soon as the King hath breath'd his last gasp, the Constable gives notice thereof to the Governours of Provinces, and orders them how long they shall Mourn.

All the Military *Mandarins* and Judges wear Mourning generally three years, the King's Houshold nine moneths, the Nobility six, and the meaner sort three moneths. During these three years there is a Cessation from all Divertisements, except those that attend the Ceremony of the King's Advance or Elevation to the Throne. All the Viands which are serv'd up to the King are vernish'd with Black. The King cuts his Hair, and covers his Head with a Bonnet of Straw, as do likewise all the Princes and Counsellors of State; neither do they leave off that Habit till the King's Body be in the Galley which is to carry him to his Enterment. Three Bells which hang in one of the Towers of the Palace, never leave tolling from the King's expiring till the Corps be put into the Galley. The third day after his Decease all the *Mandarins* repair to Court, to testifie their sorrow which they have for the Death of the deceased King, and ten days after that the People are allowed to see the Body lie in State, till it be put into the Galley.

During the sixty five days that the Body is thus expos'd, the Constable is busie in preparing for the Funeral Pomp. From the Palace to the place where the Galleys wait for the Body, it is about two days Journey, and all the way

spread

The Order obſerv'd in the March of the Funeral Pomp at the Interment of the Kings of *Tunquin*.

1. *Two Meſſengers of the Chamber proclaim the deceaſed King's Name; each of them bears a Mace, the Head whereof is full of combuſtible ſtuff for Artificial Fire or Fuſées.*

2. *Next proceed Twelve Elephants; on each of the four foremoſt is one bearing the King's Standard. Then follow four other Elephants, with Wooden Turrets on their Backs, and in every one of theſe are Six Men, ſome being armed with Muſquets, others with Fire Lances. The four laſt Elephants do ſeverally carry a kind of Cage; ſome of which are on all ſides ſhut up with Glaſs Windows, the other with a ſort of Grates; the firſt being of a Square, the other having ſix ſides and facing.*

3. *Then rides the Maſter of the Horſe, attended with two Pages on Horſe-back.*

4. *Twelve Horſes are led by the Bridle two and two, by as many Captains of the Guard. The Harneſs of the firſt Six Horſes is very rich, the Bit, and all the Furniture of the Bridle and Saddle are of pure Gold, the Saddles are embroydered likewiſe with Gold: But the Six other Horſes Harneſs is all cover'd over with Gold Plates.*

5. *The Chariot which bears the* Mauſolee, *wherein is the King's Corps, is dragged by Eight Stags trained to this Service. Each of theſe Stags is led by a Captain of the Life Guard.*

6. *Then follows the new King afoot clad in White Satten, with a Straw Cap on his Head. If he hath any Brothers, they attend on him in the like Attire; and they are ſurrounded with Muſicians and Players on the* Hoboys, *and other Inſtruments.*

7. *There proceeds afterwards Six Princeſſes in White Satten, who carry Meat and Drink for the deceaſed King. Theſe are attended*

tended by two Ladies of Honour in Purple Garments; and about these Ladies are several Musicians.

8. *Eight Princes of the Royal Bloud go in Purple Garments with Straw Hats.*

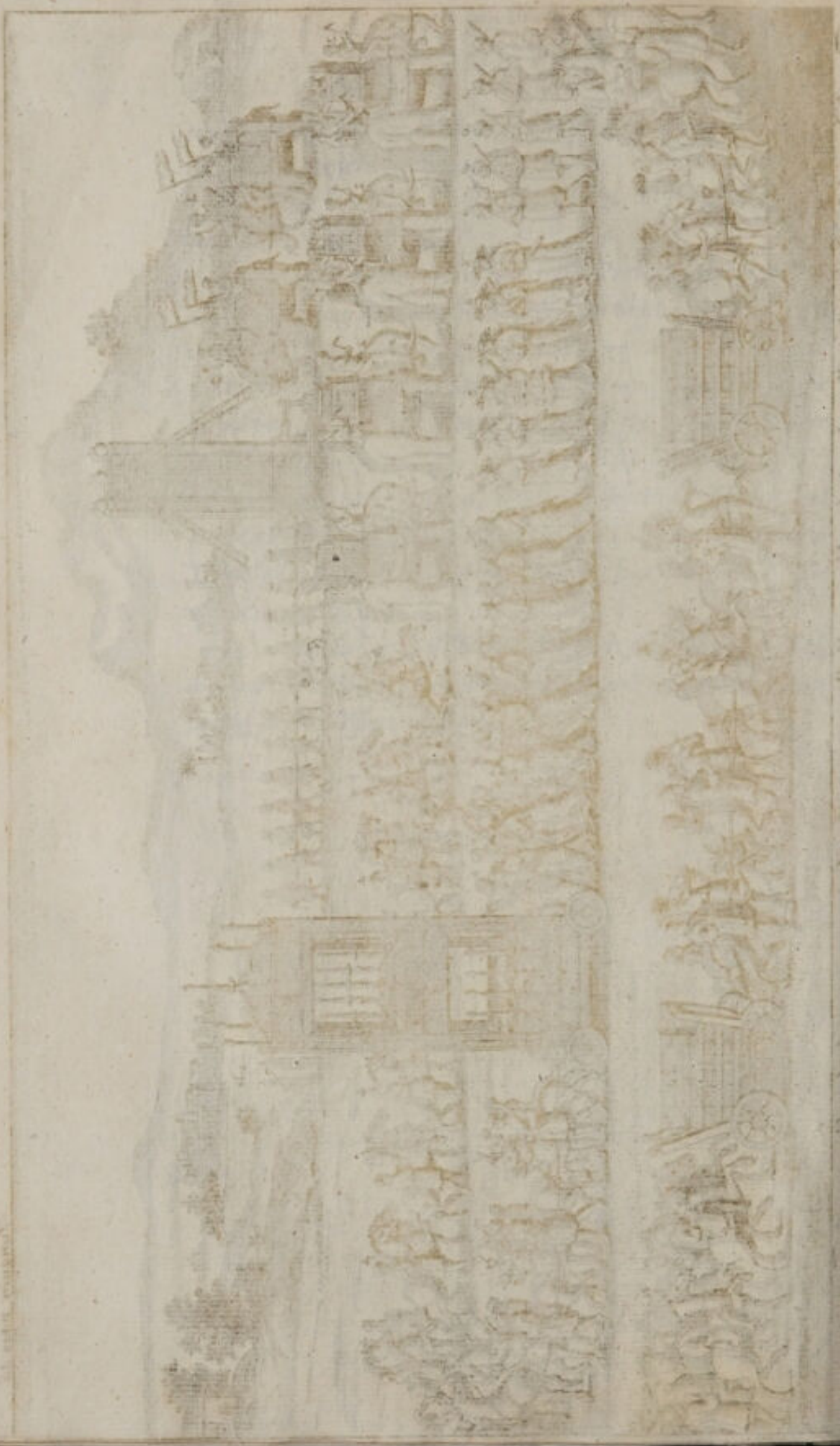
9. *Four Governours of the four chief Provinces of the Kingdom, each bearing a Stick on his Shoulder, on which hangs a Bag full of Gold and several Perfumes; and these Bags contain the Presents which the several Provinces make unto the deceased King, for to be buried with his Corps, that he may make use of the same in the other World.*

10. *Two Chariots go next, each drawn by Eight Horses, and every Couple being led by Two Men. In each Chariot is a Coffer or Trunk full of Bars of Gold and other Riches, for the deceased King's use in the Life to come.*

11. *A great Crowd of the King's Officers, and of the Nobility, do follow this Funeral Pomp, some afoot and some on horse-back, according to their Offices and Qualities.*

Place this Page 46.

The Order observd in the March of the Funerall Pompe at the Interrment of the Kings of Tunquin.



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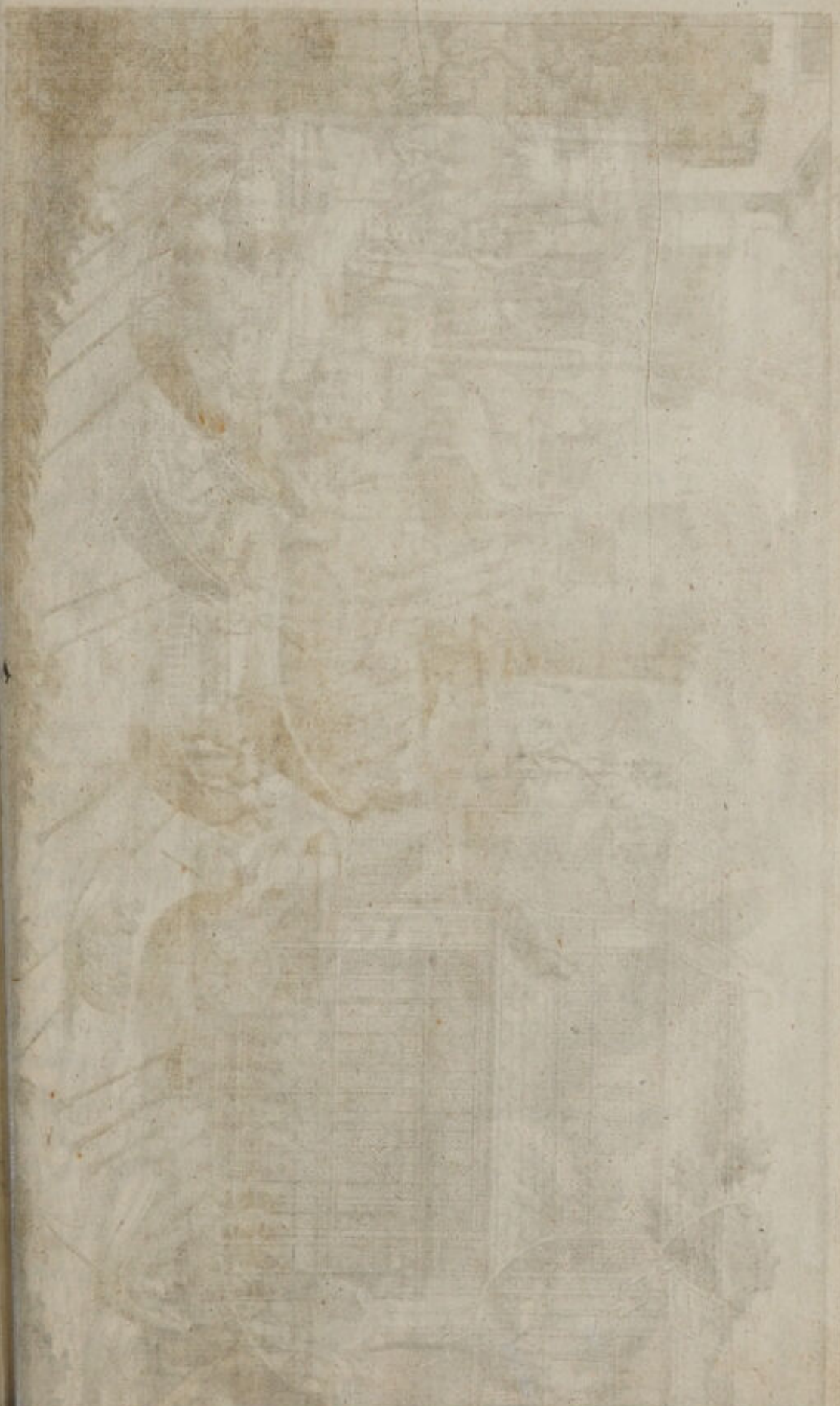

Tonquin page 47.

A Continuation of the Order obſerved at the Funeral Pomp of the Kings of *Tunquin*, ſetting out from the City of *Bodlego*.

The King's Body is put into a Galley, which is drawn up the River. This River is increaſed by ſeveral Brooks that come down from the Mountains, and it runs through barren and Deſart Countries. In ſome of theſe places they are wont to bury the Corps very privately; for ſix onely of the chief Eunuchs of the Court are to know where the King hath been buried. An Oath is tendered to them never to reveal the place. And this is done perhaps on ſome Religious Motive, and likewiſe through Fear, that the Treaſures which are buried by him ſhould be digged up. Theſe Riches are ordinarily ſome Maſſy Bars of Gold and Silver, as likewiſe ſome Pieces of Cloth of Gold and Silver, and ſuch kinds of other rich Furnitures, which he is to make uſe of (as they ſay) when he hath need of them in the other World. Many Lords and Ladies of the Court will needs be buried Alive with him, for to ſerve him in the places where he is to go. I have obſerved in paſſing through the Eſtates of the Raja *or Prince of* Velouche, *which border on the Eaſterly parts of the Kingdom of* Viſapour, *that the Wives ſuffer themſelves to be buried Alive near their deceaſed Husbands, inſtead of being burned, as they practiſe in other Provinces of the* Indies.

A. *Here you ſee the Proſpect of the City of* Bodlego.

B. *The Galley where the King's Corps is.*

C. *Two Galleys do carry the Lords who go to be buried Alive with the King. That which is grated about is full of Ladies, who likewiſe offer themſelves to be interred Alive with him.*

D. *Other Galleys, wherein are the Treaſures which are to be buried with the Corps.*

Place this next to, The Order in the March of the Funeral Pomp, &c.

ſpread with Violet-colour'd Calicut, which is the King's Colour. But in regard the King and all the Court march afoot both going and coming, they make it ſeventeen days Journey. At every quarter of a Leagues end are ſet up Huts, where is ready prepar'd Water to drink, and Fire to light their Tobacco. After the Pomp is over, and that the King is returned home, the Cloth is taken up and given to the *Bonzes*.

As to the order of their March it is thus:

The two men that go formoſt of all, are the two Uſhers of the Door of the King's Chamber, who go repeating aloud the Name of the deceaſed King, carrying each of them a Mace of Arms, the bole whereof is full of artificial Fireworks. The twelve that follow, are the twelve chief Officers of the Galley, which draw the Tomb whereon the King's Name is written. Then follows the grand Squire on Horſeback, attended by two others. Next appear twelve led Horſes, which are led two by two, ſix of which have their Bridles enrich'd with thin Plates of Gold and their Saddles embroydered. The other ſix with Bridles of Gold, and Houſſes embroidered, and fring'd about with a Gold and Silver Fringe; every Horſe being led by two men. Next to them follow twelve Elephants, four which carry each of them a man carrying a Standard; four others which carry each of them a Tower with ſix men apiece, ſome with Muſquets, others with Fire Lances; the four laſt carry each of them a kind of a Cage, of which one is made with Glaſs Windows before and upon each ſide; the other like a kind of a Lattice, and the other with four kinds of Ruſſs: and theſe are the King's Elephants which he rode upon when he went to the Wars. Behind them follow eight Horſes, every one of them led by a Captain of the Guard, who draw the Herſe. The new King, and his Brothers if he have any, or the Princes of the Bloud, follow the Herſe, clad in Robes of White Satten, which is their Mourning Colour. Laſtly follow two Chariots, each one drawn by eight Horſes, and carrying two Coffers, wherein are the Panes of Gold, Bars of Silver, rich Tiſſues and Habits, which are to be buried with the Body of the deceaſed King.

The

The Funerals of the Tunquineſes.

AS for the ordinary Funerals of the *Tunquineſes*, they are more or leſs pompous, according to the Quality of the Perſons.

At their Enterments they uſe great ſtore of artificial Fire-works, which are the Companions as well of their Sorrow as their Joy. They ſet upon the Tomb of the deceaſed good ſtore of Victuals and Comfitures, out of a belief that the dead are the better for them. For their Prieſts keep them in that blind Error for their own advantage, and ſo well order their buſineſs, that there is nothing left by morning. The ſame thing is practiſed by the *Chineſes* at *Batavia*, where they have a place without the Town to bury their dead, which puts me in mind of this Story: Every evening the Guard is relieved as well in the City as in the Fortreſs. At the ſame time alſo they put forth eight Souldiers and a Corporal at each Gate of the City, who go the Rounds about the Walls of the City, and as far as within Canon-ſhot of the Walls, being fearful of being ſurpriſed by the King of *Mataran*, or *Bontam*, their Capital Enemies. Now becauſe the *Chineſes* burying place lay in the Walk of theſe Souldiers, when they ſaw the Provant upon one of the Tombs, took it away to their Guard, and there feaſted themſelves. The *Chineſe* Prieſts, that uſually came about midnight to take away the Victuals, finding themſelves ſeveral times bereaved of their Expectations, and ſuſpecting the Souldiers belonging to the *Holland* Garriſon, firſt complained to the General and Council; but that not taking effect, they reſolved to poiſon both the Meat and the Drink, to prevent the like Fraud for the future. This took ſo good effect, that afterwards many of the *Dutch* Souldiers being poiſoned, deterr'd the reſt from any more ſuch Licoriſh Attempts.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Religion and Superstition of the Tunquineses

THe *Tunquineses* as to matters of Religion are divided into three Sects: The first takes its original from an ancient Philosopher called *Confutius*, whose Memory is very famous over all *China*, and the neighbouring Countries. Their Doctrine asserts that Man is compos'd of two parts, the one fine and subtil, the other material and gross; and that when Man dies, the subtiler part goes into the Air, and the grosser part stays in the Earth. This Sect maintains the use of Sacrifices, and adores the seven Planets. But among all their Gods and Idols they have four in particular veneration; the Names of these Gods are *Rauma*, *Betolo*, *Ramonu*, and *Brama*. They have a Goddess also, whose Name is *Satisbana*, which is she whom the Women adore; but for the King and the *Mandarins*, especially the more studious sort, they adore the Heavens. The second Sect had for its Founder a certain Hermite called *Chacabout*, and is followed by the most part of the meaner people. He has taught them the Tranlmigration of Souls, and has enjoyn'd his Followers to observe 10 Commandments.

The first is, That they shall not kill. 2. That they shall not steal. 3. That they shall not defile their Bodies. 4. That they shall not lye. 5. That they shall not be unfaithful in their words. 6. That they shall restrain their inordinate Desires. 7. That they shall do injury to no man. 8. That they shall not be great Talkers. 9. That they shall not give way to their Anger. 10. That they shall labour to their utmost to get Knowledge.

As for them that design to live a Religious Life, they must renounce the Delights of this Life, be charitable to the poor, overcome their Passions, and give themselves up to Meditation. He taught moreover, that after this Life there were ten distinct places of Joy and Torment: and that the Contemners of this Law should feel Torments proportionable

to their Offences, without any end of their Torments. That they that endeavour'd to fulfill his Law, and had fail'd in any point, they ſhould wander in divers Bodies for 3000 years before they entered into happineſs. But that they who had perfectly obeyed his Law, ſhould be rewarded without ſuffering any change of Body. And that he himſelf had been born ten times, before he enjoyed the Bliſs which he poſſeſſed, not having in his firſt Youth been illuminated with that Knowledge which he afterwards attained. This *Chacabout* was one of the greateſt Impoſtors that ever was in *Aſia*, having ſpread his Opinions over all the Kingdom of *Siam*, over a great part of the Provinces of *Japon*, and from thence into *Tunquin*, where he died.

The third Sect is that of *Lanthu*, to whoſe Fables the *Japoneſes* and *Chineſes* give great credence, but the *Tunquineſes* more. He was a *Chineſe* by Nation, and one of the greateſt Magicians in the Eaſt. He made a great many Diſciples, who to authorize this black Impoſtor, and the more to impoſe upon the people, made them believe that the Birth of *Lanthu* was miraculous, and that his Mother carried him in her Womb, without loſing her Virginity, ſeventy years. He taught much of *Chacabout's* Doctrine; but that which won the Hearts of the people was, that he ſtill exhorted the Grandees to build Hoſpitals in all Cities where there had been none before. Inſomuch that ſeveral of the Nobility betook themſelves to thoſe places to look after the Sick, as did alſo a great number of the *Bonzes* for the ſame reaſon. While my Brother was there, the *Choüa*, a great Enemy to theſe Vagabonds, ſent for a great number of *Bonzes* and *Says*, or idle Fellows, and picking out the ſtrongeſt and beſt proportion'd, ſent them away to the Frontiers for Souldiers.

'Tis the Cuſtom of the *Tunquineſes* to adore three things in their Houſes: The firſt is the Hearth of their Chimney made of three Stones The ſecond is an Idol which they call *Tienſa*, which is the Patroneſs of Handicrafts, as Sculpture, Painting, Goldſmith's work, &c. So that when they put forth a Child to learn any of thoſe Trades, before they let him work they ſet up an Altar, and ſacrifice to this Idol, to the end he may infuſe into the Lad wit and aptneſs to learn. The third is the Idol *Buabin*, which they implore

when they design to build an House. For then they erect an Altar, and send for the *Bonzes* and *Says* to sacrifice to this Idol. To this purpose they make great preparation of all sorts of Viands, and then present him with several gilt Papers, wherein are written several Magic words, endeavouring by that means that he may not suffer any misfortune to befall the House they are going to build.

There are some *Tunquineses* that adore the Heaven, others the Moon, and others the Stars. There are also some that adore five parts of the Earth, making a fifth part in the middle of that which is known to us, and to them also, but confusedly. When they worship them, they have for each of the parts a particular Colour. When they adore the Northern part, they clothe themselves in black; and the Dishes and Table whereon they lay their Sacrifices are likewise black. When they worship the South their Habit is red; when the East, green; when the West, white; and when they adore the middle of the World, they wear Yellow.

They offer Offerings likewise to Trees, Elephants, Horses, Cows, and almost to all other sorts of Animals. They that study the *Chinese* Characters are accustomed every fifth moneth of the year, to sacrifice for the Souls of the dead who were never buried. They believe that by so doing their Understandings shall be more enlightned for the apprehending of all things.

Every year, at the beginning of the year, they have a great Solemnity, to honour after their death those who in their life-time have done any noble action, and were renowned for their Valour, reckoning in that number those that have been so hardy as to rebel against their Princes, as being men of Courage. Three days before this great Solemnity, which is perform'd in a large Field, they set up several Altars, some for the Sacrifices, others for the Names of the Illustrious Men whom they design to honour. The Eve before above 40000 Souldiers spend the night in this Plain, where all the Princes and *Mandarins* are ordered to meet with their Elephants and led Horses, and the King himself goes thither in person. After they have finished all their Sacrifices, and burnt good store of Incense to the Honour of the dead, the King and all the *Mandarins* make three pro-

found Reverences where the Altars are ; then the King ſhoots with his Bow and Arrows five times againſt the Altars, where lie the Names of thoſe that were ſo raſh as to rebel againſt their Sovereigns. After that the great Guns go off, and the Souldiers give three Volleys of ſmall Shot, to put all the Souls to flight. Then they burn all the Altars, and a great number of gilt Papers, which were made uſe of at the Sacrifices ; concluding all with a moſt hideous ſhout of all the Souldiery. Which done, the *Bonzes*, *Says*, and ſuch like people, come and devour the Meat that was made uſe of for the Sacrifices.

The firſt and fifteenth days of the Moneth 'tis a wonderful thing to hear the Chiming Din of their great Bells. For thoſe are the more eſpecial Holydays ſet apart for the Worſhip of their Gods, and all the *Bonzes* and *Says* give them more than ordinary Worſhip upon thoſe days, redoubling their Prayers, and repeating upon thoſe days every one of them a ſtrange kind of Charm ſix times over. At theſe times ſeveral people bring Meat and Drink to the Sepulchres of their Kindred, to ſacrifice for the good of their Souls to eat. The *Bonzes* fail not to be there, and when the others have paid their Devoirs the *Bonzes* fall to, and what they cannot eat they give to the poor. But for all the auſtere Lives of theſe *Bonzes* and *Says*, neither the King nor the *Mandarins* make any account of them, ſo that they are in credit onely with the common people.

In the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, where the great Cities have ſeveral *Pagods*, there is hardly a Town or Village that has not one, and for every *Pagod* at leaſt two *Bonzes* and two *Says*. But there are ſome *Pagods* that maintain forty *Bonzes* and as many *Says*, who live in common under a Superiour, they keep to the Doctrine of *Chacabout*, and a Goat is the Idol which they adore. They wear about their Necks a kind of Necklace, conſiſting of 100 Beads, very big and made of Wood. In their Hands they carry a Staff, which is headed with a Bird of varniſh'd Wood. They beg for their living, and are not like the *Bonzes* in other Kingdoms, who beg Alms as it were their due ; theſe on the contrary uſe all the modeſty and humility that may be, never taking more than is needful for them : and if they have any thing to ſpare, they give it to the poor Widows or Orphans that cannot get

their

The Representation Of The Pagods or Temples of The Idolators In Tunquin. With The Figures Of Their Dieties. & Their Different Posturs Which They Vse When They Doe Penance, And Accomplish Their Superstitiús Vowes. Or When They Practise Their Magic Impostursⁿ Which They Are Much Addicted N. 1. Thaibout. 2. Thainhou Thoni & Bagoti Manitiana And minist

their living. Their Orders permit them to marry, provided they leave their Monaſtery. They aſſiſt at the Funerals of great men, where they ſay a kind of Orizon, ſounding their Trumpets and Cornets, while the Bells in their *Pagods* go at the ſame time.

The *Tunquineſes* alſo have a great veneration for two Magicians, and one Magicianeſs. The firſt of their Magicians, whom they call *Tay-bou*, makes them believe that he knows the Events of things to come; ſo that when they have any occaſion to marry their Children, build a Houſe, buy Land, or undertake any buſineſs of Conſequence, they conſult this Oracle to know what ſhall happen to them. The Magician courteouſly receives them, and with a counterfeit modeſty demands of them (for Example) the Age of the perſon concerned. Then taking into his hands a great Book about three fingers thick, wherein are the Figures of Men, half Men, and ſeveral ſorts of Land and Water Animals, of Circles, Triangles, and Squares, he goes to work, and at the ſame time puts into a Goblet three Pieces of Copper, whereon are engraven ſeveral Characters onely upon one ſide. After he has ſhaken the Pieces in the Cup, he throws them upon the ground as at Croſs and Pile; if all the Characters lie undermoſt he looks no further in his Book, but looks upon it as an unfortunate ſign; but if one or two Characters come up, he looks in his Book, and makes the perſon believe what he pleaſes. But if all the Characters happen to turn uppermoſt, then the Magician cries out, that the Party is the moſt fortunate in the world.

The ſecond Magician is called *Thay-Phou-Thouy*, to whom they have recourſe in all their Sickneſſes. When any ſick perſon comes to him, he takes a Book full of Figures like the former; onely the Form of the Book is different, for this is not above an inch thick, and about four fingers long, with eight Panes full of Cyphers. If after ſeveral Apiſh tricks which he acts before the ſick perſon to amuſe him, he affirms that the Diſtemper comes from the Devil, he himſelf, together with the ſick party and they that brought him, do Homage to the evil ſpirit: this Homage conſiſts of ſeveral Sacrifices, and the Friends of the ſick party preſent to the Devil, or rather to the Magician, a Table furniſh'd with Rice and other Viands. But if after all theſe Offerings the

ſick

ſick party do not recover his health, all the Friends and Kindred of the ſick party, with as many Souldiers as they can get, ſurround the ſick perſons Houſe, and ſhoot off their Muſquets three times, to drive away the Devil. Sometimes the Magician makes the ſick party and his Friends believe, that the God of the Waters is the cauſe of the Diſtemper, eſpecially if the ſick perſon belongs to the Water, as being a Mariner, Boatman, or Fiſherman. And to the end he may be cur'd, and that the appeas'd God may return to his watry Habitation, he orders that all the way from the ſick parties Houſe to the next River may be ſpread with all the Pieces of Stuff which all the Kindred have, and that they ſet up Huts at ſuch and ſuch diſtances, and keep in every one a ſeveral Table furniſh'd with all ſorts of Viands for 3 days. And all this to oblige the Deity to retire, and to entertain him till he gets home. But the better to know the riſe of the Diſeaſe, *Thay-Phou-Thouy* makes them believe, that they muſt go and conſult *Thay-Bou*, who is the chief Magician, and if he anſwer that the Souls of the dead have cauſed the Diſtemper, the Magician imploys all his tricks and devices to draw to him thoſe miſchievous Souls; and when he has got into his Clutches, as he pretends, the Soul that is the Author of the Diſeaſe, he ſhuts him up in a Bottle full of Water till the party be cured; and then breaking the Bottle he ſets the Soul at liberty to go about his buſineſs. When the party recovers, he makes him and his Friends believe, that if the Bottle had not been well ſtopp'd to keep in the Soul, their Kinſman would have died infallibly.

The Magicianeſs, which the *Tunquineſes* alſo conſult, is called *Bacoti*, and ſhe keeps a great Correſpondence with the Devil, to whom, if ſhe has a Daughter, ſhe offers her as ſoon as ſhe is born, the more to oblige him. If any Mother bewail the death of her Child, and be deſirous to know in what condition the Soul of the Child is in, in the other world, ſhe goes to *Bacoti*, who to ſatisfie the Mother preſently falls a beating her Drum, to ſummon the Soul to come to her, who preſently appears, as ſhe pretends, and tells her its Condition whether good or bad. But moſt commonly ſhe makes the ſilly Mothers believe that the Soul is happy, and bids them be of good cheer.

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The Superſtitions of theſe people are very numerous, but the moſt remarkable are theſe:

The ſtudious ſort of people are very diligent to learn, how by looking in a Mirrour to foretell things to come.

There are ſome that preſent *Aqua Vitæ* to the dead, and ſprinkle their Aſhes with it; but this onely upon the Aſhes of their Anceſtors, from whom at the ſame time they beg for Health, Honour, and Riches.

Others there are, that upon the firſt day of their year take a piece of Chalk, and make ſeveral Figures round, ſquare, and triangular, upon the Threſhold and Steps of their Doors. They ſay thoſe Figures fright away the evil ſpirits. Some there are that make great Obſervations upon the Feet of their Hens, and draw ſtrange Concluſions of bad or ill fortune from thence. Others travelling into the Countrey, if they ſneeze but once by the way, return to the place from whence they parted in the morning, ſaying, That had they gone on, ſome miſchief would have certainly befallen them: but if they ſneeze twice, they purſue their Journey, never fearing any danger for that day.

There are ſome ſo ſuperſtitious, that going out of their Houſes, if they meet a Woman, they return home again for two or three hours; but if they meet a Man, 'tis a good *Omen*.

The firſt Fruit which they gather at the beginning of the year, is that which the *Araguer* bears, ſpoken of in the third Chapter. And this is the firſt which they eat with great Ceremony, during the firſt Quarter of their ſecond Moneth. To which purpoſe they are ſo poſſeſs'd with the Devil, that they poyſon one of theſe Fruits, and give it to a Child to eat, believing that by taking away the life of the poor innocent Child, they ſhall thrive the better all the year after.

When the Moon is eclipſed, they ſay there is a certain Dragon that aſſails her, and endeavours with all his might to overcome her, with an intention to devour her. Then to aſſiſt the Moon, and to put the Dragon to flight, they diſcharge their Muſquets, ring their Bells, beat up their Drums, and make a hideous noiſe till the Eclipſe be over: and then they believe that they have reſcued the Moon, for which they make as great a rejoycing, as if they had obtain'd ſome eminent Victory over their Enemies.

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They are alſo very ſuperſtitious in reference to the hours of the day. They divide the natural day into twelve hours, and to every one they give the name of ſome Beaſt, as of a Tiger, a Lion, a Bear, a Horſe, a Dragon, an Ape, &c. The Moneths alſo and Days have their particular Names: and when a Child is born, preſently the Father and Kindred go to ſee the name of the Beaſt by which the Hour was call'd wherein the Child was born; believing that Animal will prove fatal to it. At the time that my Brother was at the Court at *Tunquin*, the King then reigning being born in the hour of the Horſe, would never give Audience, nor ever ſtir out of his Palace at that hour, for fear ſome miſchief ſhould befall him at that time. That Prince was ſo ſuperſtitious, that one of his Children dying in the fifth moneth, which bears the name of the Horſe, he would never permit him to be enterr'd, but caus'd him to be burnt, and ſcatter'd his aſhes in the Air.

This is that which I could gather of moſt remarkable and moſt conſiderable matters concerning the State of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, either out of the Manuſcripts which my Brother (who died in the *Indies*) left me, or from the Diſcourſe which I have had with the *Tunquineſes* themſelves both at *Bantam* and *Batavia*.

OF

OF THE

ISLAND

OF

FORMOSA.

CHAP. I.

How the Hollanders *poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and how it was taken from them by the* Chineſes.

THE Iſland of *Formoſa* is about Eighty Leagues in compaſs; ſo that the *Hollanders* were never in poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland, but were onely Maſters of four Fortreſſes, and two and fifty Villages, wherein they could number about fourteen or fifteen thouſand Inhabitants. As for that part which is under the *Indians*, the beſt diſcovery that we can give, is onely ſuch as was made by a young *Hollander* upon this occaſion.

There was in the chief Fort belonging to the *Hollanders* a young man, imployed there as an under-Factor, who being wild and extravagant, was put out of his place and made a Souldier. He not able to undergo that miserable course of life, resolved with himself rather to die, than live in that mean condition. Thereupon having at several opportunities made a shift to make up a little Pack of what he thought was most fit for the Mountainiers of the Island, he watch'd his time and stole out of the Fort, and took his way directly toward the Mountains. With these Highlanders he liv'd four years, in which time having learnt the Trade and Language of the Countrey, he ventur'd to return to the *Hollanders* again, who received him kindly, as being willing to understand the Government of the People, and by what means they might traffick with them. Whereupon the young man made them this Relation.

As for the Government of the People he said, that over every six Villages there was an Overseer with four Counsellors, who administer Justice, and punish the smallest Theft with Death. The Men are crucified; the Women are laid along upon a thick Beam of Wood, and then with a Scimitar their Bodies are divided into three parts. The Men are so punish'd for Theft or Murder, and the Women for Theft or Adultery. If it be a Pety Larceny, not above the value of a Shilling, they give them an hundred Lashes with a Whip, and burn them in the Cheek. They that believe themselves to be unjustly dealt with, whether in Civil or Criminal Causes, enter their Appeal to go to the North East part of the Island, in which division of the Island there stands a City by the Sea-side, where he that commands all the Highlanders resides. At the end of our Moneth of *March* several of these Highlanders resort to this City, especially the Merchants, who carry along with them all their whole Stock that they had hoarded together the year before in Horns of Oxen, Harts, Bufulo's, and Raw Hides; and then return again at the end of *April*, bringing back in return of their Commodities *Japon* and *China* Stuffs, Clothes, and Linen of the same Countrey, and Gold and Silver *Japonese* Money, of various Coyns and Value. He told them also, that he believed that in the Mountains near the Sea, there are certain Mines of Gold and Silver, or some River where they

they find it in Powder, and that the *Japoneſes* fetch it in their Veſſels. He did all he could to diſcover the truth, but after he had travelled two or three days Journey, the People would let him go no further. For at the end of every three or four hours travel there are Guards ſet, who examine all Travellers whither they go; neither will they let their own Countrymen paſs, but ſuch as go about their Law or to trade. Moreover he told them, that if they would give him Goods to trade withall, as Amber, Coral, Looking Glaſſes; but chiefly ſome Skins of the Sea Fiſh, which is rougher than Seal-skin, he would endeavour to get to the very City it ſelf where the Ships ride. Theſe Skins are greatly eſteemed by the Natives to adorn the Scabbards of their Cutlaſſes and Swords. For uſually upon the back of this Fiſh you ſhall find nine little Stones, which make a kind of a Roſe, eight in a Circle and one in the middle, as you ſee theſe nine diſpoſed in their exact order. When the *Portuguezes* traded onely to *Japon*, it is incredible how dear they ſold theſe Skins. For if Nature had well ſet theſe Stones at an equal diſtance, and even in bigneſs, one of theſe Skins would yield above ten thouſand *Piaſters*, and more. This Fiſh is caught in the *Perſian* Gulph, where I have ſeen of them, but I ſaw but very few ſo perfect as that which I have deſcrib'd, which would in thoſe Countries yield ten thouſand Crowns.

But to return to the Story; the Governour gave the young man what he deſired, and ſent him going: but the *Chineſes* ſoon after expelling the *Hollanders* out of the Iſland, it was never known what became of the young man.

It may be wondered why *Formoſa* was taken ſo ſoon: but here were two Reaſons, firſt the faint-heartedneſs of the Governour, and ſecondly his breach of word to a *French* Souldier of *Rouen*, call'd *Abraham du Puys*; for he having ſerved out his time of ſeven years, deſir'd leave to be gone, but the Governour, after he had promis'd him fair at firſt, at length abſolutely refuſed him. Soon after the *Chineſes* came to beſiege the place. The Souldier thus diſappointed, and ſeeing himſelf coop'd up who might have been free, had the Governour ſo pleaſed, ſtudied a fatal revenge upon all his Countrymen; for being by this means grown deſperate,

watch'd his opportunity, and flinging himself from the Fort into the Sea, swam directly to the Enemy. The Governour offered 200 Pieces of Eight to any person that would venture after him, and bring him back dead or alive. A Serjeant accepted his offer, but it was to get loose as the other had done; and so they got both safe into the Enemies Quarters. The *Chineses* presently carried them to the General *Coxima*; and he being a person of Valour and Discretion, made very much of them, whereupon they readily and willingly inform'd him of the strength and condition of the Fortress. They also advised him to remove his Batteries to the weakest part of the Town, whereas he was then assailing it where it was most strongly fortified: which if he would do, they assur'd him he should be soon Master of the Fort. The General was thinking a little before they came to have raised his Siege, but upon their encouragement he fell on again according to their direction; and as he was preparing for a general Assault, the *Holland* Commander, fearful of losing his Life and his Estate, beat a Parley, and surrender'd the place upon Articles.

During the Siege the *Hollanders* made a Sallie, but were beaten in again, and fourteen of their men were taken Prisoners. The *Chineses* finding those fourteen men in their power, and remembering how cruel the *Hollanders* had been to their Nation when they took any of them at Sea, brought the fourteen men all together, put out one eye of each, cut off their Noses, Ears, and one hand, and so sent them back to the Fort, with order to tell the Commander, that the *Dutch* had taught them that kind of Mercy.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Maurice *Iſland, where they cut Ebony.*

THE Iſland call'd *Maurice* Iſland lies almoſt in 84 degrees of Longitude, and 21 degrees of Southern Latitude, being but 2 degrees and 30 minutes from the Tropick of *Capricorn*, right over againſt the middle of the great Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, which it has upon the Weſt, from whence it lies 140 Leagues, and is in compaſs about 60 Leagues. It bears great quantities of Ebony: and here it was that the *Hollanders* did formerly ſend their Slaves, their baniſh'd and condemn'd Perſons, to cut that ſort of Wood, which is Labour much more ſevere and cruel than that of Rowing in the Galleys. The whole Iſland is ſubject to thoſe violent and outrageous Tempeſts call'd *Ouragans*, which nothing can withſtand, ſo that the People are forc'd to dig themſelves Holes in the ground, not being able to keep their Huts ſtanding. Neither had the poor Creatures any other Food than a little boil'd Rice, and about a Farthings worth of Salt-fiſh among four for a whole day. Since that the Price of Ebony being brought very low, the *Dutch* have forſaken the Iſland, the Profit not bearing the ſorry Expences which thoſe poor Creatures put them to.

So ſoon as this Tree is cut down it muſt be ſawed into Planks, and then buried ſeven or eight foot deep in the Earth, which ought to be ſomewhat moiſt. There thoſe Planks muſt lie two years, and ſometimes three, if the Wood be very thick. After that the Wood is fit to be wrought upon, neither will it ſplinter or ſplit, and will the ſooner admit of a glittering Poliſhment.

This *Maurice* Iſland puts me in mind of a Story, that the Sieur *Loocker* told me, concerning what befell him in his Voyage from *Holland* to *Batavia* in the Year 1643. *Cha Abbas* the ſecond of that Name, King of *Perſia*, having a great deſire to learn to paint, ſignified to the *Hollanders* at *Hiſpahan*, that he deſired them to ſend into *Holland* for ſome per-

perſon who was excellent both in Deſigning and Painting. Thereupon the Chief of the Factory wrote into *Holland*, and upon his Letters the Company ſent away *Loocker*, to oblige the King; and to do him the greater honour, gave him the charge of Merchant of the Veſſel, who is equal with the Captain, during the Voyage; to whom the Wind and Seaſon was very favourable till they came to the *Cape of Good Hope*; but after they had doubled the Point, the Pilots bare too much to the North, whereas they ſhould have ſteered directly Eaſt; ſo that when they had made the Height of the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, they met with nothing but contrary Winds. For it is obſervable, that all the year long there blows but one Wind toward *Maurice* Iſland; ſo that a Ship may go thither in eight or nine days, but cannot return in thirty or forty. For you muſt ſteer Weſtward to 30 degrees, and from thence Eaſtward to 14 or 15 degrees, and then you light upon *Maurice* Iſland. Five days together the Ship was but rudely handled by the ſtorm; which at length grew ſo violent, and the Sea ſo boiſterous, that all the great Cabin was broken to pieces, the Beak of the Ship carried away, and the Foremaſt made unſerviceable. Thirteen days together they remained in this miſerable condition, toſs'd up and down by the Sea and Wind, all which time they never ſaw the Sun, unable to take any height or obſervation where they were. The fourteenth day it cleared up, and the Sun appeared, and then taking the Height they obſerved themſelves to be not far from the *Maurice* Iſland, which was very true; for the next day by break of day they found themſelves not above two Leagues from the Iſland; and they found themſelves upon the North ſide of the Iſland, whereas the *Hollanders* liv'd upon the South. And therefore perceiving that if the Wind did not change, it would be a long time, and that with great difficulty too, before they could fetch a compaſs about the Iſland to come to the Fort where the *Hollanders* were, they call'd a Council, where it was reſolved that *Loocker* with ten Souldiers ſhould be put on ſhoar, and that he ſhould endeavour to get to the Fort by Land, there to make proviſion of Water and Refreſhments for the reſt of the Company, againſt they could come about. *Maurice* Iſland has this advantage, to be furniſhed with excellent Water, and great ſtore of Goats, Oranges,

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Citrons, and other Fruits: but when the *Ourigans* happen there is not one to be seen upon the Trees, unless onely upon those which are shelter'd by the Ebony Boughs, which are thick and strong, and the Trees deeply rooted in the Earth. *Loocker* thereupon with ten Souldiers was put on shoar in a Shallop, with Provisions for six days. Nor was the Island in that part above eight or ten Leagues broad, which they thought to travel in few days: but the Woods were so thick, that had they not been well provided of Carpenters Hatchets and Axes, they could never have made their way. The first day they travell'd not above a League, and the next day not above as much more, being still forced to hack their way along with great travel and pains. So that being now weary and spent, they laid themselves upon the ground to repose themselves, and get a little sleep. When they wak'd they heard the voices of several people, which much rejoyced them, believing them to be the Slaves and poor Creatures that were cutting Ebony not far off. Thereupon they fell to work to get as near them as they could: but the Woods proved so thick, that they despair'd of doing any good. Nevertheless the further they advanced, the clearer they could hear the voices of the people, some speaking *Dutch*, others *Portuguese*. Whereupon *Loocker* caus'd one of the Souldiers in his company that had a strong voice, to call out in the *Portuguese* Language, to the people to come and help them. But instead of that they all betook themselves to their heels, and fled to the Commander's Lodge, telling him that there were Devils in the Woods, and that they had call'd to them in the *Portugal* Language. The Commander seeing both the Souldiers and the Slaves in such a dismal amaze and terror, knew not at first what to think; however he endeavoured to resettle their distraction, and to revive a sort of people that were half dead with fear. The next day he persuaded them to return to their Work, persuading them to lay aside their vain Fears, which proceeded onely from idle Apprehensions: but they flatly denied him, telling him that they would rather die, than return to be torn in pieces by the Devil. However, others that had not been present at the accident, and therefore gave not so much credit to the report, profered to see the utmost of this business, provided any one that had

had heard the voice would bring them to the place. Away upon this went a good number of them together, and coming to the place fell to work. Now becauſe *Loocker* and his Companions having labour'd all the night before, were fallen aſleep ; for a good while the Workmen heard no voice at all, nor ſo much as any thing ſtirring, ſo that they began to laugh at thoſe that had brought them thither, who ſtill obſtinately maintained the truth of what they had heard. This Diſpute at length began to grow ſo hot and ſo loud, that at length they wak'd *Loocker* and his Fellows, who being now got nearer to them by means of their laſt nights labour, heard diſtinctly every word they ſaid, and notwithſtanding their diſtreſs could not chuſe but laugh. Soon after *Loocker* and the Souldiers call'd out again, *Work toward us*, they cried, *we are Hollanders, come and help us out of the Wood, and we will put an end to the diſpute.* But the Workmen no ſooner heard them, but away they ran for their Lives, and when they came to the Lodge, they were ſo har'd, ſo ſcar'd, and quite out of breath, that the Governour in vain endeavour'd to get the leaſt tittle of a word from them. At length being come to themſelves, they aſſur'd him that it was too true that the Devils were in the Wood, and that the more to deceive and wheedle them, to day they had not onely ſpoken *Portugueſe*, but *Dutch* too. This put the Governour and all into a deep Conſternation, inſomuch that they were all at their Wits end. But the next morning *Loocker* and his Gang having made their way through, the Centinel ſpied them firſt from the Fort, and by the diſcharge of his Muſquet gave notice of the approach of the Devils. And then it was that the poor affrighted Mortals, laying aſide their fears, and going forth to meet their own Shapes, found them to be a company of their Countrymen in diſtreſs, whom they then received into their kindneſs, to give an account of their Misfortunes. Three days after the Ship came into Harbour, though in a miſerable condition.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Grandeur of the General at Batavia, *and what befell his Wife and his Niece.*

THe Company to maintain their Authority and Commerce in the *Indies*, believe it to be to their advantage, that the General whom they ſend to *Batavia*, and who commands in all the places in *Aſia* where the *Dutch* traffic, ſhould keep up the Port of a Prince. There is no Cavalry in *Europe* ſo well clad or mounted as his; the Horſemen all upon *Perſian* or *Arabian* Steeds. Nor is his Foot Guard leſs ſumptuous: His Halberdiers wear their yellow Satten Doublets, Scarlet Breeches lac'd with Silver Lace, and their Silk Stockins. But this onely for the General's Guards; for thoſe which they ſend abroad to their Forts and Garriſons, it is a great pity to ſee how poorly they are attir'd, and how meanly fed. When the *Dutch* Fleet arrives at *Batavia*, the Souldiers which they bring are drawn up in the Parade of the Fortreſs by the Major, who chuſes out the handſomeſt to remain at *Batavia*, the reſt are ſent and diſtributed into other places. When the General and his Wife go abroad, they always ride in their Coach and ſix Horſes, with ſix Halberdiers attending at each Boot, and a Troop of Horſe and two Companies of Foot for their Guard. The Authority of the General is very great, though he may be ſometimes commanded by his Wife: neither is it ſafe for them that depend upon them, to do or ſay any thing that may offend them. But for others, who have their Imployments immediately from the Company, they never oblige themſelves to be ſo circumſpect. For truth whereof I will relate the following pleaſant Story.

The Wife of General *Matſuker* having one day undertaken to play upon a Captain of a Ship call'd the *Lucifer*, and to laugh at him, for having loſt a Bale of Goods which had been ſeized by the Company, in regard no particular perſon is permitted to trade. The Captain nettled at her Diſcourſe, reſolved to be revenged. Nor was it long before he found

the means ; for being commanded away for *Maſlipatan* in the Kingdom of *Goleonda*, where being arriv'd, laden, and ready to ſet Sail to return to *Batavia*, the chief of the Factory deſired him to take in four Bales of Goods for the General's Wife, as belonging to her, and to deliver them privately to her. This was Nuts to the Captain : ſo that being return'd to *Batavia*, he went he went immediately to viſit the General, and deliver him the Letters which concerned the *Cargo*. Immediately according to cuſtom the General invited him to dinner, at which time it is uſual for the General to inform himſelf of the Condition of the Factory. Among the reſt of the queſtions the General asked the Captain whether he had any Counterband Goods aboard, or any that were not upon the Company's ſole account. To which the Captain anſwered, that all the Goods belonged to the Company, except four Bales, which the chief Factor at *Maſlipatan* had particularly recommended to his care, as belonging to Madam General. This being publickly ſpoken in the preſence of a great many that were at Table, the Lady that was not aware of ſuch a blow, was not a little ſurpriz'd, and the General himſelf was not a little in wrath, ſternly ask'd her how ſhe durſt undertake to trade without his knowledge. Preſently ſhe denied the whole matter, and averred that the Captain was miſtaken,and took her for ſome other perſon. But the General ſent for the Fiſcal, and order'd him to go forthwith with the Captain, and fetch the four Bales aſhoar ; which being done, he order'd further that the Goods ſhould be carried into the public Hall of the Town Houſe, with a Writing fix'd upon them, that whoever own'd thoſe Goods ſhould come and claim them ; but no body came. So that the Captain had the pleaſure to ſee the Lady in a delicate raging paſſion, and the Goods diſpos'd of to the Fiſcal, and the Poor of the Hoſpital.

The ſame General and his Wife having no Children,they began to conſider to whom they ſhould leave their Eſtates. At length the General bethought himſelf of a Niece he had at *Amſterdam*, and therefore wrote to the Directors of the Company to ſend her to him. This Niece of his cried Pot-herbs and Onions about the ſtreet to get her living ; in which Calling ſhe was at laſt found out, and brought to the Directors, who preſently changed her Habit, and of a Crier of

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Cabbage made her a little Lady; who though she were of such a low condition, was not without a good proportion of natural Beauty.

The Fleet being ready to depart, there was a Cabin built on purpose for this Niece, and the Company having presented her with several pieces of Tissue and Silks, recommended her to *C. Rosse*, the Viceadmiral's care. This Captain had been several times at the *Indies* before, and was both rich and a Batchelour: so that when the Ship was out at Sea, he fail'd not to shew all the respects imaginable to this Niece. Now this young Virgin not being accustomed to the Sea, upon the least gust of Wind she was half dead; and all that time the Captain would not stir from her Bed-side, for fear any Accident should befall her. And as he was thus diligent not to stir from her Bed-side in fowl, 'tis verily believ'd he was seldom far from it in fair weather; and that instead of sitting by her Bed-side, he sometimes got fairly into it. But whether he were within or without, most certain it is, that before Madam Niece arrived at *Batavia*, she found her self to be with child, though she so discreetly concealed it, that none in the Vessel perceived it.

The Vessel had no sooner passed the Strait that lies toward *Bantam*, but Madam General with a great number of her Friends in several little Barques came out to meet Madam Niece, and were not a little surprized to find her to be a person so well clad and handsom withall, without any appearance of what she had been before.

A Coach and six Horses, and six Halberdiers, a Troop of Horse, and a Company of Foot, waited upon the shoar for Madam General. And thus was Madam Niece conducted to the Fort with great pomp, and as kindly received by Monsieur General. Some few days after several of the Gallants of *Batavia* came picquiering to the House to see Madam Niece; and so it was, that all being smitten, every one desired her in Marriage: but both Uncle and Aunt were deaf to all their Suits, as having design'd her to a young rich Merchant, who was then out of the way. *C. Rosse* laugh'd in his sleeve at the bustle that was made, and still continued his former respects and double Diligences, which were the more willingly permitted him in regard of the great care of

their Niece, for which the Uncle and the Aunt thought themselves oblig'd to him during their Voyage. But at length seeing such a swarm of Sweethearts about her, he thought it but charity to undeceive so many poor Gulls, and without further ceremony to go to her Aunt, and to demand her Niece for his Wife. The She General who look'd upon herself to be a kind of a Queen at *Batavia*, look'd upon it as a high offence and indignity for a Tarpaulin Captain of a Ship to dare to make her such a Proposal, having already refus'd such Matches, persons that might come to be Privy Counsellors of all the *Indies*. Nevertheless within a day or two after the Captain renewed his Charge, but then in a Majestic Fury she utterly forbid him the Fort. He taking little notice of her rage, goes to the General, and after some Discourse makes the same Proposal, and receives the same Answer. But then the Captain gave the Husband such a Bone to pick, that he would not give the Wife; Sir, said he, twice already have I demanded your Niece in Marriage, this is now the third time that I make the same demand; if you refuse me, you shall ask me four times before I accept of her: and so saying briskly left him. The General reflecting upon the Captain's words, went to his Wife and told her the Story, who guessing at the effects of a long Voyage Familiarity, call'd Madam Niece into examination: She not being us'd to Dissimulation confess'd the whole matter, and without any more to do was married to the Captain, to the great wonder of the whole City, till the birth of a Boy at the end of six moneths unfolded the Riddle. But this lying in was her ruin; for about five or six days after, the Mother and the Nurse being ill, the chief Chirurgeon of the Fort order'd them to take a little *Cremor Tartar*; and to that purpose sent a young man to the Master Chirurgeon of the Town, to send him two quantities of *Cremor Tartar* in two Papers. He being drinking with his Friends, sends a young Barber newly come from *Holland*, to put up the two quantities according to direction. But the Barber mistook the Glass, and put up *Sublimate* instead of *Cremor Tartar*. So the two Women taking their Doses, dissolved in two Silver Cups of fair Water, died in 24 hours after.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of General Vanderbroug, *and of the Original of the City of* Batavia

GEneral *Vanderbroug* was of *Anverſe*, and having ſtudied in the Jeſuits College, retained ſome tincture of Learning, which he endeavoured to improve as much as his buſineſs would give him leave. While he was General he caus'd the *Alcoran* to be tranſlated out of *Arabic* into *Dutch*. He was alſo a man of courage, and ſeveral times expos'd himſelf to great hazards for the Service of the Company, as you ſhall ſee by the following Relation.

After the *Hollanders* had taken ſeveral Prizes from the *Portuguezes* by Sea, they wanted a place of Retreat, where they might repair their endamaged Ships, and repoſe after the toils of the Sea. At firſt they caſt their eyes upon the Iſland of *Java*, in that place where the *Engliſh* had built a ſmall Convenience for their Trade. There is a Road in that part, where Veſſels ride ſecurely all the year, into which a River diſcharges it ſelf that will receive Shallops of good burthen, for above a thouſand Paces. The Water of this River is moſt excellent; for being carried never ſo far to Sea, it never ſtinks, nor engenders Worms; which can only be ſaid of the *Thames* and *Ganges* beſides.

The *Hollanders* therefore came and lay upon the point of a River, over againſt the place where the *Engliſh* had their ſmall Houſe. They had with them then the greateſt part of the Ships which they had in the *Indies*, laden with thoſe great Bales of Cloth which come from *Bengale* and the Coaſt of *Surat*, ſo big that a dozen men can hardly manage them. Theſe Bales they landed, and of them made a kind of Fortification, planting a good number of great Guns between them: For they never wanted great Guns ever ſince they traded alone to *Japon*, the onely Kingdom of the World abounding in Copper; from whence they brought prodigious quantities to *Macao* and *Goa*, where they caſt their Artillery.

Thus

Thus the *Hollanders* thought that by Sea no body could endamage their ſmall Fortification, made of Bales of cloth, which was defended by their Veſſels which they had in the Road: But by Land they were afraid that the King of the Iſland, *viz.* either of *Materan* or *Bantam*, might diſturb them. Obſerving therefore the Situation of the Iſland, which on that ſide was all covered with Woods, which reached on that ſide within a League of the Sea; and that where they ended, to the Shoar there was no other way but a Bank, which ſeparated the Marſh from the River: So that the *Hollanders* the better to ſecure themſelves againſt the two Kings, reſolved to raiſe a Tower upon the Bank. In this Tower they planted ſeveral Culverins and ſmall Pieces, cramm'd with artificial Wildfire, and every evening relieved their Guards. The King of *Materan* perceiving this, and believing that the *Hollanders* would not ſtop here, advanced a powerful Army to pull down the Tower. To which purpoſe he brought with him great Chains of Iron, and Cables made of the *Coco* Flax; believing that by the favour of the Night, having got his Chains and Ropes about the Tower, by the ſtrength of his Men and Elephants he might eaſily pull it down. But having fail'd in his Enterprize, and for that the *Hollanders* Artillery kill'd him abundance of Men, he retreated with his Army. But it was not long before he return'd again with a more powerful Force by Land, and alſo a great Fleet of ſmall Veſſels to aſſiſt him by Sea. With theſe Forces he gave a furious Onſet a ſecond time, which the *Hollanders* with no leſs vigour ſuſtained, and beat him off. But nothing diſcouraged with his loſs, he reſolved to give a third Onſet, onely he ſtaid ſome few days in expectation of more Forces.

In the mean while one of the moſt conſiderable Captains of his Army was accus'd to the King not to have done his Duty: though ſeaſonably advertiz'd that the King was reſolv'd to ſeize upon his perſon, and cut him to pieces. For you muſt know, that among the *Javans* when any perſon has merited Death, they tie the Offender all along upon a great piece of Timber, and the next Lord or great perſon that has a mind to try the goodneſs of his Scimitar, comes and cuts the Body into four pieces, the firſt ſtroak being made upon the Breſt, the ſecond upon the Pit of the Stomach, the

third

third upon the lower part of the Belly. The four pieces if they be Men, are burnt; if Women, thrown to the Dogs, which they keep for that purpose. For the *Javans* never burn any person.

This *Javanese* Lord therefore knowing what he was to trust to, made his escape to the *Hollanders*, and was kindly received by *Vanderbroug*. To ingratiate himself, he told the *Dutch* General all the King's Designs in reference to the carrying the place; where he would make his Onset, and what number of men he had. This however did not sufficiently chear up the General, who knew his own weakness. So that the *Javanese* perceiving him still pensive, I find (said he) that thou art afraid of the King's strength, and reason thou hast, but be rul'd by me: Thou art not ignorant that the *Javaniers* are rigid Observers of the Law of *Mahomet*, and that if any Uncleanness from a Christian hand falls upon their Clothes, they fling them away, and spend six whole days in washing themselves, before they believe themselves clean. Hear then, said he; let all the Ordure and Dung of the People that are with thee be heaped in a place together, and made fluid in Pots for that purpose; and when they mount their Ladders, spare not for Showres of that Liquor, and I warrant ye they will retreat faster than they came on. Farther continued he; I know that the points of their Arrows and *Cric's* are poison'd, and that this poison is so strong, that whoever are wounded therewith die suddenly, unless they have recourse to this onely Remedy; which is to preserve their own Excrement, and to dry it to powder; and when they find themselves wounded, to take a little of the powder, and drink it off in a small Beer-glass of Water. The General observing what the *Javan* Lord had said, when the Enemy mounted their Ladders, lustily besmear'd them with the Liquor, which he caus'd to be prepar'd against their coming; so that instead of gaining the tops of their Ladders, they made all the haste they could down again; but being hindred by those that follow'd them, they threw themselves headlong to the ground; by which means several of them were maimed, and several kill'd outright. Thus the Army disbanded in a moment, and the Emperour was the first that took his flight. *Vanderbroug* observing the disorderly Retreat of the Enemy, took a small Party with him, and pur-

su'd

ſu'd the flying Enemy, who being encloſed by thoſe in the Fort, that ſally'd out upon them, were miſerably cut in pieces. But the General having left the greateſt part of his men, and returning onely with a ſmall and very inconſiderable Company, the *Javanners* who had hid themſelves in the Merſhes for fear, reſum'd courage, and ſuddenly fell upon him in his return, and ſo encompaſs'd him on every ſide, that it was impoſſible for him to eſcape. However they defended themſelves ſtoutly for a while, but being wounded with the Arrows and *Cric's* of the *Indians*, and not being provided of the forementioned Antidote, they died immediately. The General was taken alive, not ſo much as wounded; for as he told me afterwards himſelf, he found they had no deſire to kill him. So ſoon as he was taken they carried him to the Emperour, who as ſoon as he ſaw him bid him not fear any thing, but told him withall, that it was his pleaſure, that he ſhould command his Men to quit the Fort and Tower, and be gone; otherwiſe that he would make both him, and all thoſe that ſhould fall into his Hands, perpetual Slaves. At the ſame time the Emperour with his principal Officers, and the General with a good Guard, came to the Foot of the Wall of the Tower, where the General in the *Malay* Language, laying before them his own misfortune, and the improbability of their holding out long, commanded them to quit the Fort, after they had embarqued whatever they ſaw fitting, but onely 6 Pieces of ſmall Canon, 200 Bullets, and 500 Quintals of Powder. The Emperour was overjoy'd to hear what the General ſaid, and thought himſelf ſure of the Fort and Tower. But then the General turning to the Emperour, told him, that none of his men underſtood *Malay*, and that therefore it would be convenient for him to repeat the ſame in *Flemiſh*. Which being granted, he ſpoke to the Souldiers in *Flemiſh*, and ordered them quite the contrary; that is to ſay, that they ſhould not be Traitors to their Countrey, but hold out the place till death, not minding what became of him; and to that end, that they ſhould bid the Infidels forthwith retire, or elſe they would immediately fire all their Guns upon them. The Emperour aſtoniſh'd at their Reſolution retreats, and carries the General with him. Being thus retir'd, the General made him believe that he would find a means

means to write to the Company, to give them an account of what had pass'd, and that he was confident they would give such order for an Accommodation, as should satisfie His Majesty, which satisfi'd the Emperour for that time. In the mean while the General found an opportunity to get into a small Barque, and to get to the Fort, where he was joyfully receiv'd. This Recital I had from his own mouth.

The General having done this and several other eminent Services for the Company, and acquitted himself with Reputation and a fair Estate, was desirous to return home, where the Prince of *Orange*, and several of the States had no less a desire to see him. Streight he took up his Habitation at the *Hague*, and for a good while liv'd splendidly, gave great Presents and Entertainments to the Prince, and several other Grandees of *Holland*, by which means he ran himself into so great an Expence, that he was forc'd to desire of the Company, that he might return into their Service.

One day the Prince of *Orange* asking him what Rarities he had brought out of the *Indies*, he call'd for five Silver Plates, and setting them upon the Table, drew out five little Bags out of his Pocket, and emptied a several Bag upon a several Plate; which surpriz'd not onely the Prince, but several others of the States then present, to see such a number of Diamonds and other Jewels of a vast value.

It was not without some difficulty that he was again entertain'd by the Company; but at length they sent him Admiral of two Ships to *Batavia*, where being arriv'd, the General and Consuls made him Admiral of the Fleet that was just bound for the Coast of *Coromandel*, *Surat*, and *Persia*.

Being return'd to *Batavia*, General *Vandyme* and the Council sent him to *Malaca*, which the *Hollanders* then besieg'd, and where they found a stouter resistance than they imagin'd. There in an assault upon the Town he received a slight Wound, of which he was quickly cur'd; but soon after he fell sick, and died before the Town was surrendred.

CHAP. V.

Of the Country about Cochin, *and how the* Holland *General crown'd one of the* Indian *Princes.*

ALL the Countrey about *Cochin* is planted for the most part with that sort of Tree which they call *Cocos*, the Fruit whereof produces that sort of Wine which the Inhabitants call *Tary*, whereof they make their Strong Water. They mingle this Wine with course black Sugar unrefin'd, together with the Bark of a Tree which bears nothing but Thorns. This Bark causes the *Tary* and Sugar to boil and ferment like new Wine. When the *Tary* and the Sugar have fermented for above seven or eight hours, they distill them in an Alembic, and make Strong Water, which is stronger or smaller, by how much the more often or seldomer it is distill'd.

Besides the Coverture of these Trees the whole Country is full of Cows; for they are all Idolaters in this Country, that onely worship their Cows for their Gods, feed upon their Milk, and eat nothing that has Life.

When you leave the Countries of these Princes, which they call *Rajas*, travelling toward the North East you enter into the Territories of the *Raja* of *Velouche*, which are of a large extent. He and all his Subjects being Idolaters, unless it be about nine or ten thousand poor People call'd *Christians of S. John*, as being baptiz'd after the same manner that S. *John* baptiz'd the People in the Wilderness.

After the taking of *Cochin*, of which we have given a full Relation in our *Indian* Travels, General *Vangous*, who commanded at the Siege, became so haughty that he despis'd all the other Officers, as well Military as those that belonged to the Government and Justice of the City. However to recompence one of the *Raja's* by whose means he had taken the City, he persuaded him to quit the Name of *Raja*, and to assume the Title of *King*, that he might have the Honour to set the Crown upon his Head. To this end he made great inquiry through his whole Army for a Goldsmith,

ſmith, and having found out one that undertook it, and caus'd him to make a Crown of maſſie Gold, that weigh'd near ten Marks, which I believe the *Raja* found more inconvenient and weighty upon his Head, than an old Muckender with three corners bound about his Head, which is the mark of the *Raja*'s Sovereignty.

While they were making this Crown there were great preparations for the Ceremony: It was performed in a Garden near the Town, where was ſet a large Tent ſpread all over with painted Calicut. Within was a Throne erected with a Canopy of *China* Damask, and all the Steps to the Throne were cover'd with *Perſian* Tapiſtry.

The day being come, the greateſt part of the Army, Officers and Souldiers, went to fetch the *Raja*, who lay in his Hut a quarter of a League off; where they mounted him upon one of two Elephants which the General ſent him, being attended likewiſe with two led Horſes, and two *Palanquins* for more State. Being come to the place, he was clad in a Scarlet Robe with great Hanging Sleeves, and ſo brought in where *Vangous* was ſitting upon his Throne, with a Sword and a Crown by him. The *Raja* being come to the Foot of the Throne, the Major of the Army took the Sword, deliver'd him by the General, and girt the *Raja*, who then aſcending the Steps of the Throne, proſtrated himſelf before the *Holland* General while he put the Crown upon his Head. Then the new King riſeth up, and lays his Hand upon the Head of a Cow that ſtood near the Throne. Which done, kneeling with his Hands claſp'd, and lifted toward the Head of the ſame Cow, he took his Oath to be true and faithful to the Company, and to embrace their Intereſts. On the other ſide the General promis'd him on the behalf of the Company, that they ſhould aſſiſt him when he ſhould have occaſion againſt his Enemies. Which Solemnities being very gravely perform'd the Muſquettiers gave three Volleys, and the new King was conducted back to his Hut with the ſame Pomp that he was brought. Thus you ſee the Pride of a Pepper Merchant, to make Kings and domineer over Crowns.

One other famous Act of *Vangous* muſt not be forgotten. You muſt know, that at the taking of *Cochin* the Jeſuits had in that City one of the faireſt Libraries in all *Aſia*, as well

for the great quantity of Books sent them out of *Europe*, as for several rare Manuscripts in the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, *Persian*, *Indian*, *Chinese*, and other Oriental Languages. For in all the Conquests of the *Portugals*, their first care was to summon all the Learned People of the several Nations, and to get all their Books into their hands. During that little time which the Jesuits staid in *Æthiopia* they had copied out all the good Books that came to their knowledge, and sent all those Books to *Cochin*. They had staid longer in *Æthiopia*, had it not been for the Jealousie of the Patriarchs, and their Bishops, which are very numerous; so that if there be two men in one Village that belong to one Church, the chiefest calls himself Bishop. At their Ceremonies of Baptism when they name the Holy Ghost, they apply a hot Iron to the neck of the Infant, saying that the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles in the shape of Fiery Tongues. The Patriarchs and Bishops were jealous of the Jesuits, finding that they had insinuated themselves into the favour of the King and Grandees of the Court. Which so enraged the *Æthiopians*, that they caus'd the People to mutiny, preaching that the King was about to alter the Religion of the Country, and to draw along with him several of the Lords. And the Fury of the People grew to that height, that whatever the King could do or say, he could not appease their Fury: So that they put him in prison, and elected his Brother in his place. The cause of this disorder was laid upon the Jesuits, and was the reason that they were expell'd the Kingdom; neither had they scap'd so, but that they were afraid of the Governour of *Mozambique*, and the *Portugals* that inhabit all along the Coast of *Africa*. But to tell ye what became of this Library, General *Vangous* made no conscience to expose it to the ignorance of his Souldiers, so that I have seen the Souldiers and Seamen tear several of those beautiful Volums to light their Tobacco.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Sieur Hollebrand Glins, *President of the Factory at* Ormus.

WHen the Ships come to *Ormus*, it is a great prejudice for the Goods to lie out of doors. For such is the extremity of the Heat in that part, that if the Spices, especially the Cloves, be not carried to the Water-side every foot, and there laid to steep in the Water for four and twenty hours, they would turn to a mere powder.

Sugar is brought thither in great Wooden Chests, but if there be the least Cleft for a Fly or an Emmet to get in, in a small time the Chest will be half emptied.

As for Camphire, which is brought from *Borneo* in Pipes, if it lie a little too long in that warm Air, it will exhale above half away.

To remedy these Inconveniences *Sieur Hollebrand* resolved to build a bigger Warehouse. Among the rest of the Workmen that were imployed in this Building was a Gunsmith, who came in the *interim* in a Ship from *Batavia*. This poor Fellow was imployed to make Locks for the Warehouse; for in those Parts they have no other Keys, or Locks either, than what are made of Wood: So that it was a Crime for him to be found idle at any time. And therefore the President finding him one Sunday in the Afternoon drinking with two of his Companions that came from the Ship to see him, gave the Fellow half a dozen good Licks with his Cane, and would have given him more, but that the Smith being a sturdy Fellow, and feeling the Blows smart, wrested the Stick out of the President's Hands, and flung it out of the Window. For which the President, upon pretence that the Fellow had struck him four Blows, which was untrue, as I my self being there could witness, sent him laden with Chains to the Ship, where he would have tried him for his Life, in a full Court of the Merchants of the Factory: but they refusing him, for very madness he took

two

two Notaries, that he had a power over, went to the Ship alone, made the Officers of the Ship, and condemn'd the Fellow to be hang'd. And he had certainly been executed but for me and some other of my Countrymen, (for the Fellow was of *Geneva*) that threatned the President out of his design. Yet he caus'd him to be drubb'd Naked at the Main Mast after that inhuman manner, that he lost the use of one of his Arms. This the *Geneveſe* could never forget, and therefore sought all opportunities to kill him; to which purpose he put himself in the same Ship with *Hollebrand* when he returned for *Holland*. But coming to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and being sent ashoar in the Shallop for Provisions, the Shallop was overset in a stormy Sea, and *Hollebrand*'s Life thereby secur'd.

But before we leave *Ormus*, where *Hollebrand* was building his Warehouse that caus'd all this mischief, let us take notice of this by the way, that there is no abiding at *Ormus* till *April*, lest you pay for your stay with some Malignant Fever, that may hold a man as long as he lives; or if he be cur'd by chance, yet will the White of his Eyes be more yellow than Saffron. This same sort of Fever seizes our *Europeans* in the Port of *Alexandretta* in *Syria*, and in the Islands where the *Hollanders* lade their Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace.

By the way observe, that there is a particular sort of Nutmeg which the *Hollanders* call *Maneque*, and we the Male Nutmeg, as long again and a little bigger than the ordinary Nutmeg; and this sort they never carry into *Europe*, because they sell it to better profit in *Persia* and the *Indies*. This I shall also further add, that the ordinary Nutmeg condited, fuddles more than the strongest Wine, eating but onely one either at the beginning or ending of the Meal.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Touching the Islands of the Prince.

THE Fort of *Batavia* has four fair Bastions, and is well built but upon an ill Foundation, those Bastions being plainly observ'd to sink, and requiring Reparation from time to time. For the perfecting of which Work the *Hollanders* wanted Slaves: whereupon a Consultation was had where to get Slaves. To which Answer was made, that there was no better place than the Prince's Islands. Which being concluded, the General of *Batavia* dispatch'd away three the biggest Ships belonging to *Batavia*. These Ships visited every one of these Islands, feigning that they came from *Holland* and wanted Refreshment. So soon as the Inhabitants discover'd the Vessels, they flock'd to the Shoar Men, Women, and Children, as they wont to do, bringing along with them the best of their Provision, as *Coco* Wine, Nuts, and other Fruits of the growth of the Islands. Happy were they that could first get aboard, for they always get more by the Mariners and Souldiers, than by those that go ashoar to trade. Now so soon as they were ashoar, they gave them Strong Water to drink till they were drunk; and when the Masters of the Ships saw them in that condition, they immediately sent a good number of their men well armed ashoar, who bound them that were upon the Sand to truck for their goods, and carried them away to their Ships, killing all those that made any resistance. But they did them little service; for finding themselves so inhumanly us'd as the *Hollanders* use their Slaves, they took a resolution to eat nothing, and to starve themselves to death, rather than to be forc'd to labour and be beaten every day.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Hollanders *ſent to declare War againſt the* Perſians, *and of the ill Succeſs of their Fleet.*

MUch about the ſame time *Charles Conſtant* was ſent by the Company with a Fleet of ſeven great Ships, to declare War againſt the *Perſians*, in caſe they would not comply with the *Dutch* in reference to their Silk Trade and their Cuſtoms. Being arriv'd at *Ormus* he left the Fleet there, and haſten'd to *Iſpahan*, and from thence to *Casbin*, where then the King was. But his Embaſſie had not that effect as he expected: For he thought that the King would have been frighted at the noiſe of a Fleet of ſeven great Ships that lay at *Ormus*, but he was miſtaken. For the *Perſian* knew he need not ſend any Force againſt the ſaid Fleet, in regard it would be ruin'd without: It being impoſſible for our *Europeans* to ſtay at *Ormus* in the heat of Somer, as well by reaſon of the Heat, as for want of Water; for there is no good Water at *Ormus*, nor upon any part of the Coaſt of *Perſia*, but what is kept in Ciſterns, and that full of Worms. 'Tis true, that upon the Coaſt of *Arabia* there are Wells of good Water, but when the *Arabians* diſcover any Ships upon the Coaſt, they come down all in Arms to defend their Wells; for it is their profit to ſell their Water, and that at a very dear rate, to thoſe that are in neceſſity.

Now the King and Council not being ignorant, that the longer the Fleet lay at *Ormus*, the worſe would be its condition, would not give the Commander his firſt Audience in two moneths. During which time there died above half the Men; for from ſix a clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, if any of the Seamen went to take a little Air upon the Deck, he preſently fell down dead. The Admiral was to blame not to make proviſion of Water being bound for ſuch a place as *Ormus*.

The Commander *Conſtant* did not take the right courſe to effect his buſineſs, by publiſhing what he intended to preſent

ſent the Miniſters of State withall. For the Lords of *Perſia* never take any Preſents themſelves, for fear it ſhould come to the King's Ear. But there is a private Bill ſent to the Party for whom it is intended, and he ſends whom he thinks fit to receive it. Had he ſo done, and doubled his Sum of 5000 *Venetian* Ducats, perhaps the *Athemadoulet* might have us'd him more kindly, eſpecially for ſo long time as that King had. For whatever a Predeceſſor does, a Succeſſor changes many things. So that if the deceaſed King have given any Houſe or Land to any perſon, it muſt be confirmed by the ſucceeding King in his firſt Year, or elſe the Giſt returns to the King. It is the ſame thing if any perſon builds a Houſe upon the King's Demeſns: which has been a great inconvenience to the *Auſtin* Friers and bare-foot *Carmelites*, becauſe their Houſes are built upon the Lands which *Cha Abbas* gave them of the Royal Demeſns. So that every time a new King aſcends the Throne, they are forc'd to make the *Athemadoulet* new Preſents, ſometimes to the Value of the Land: for it is a rare thing to find a prime Miniſter that is a Friend to the Chriſtians. But the Jeſuits and Capuchins, who came after them, provided better for themſelves, each of thoſe Orders having bought the Ground upon which their Houſes are built.

The Commander ſeeing that he could not compaſs his Deſign, and that the *Athemadoulet* would abate nothing of the forty four *Tomans* which he demanded, went to the *Divanbegai* and told him, that buying the ſame Goods of particular perſons, they might be had for thirty two, or at moſt for thirty three *Tomans*. To which the *Divanbegai* anſwered him, That all thoſe particular perſons paid the King Cuſtom, and Convoy upon the Road, the Cuſtom alone amounting to Eighteen *per cent.* which the *Hollanders* did not pay: and that there was not a Year wherein they did not bring in Goods to the Value of 30000 *Tomans*; and that if account ſhould be taken of the Silks which they carried away, and of the Goods which they brought in, the *Athemadoulet* ought to make them pay near 50000 *Tomans* for Duties. The Commander ill ſatisfied with this Anſwer went to his Lodging, and without asking the Advice of the Merchants that were with him, or of his *Frenchman*, who better underſtood the Practice of the Court, or without taking his

leave of the King, return'd privately to *Iſpahan*, intending for *Bander* where the Fleet lay. The *Athemadoulet* being advertiz'd of his ſudden departure, was very much offended; ſo much the more becauſe at the Commanders firſt Arrival he had done him great Civilities, even to the furniſhing his Lodgings after the *European* manner, with a Bed, Stools, and Tables. Thereupon he gave notice thereof to the King, who when he heard of it utter'd theſe words, *Has any one given him any diſtaſte, or is he turn'd Fool? He ſhall be glad to come back again.*

Being come to *Iſpahan*, to the great wonder of the *Franks*, who heard nothing of his taking leave of the King, he began to make up his Pack, intending for *Gomrom*, in caſe the King did not ſend for him again; which he did, 'tis true, but not with thoſe Compliments which he expected; for he flatter'd himſelf that the King would have petition'd him to return. The King ſent for him indeed, but his Compliment was not very pleaſing; for the perſon that brought the Meſſage told him, That it was the King's pleaſure he ſhould ſpeedily return, and if he would not go willingly he had order to carry him by force. But notwithſtanding the King's Command and the Counſel of his Friends, he ſet out from *Iſpahan* for *Bander*, according to his firſt intent. We accompanied him ſome part of his way, and being juſt ready to take our leaves, we ſaw a *Perſian* Gentile and well mounted, (he was a Captain of an hundred men) who calling the Interpreter to him, Go (ſaid he) and tell thy Preſident, that he muſt return to his Lodging, and to morrow make haſte to the King, according to the Order he has already received: and with that he rode away full ſpeed. The Interpreter told the Commander what the Captain ſaid; but notwithſtanding all this the Commander being a perſon of a hot and obſtinate humour, continued his way. Neither the Merchants of *Zulpha*, nor any of the *Perſian* or *Armenian* Servants would follow him, fearing the Baſtinado, and believing he was ſecure enough; as it happen'd: for he had not rode far, before three Captains with their Bows and Arrows in their hands bolted out upon him, one of which riding up directly to the Commander, Art thou (ſaid he) the onely perſon that ever ſet foot in this Empire, that refuſeſt to obey the Companion of the Sun, whom ſo great a part

of

of the World obeys? At the same time came up fifty stout Horsemen, and one of them who cammanded them made at Mr. *Constant* with his Mace. Then the Admiral was forc'd to lower his Sails and return back, forc'd to receive an Affront which he might have avoided When he was come to his Lodging, the *Persian* Officer without alighting call'd the Interpreter, and bid him go forwarn the Commander in the Name of the King, that neither he nor any of the *Hollanders* presumed to stir out of their Houses till further order; for that if any of them were seen abroad, they should be taught to obey the King's Commands. Thus the *Hollanders* having been coop'd up nine days, word was brought the Commander he might return to *Cushin*, where he found that all his *Rodomontado's* signified nothing, but that he must comply with the *Athemadoulet*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Severity of the Holland *Commanders in the* Indies.

GEneral *Speck*, before he came to his Imployment, had a Daughter by a Woman which he kept onely as his Mistress, not as his Wife. After his time was out he returned into *Holland*, and not being willing to carry his Daughter along with him, knowing that she would go off better at *Batavia* than in *Holland*, left her to the care of General *Com*, who succeeded him in his charge. The Girl was fair and left rich, so that her Father was no sooner gone, but she had many Suitors that courted her, without any consideration of her Birth, among all which there was none that she fancied, like one that was a Superior Merchant of the Fort, for whom she had a particular esteem. Neither did she believe but that General *Com* would have given his consent upon the first request, knowing the young man to be of a good Family. Nevertheless they were both deceiv'd; for being ask'd, he utterly denied to yield to any

ſuch matter. However, the young Man and the Maid continued their Fidelity to each other, and that with ſuch a cloſe reſpect, that at length the Virgin's Belly began to ſwell. Whereupon ſhe made one of the Ladies of the City acquainted how the caſe ſtood, as alſo of her Council, believing that the General upon notice how Affairs went, would marry her to keep all things private. But ſo ſoon as the Lady had revealed the Myſtery, he was ſo far from anſwering their expectation, that he threw the young Man laden with Fetters into priſon, and ſhut up the young Woman cloſe Priſoner in her Chamber. Next day he call'd a Council, declar'd to them the Matter of Fact, and gave his Opinion, that the young man deſerv'd to loſe his Head, and that the Maid ſhould be whipp'd. The Council were of a contrary Judgment, and advis'd him to reconcile the Miſchance by a Marriage. But notwithſtanding all their perſuaſions the General reſolv'd to have his own humour, the next day privately ſent for the Executioner, and cauſing the young Man and the Maid to be brought into his Hall, commanded the Man's Head to be forthwith ſtruck off, and the Virgin to be whipp'd though big with Child.

The Sieur *Goyre* commanded the *Holland* Fleet that was ſent to the *Manilles*, he landed all his Souldiers, and moſt of his Mariners. When they began to march, he commanded that not a man ſhould ſtir out of his Rank upon pain of death. It happen'd that a young Souldier, who was troubled with the Bloudy Flux, ſtept a little aſide to eaſe Nature, which the ſaid Commander perceiving, caus'd him to be apprehended and bound, and calling a Council of War would have had him hang'd; and when the Officers refus'd to give Sentence againſt one that had committed no offence, he cauſed ſeven or eight Blacks of the Low Countries to hang him up upon a Tree. But the Sieur *Dirk Hogel*, Lieutenant General, marching by in the nick of time, and ſeeing the poor Fellow in that condition, preſently order'd him to be cut down, and ſo ſav'd the poor Fellow's Life; who returning into *Holland*, and making his Complaint to the Company, the Directors wrote ſmartly to the General and Council at *Batavia* about the buſineſs; who upon Examination of the matter, in regard the Lad was ſent by the Directors of the Orphans Houſe at *Amſterdam*, condemned the Sieur *Goyre*

to

to pay four thousand Crowns to the Orphans House, and three hundred Crowns yearly to the poor Souldier.

CHAP. X.

Touching the Women.

OFttimes when Women think that their Amours are most secret, they are by some strange and unexpected accident odly discover'd. While I was at *Batavia*, the Secretary of the Hospital, as handsom a person as any was in the City, had a Wife that pass'd for a *Batavian* Beauty, neither indeed was she despicable. This Couple had been seven years married without any Children; so that the Woman despairing of her Husband's Abilities, and to know where the fault lay, resolved to bestow her Favours upon one of her Slaves, who was well shap'd but very black; chusing rather a private Familiarity with him, than with any young *Hollander*, whose frequent Visits might breed suspicion. It seems the fault did not lie in her, for her Sable Gallant had so improv'd his Talent, that in a short time she found the effects of Change. In short, the Womans Belly swell'd, and her Husband thinking his time had been come, began to boast of his Manhood, and great Joy there was among the Friends of the Woman upon the hopes of Issue. Great Provisions were made against the Lying in, and the General himself made choice of for Godfather. But when the good hour was come, and the Woman delivered, their Joy was turned into Mourning, for the Child prov'd one of the sooty Of-spring of the Sun-burnt race, a perfect Black. The Husband and Mother of the Woman blush'd as red for shame as the Child was black, and the Gossips hung down their heads like Bulrushes: nay the Husband was so transported with fury, that he could not hide his resolution to murder his Wife, for bringing such a piece of live Charcole into the world. But he was prevented, and secur'd in the Fort by the General, till by the intermission of Friends, who wisely laid before him the original cause of his Wifes

Trans-

Transgression, they were at length made Friends, and the Slave for having shew'd himself a Man, was condemn'd to tug at the Oars in the Galleys that go to fetch Stone for the use of the City.

Now as a White Woman may bring forth a Black, so sometimes a Black may be deliver'd of a White Child. For at *Baçaim* a *Cafer*'s Wife, as black as himself, was deliver'd of a white Child. The *Cafer* seeing his Child white, would have immediately fallen upon his Wife and strangled her, had not the good women that assisted at her Labour prevented him, and one of those Gossips was so cunning as to run to the Jesuits House, who are well respected by those Blacks, to desire Father *Thomas de Bare*, who had a long time been Rector at *Agra*, to come to the *Cafer*'s House. Presently the Father came with another of the Fraternity, and finding the *Cafer* stamping and staring almost out of his wits, and in open hostility without all reason, to appease his fury ask'd him whether he kept any Hens, and whether he had any that were black. The *Cafer* answer'd that he did keep Hens, and that he had likewise black Hens. Presently the Father order'd one to be brought him; and then holding it in both his hands before the good Women, Does this Hen (said he to the *Cafer*) lay thee any Eggs? Yes, replied the *Cafer*. Of what colour are they, said the Father? White, answer'd the *Cafer*. Well then, said the Father, thou art worse than thy silly Creature, and hast far less reason; for if this Hen which is black lay thee white Eggs, why may not thy Wife which is black bring thee a white Child? This Comparison so wrought upon the *Cafer*, who was no Disputant, that he embrac'd his Wife, kiss'd his Child, and all was well again. Though for all the Jesuit's Comparison it was believ'd that some *Portugal* Souldier had quarter'd with his Wife, which was the reason of that more than usual Production.

To conclude, there was a certain woman, the wife of one of the Counsellors of *Batavia*, who had both kindness and affection for a Merchant of the Fort, who was both young and handsom. And it is the Custom in that Countrey to be not onely kind but free, she had for several years so well supplied his wants, that he was Company for the best. It happen'd that this Counsellor was sent abroad upon

on ſome Negotiation, and ſtaid longer than he thought he ſhould have done. For this reaſon Money grew ſhort with the Lady; ſo that her Gallant coming for a Supply, and ſhe not having ready money to anſwer his Expectations, ſhe gave him a Gold Chain worth 400 Crowns to pawn for his preſent Neceſſities till ſhe could redeem it. But this Fatal Chain was the diſſolution of all their former Love: For the young Gentleman being ſtreighten'd for Money, and finding no perſon that would lend him ſo much Money as he wanted upon it, very fairly goes and offers it to a Goldſmith to ſell. While this unfortunate Lover was driving his Bargain in the Shop, who in the name of ill luck ſhould come by but one of his Miſtreſſes Slaves, and ſpying the Chain in his hand, runs and tells her Patroneſs how ſhe had ſeen her Gallant imploy'd. Who ſurpriz'd that her Gallant ſhould go about to ſell the Chain, when he had onely promis'd to pawn it in private and ſure hands; now (quoth ſhe) all will out, there will be the Devil upon Dun when my Husband comes home; and I forſooth that have liv'd credibly thus long, muſt be the ſport of my Neighbours and the talk of the Town. This produc'd a Duel between Love and Intereſt, wherein Intereſt getting the victory, away ſhe immediately ſends to all the Goldſmiths, to give them notice that ſhe had been robb'd of a Gold Chain, deſiring them to apprehend the Party that brought it. She alſo gave the ſame notice to the chief of the *Chineſes*, and deſir'd the Advocate Fiſcal to make a public Search. Well, by theſe means the Chain was quickly found, and the Merchant whatever he could ſay for himſelf was apprehended and put in priſon; ſoon after he was condemned for a Thief, and ſentenced to row all his life in the Stone Galley, which is the Galley that fetches Stones for the uſe of *Batavia*. But happy for him, General *Vanderlin*'s Lady falling into a hard Labour before the time of Execution, and deſiring his Pardon at ſuch a ſolemn Juncture, eaſily obtain'd it, ſeaſonably recovering him from the Misfortunes of Folly and Neceſſity.

A RELA-

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Bisnagar, the Temple of Pagods
Bisnagar, the Temple of Pagods

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A NEW

RELATION

OF

The Inner-Part

OF THE

Grand Seignior's

SERAGLIO.

Containing

Several Remarkable Particulars never before exposed to publick view.

By J. B. TAVERNIER, Baron of Aubonne.

LONDON:

Printed, and Sold by R. L. and M. Pitt.

1684

THE Author's Design.

I Question not but that several Relations of the *Grand Seignor*'s *Seraglio* have been publish'd; but I am to acknowledge withal that I have not had the leisure to read any one of them. I have travell'd six several times, by Land, into the East, and by different Roads, during the space of Forty Years; and most persons know, that my Employments were such, as would not allow me much time for the reading of Books. But when my Affairs afforded me any remission, I wholly employ'd those spare hours, in the collection of things the most worthy to be remark'd, whether the Scene lay in *Turkey*, or in *Persia*, or in the *Indies*, on this, or the other side of the River *Ganges*, or in the *Diamond-Mines*, which are in the Territories of divers Princes. While I am busied in putting into order those Memories, which I conceive my self oblig'd to gratify the Publick withal, I make it a Present of this *Relation* of the *Seraglio*, attended with some Observations sufficiently remarkable, which, haply, will not be unpleasant.

The *Ottoman* Court, which makes so much noise in the World, has not, to my thinking, been yet sufficiently well known, if I may judge of it, by what I have seen thereof my self, and have heard from several Persons. I do here communicate a faithful and ample description thereof: which I have extracted, as well out of what I had observ'd my self, in the several Voyages I made to *Constantinople*, as out of the informations I receiv'd from two intelligent Persons, who had spent many years in the *Seraglio*, in very considerable Employments. One of whom was a *Sicilian*, advanc'd to the Charge of *Chasnadar-bachi*, or chief Officer belonging to the Treasury; and after Five and Fifty years Service in the *Seraglio*, was, for some slight miscarriage committed by him, banish'd to a place near *Bursa*, in *Natolia*, from whence he made his escape into the *Indies*. The other, a *Parisian*-born, named *De Vienne*, had been one of the Pages of the Treasury. In his Return from the Jubilee at *Rome*, in the Year M.DC.L. being aboard a Brigantine bound from *Civita Vecchia* to *Marseilles*, he was

 taken

taken by the Pyrates of *Tripoli*, and the Baſſa finding that young Lad well ſhap'd, and looking like one that promis'd much, ſent him, as a Preſent, to the Grand Seignor. He was alſo pack'd away out of the Seraglio, after Fifteen Years Service, only upon this ſcore, that there was ſome diſcovery made, of his holding a ſecret correſpondence with the diſgrac'd *Sicilian*, who had heretofore ſhewn him much kindneſs, and indeed it was by his credit that the *Pariſian* was firſt advanc'd to the Chamber of the Treaſury.

From thoſe two men, who were in a fair capacity to make exact Obſervations of things, have I extracted the better part of this *Relation*. Though they had been forc'd to embrace the erroneous perſwaſion of *Mahomet*, yet were there ſome Relicks of the good ſentiments of Chriſtianity: And whereas there was not the leaſt hope of recovering the honours, wherein they pride themſelves who are exalted to Charges in the Seraglio, it is not to be imagin'd, that they could have any deſign to diſguiſe things to me. They themſelves thought it a certain pleaſure to deſcend to a greater familiarity of Diſcourſe, and to ſpecifie even the leaſt circumſtances: but I am to diſcover withal, that having had their education amongſt the *Turks*, and learnt of them, to love Money, it muſt have been ſo much the greater charge to me, to give them content. I have kept them for a conſiderable ſpace of time, at my own charge, and that in ſeveral places, one at *Iſpahan* in *Perſia*, and the other in the *Indies*, where they had made their reſidences, and the Memoires which they ſupply'd me withal were perfectly concordant.

To the Inſtructions, which I made a ſhift to get from thoſe two men, and to what diſcoveries I may have made my ſelf, of the preſent ſtate of the Grand Seignor's Palace, I ſhall add ſome neceſſary Obſervations of the Manners and Cuſtomes of ſeveral Provinces of the *Ottoman* Empire, ſlightly paſſing over thoſe things, which, in all probability, are generally known. But that the Reader may with greater eaſe comprehend the matters I treat of, and that the diſcourſe may not be interrupted, by the neceſſary explication of the ſeveral names of Charges and Dignities, I have thought it fit, in the firſt place, to give a ſhort Liſt of them, after which ſhall follow another, of the different Species of Money, which are current all over the *Turkiſh* Empire.

A TABLE OF THE Chapters contained in this RELATION.

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AND

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VI. *Of the Hall, where the Grand Seignor gives Audience to Ambassadors, and how they are receiv'd.*

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XX. *Of the Princes, who follow the* Mahumetan *Religion in* Europe, Asia, *and* Africa.

A NEW

A NEW AND EXACT

RELATION OF THE Grand Seignor's SERAGLIO.

OF

The *Charges* and *Dignities* as well of the *Seraglio*, as of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

As alſo,

Of the different Species of the GOLD and SILVER-COINS, now current in TURKEY.

The Principal Heads of the following Diſcourſe.

THE *Origine of the Grandees of the Port. The ſevere Diſcipline of the Seraglio. The Authority of the four Principal Baſſa's, of dangerous conſequence to the Grand Seignor, and how he can take it off. Obſervations upon Standarts. Of the Plume of Herons Feathers which the Grand Seignor wears in his Turbant. The Honours and Diſadvantages attending the Charge of the* Grand Viſier. *The particular Priviledge of the* Caimacan. *The number of the real* Janizaries. *The tranſcendent priviledge of their* Aga, *or Colonel-General. The happy condition of the* Spahis, *and the* Zaims. *The prodigious number of* Eunuchs *all over the Eaſtern parts. Exquiſite Obſervations upon that Subject. The principal Charges of the Seraglio. The noble advatages of the* Capi-Aga. *The Repute and Riches of the* Kiſlar-Agaſi, *Intendant, or Overſeer of the Apartment*

of

of the Women. That the Charge of Boſtangi-Bachi *is one of the moſt eminent of thoſe belonging to the Port. The great Oeconomy of the Partizans. The Policy of the Port, to keep the* Cham *of the leſſer* Tartary *in ſubjection. The Principal Dignities of Perſons relating to the Law. The Species of Gold and Silver-Coins current in* Turkey. *Whence, and how, the Gold coin'd at* Cairo *is brought thither. The ſincerity of the* Abyſſins. *The Story of the Commerce carried on in the diſpoſal of the five Sols Pieces,* French *Money. The jealouſies of the Perſons concern'd in that Trade. A miſchievous Fraud mildly puniſh'd. The ancient ſincerity of the* Turks *corrupted by the Commerce of the* Europæans.

The Origine of the Grandees of the Port.

THey who are advanc'd to Charges, whether it be in the Seraglio, or in the Empire (excepting only the Eunuchs, of whom I ſhall give an account anon) are generally rais'd out of the Children taken in War, or ſent by way of Preſents, by the Baſſa's, or out of the Tributary Children, who, about nine or ten years of Age, are taken out of their Mothers arms, through all the Provinces ſubdu'd by the *Ottoman* Princes. They are all to be of Chriſtian Parents; and counting only the Slaves taken from the Enemy, we find the Regiſters of the Cuſtom-houſe of *Conſtantinople* alone, that, of both Sexes, there are brought thither every year near twenty thouſand. The Inhabitants of the leſſer *Tartary*, who make continual Incurſions into all the Countries, that are in hoſtility againſt the *Ottoman* Empire, ſend up vaſt numbers of them, and the Grand Seignor having the choice of all thoſe young Children, the beſt ſhap'd, and ſuch as have the moſt promiſing looks, are diſtributed into ſeveral Seraglio's, to be there inſtructed in the Law of *Mahomet*, and all ſorts of Exerciſes. And afterwards, out of the choice or cullings of theſe laſt is the Seraglio of *Conſtantinople* repleniſh'd; and they are to be diſtinguiſh'd into two Orders. The firſt and the moſt eminent is that of the *Icheglans*, deſign'd for the great Charges and Dignities of the Empire: The ſecond, that of the *Azamoglans*, employ'd in ſuch Offices as require only ſtrength of body. The *Icheglans* are thoſe, in whom, beſides the accompliſhments of the Body, they diſcover alſo a noble Genius, fit for a high Education, and ſuch as may render them capable of ſerving their Prince, ſome time or other.

The ſevere Diſcipline of the Seraglio.

Theſe are accordingly inſtructed with great care, and educated with the obſervance of a moſt ſevere Diſcipline. They paſs through four ſeveral Chambers, called *Oda's*, which are as it were four Forms, where they learn, in order, whatever is convenient for young perſons, who are to be continually about a great Prince, and are as it were his Pages or Gentlemen. If they commit the leaſt fault, they are ſeverely chaſtis'd, and there is a great ſtock of patience requiſite, for any one to be advanc'd to the fourth *Oda*, which when they have attain'd, they begin to take a little breath. But the hopes of being exalted to the greateſt Honours, and the moſt eminent Dignities, makes them endure the barbarous treatments of the Eunuchs, who are appointed to be their Maſters, and are very liberal of the Baſtinado to them. I ſhall give an account elſewhere of the manner of their Education, and of thoſe four *Oda's*, or Chambers, where they learn thoſe things, whereby they are qualifi'd for the Charges, for which the Grand Seignor deſigns them. Though it be appointed by the received Cuſtom of the Empire, that thoſe Children ſhould be all deſcended from *Chriſtian* Parents, of the beſt extraction, and the beſt ſhap'd that can be found; yet the *Capi-Aga*, or Grand Maſter of the Seraglio, the Principal of the white Eunuchs, who hath the chief Commaſd over the *Iheglans*, ſticks not to admit into their number ſome natural *Turks*, ſuch as may be recommendable, upon the ſcore of their good qualities and endowments: But that happens very ſeldom, and that not without the particular permiſſion of the Prince, who would rather have all thoſe Children to be Renegado-Chriſtians.

And

And this is the Origine of the Great Persons belonging to the Grand Seignor, and the Port. They are all Slaves, and not having any knowledge of their Parents, or Relations, they wholly apply their Affections to the Service of their Prince, who has been pleas'd to advance them to such high Fortunes.

The Authority of the four Principal Bassa's, of dangerous consequence to the Grand Seignor, and how he can take it off.

The *Bassa's* therefore are taken out of the Order of the *Icheglans*, and the name of *Bassa*, or *Basha*, is only a Title of Honour and Dignity, common to all the Grandees of the Port, who are distinguishable, according to the difference of their Charges. The four Principal are these. The *Vizir-Azem*, or *Grand Vizir*, the *Caimacan*, the *Bassa of the Sea*, and the *Aga of the Janizaries*. The Authority of these four Bassa's is so great, that sometimes they deprive their Sovereign of the Crown, and bestow it on whom they please; as it has happen'd, in our Age, to two Emperours immediately succeeding one the other, *Mustapha* and *Osman*, of whom the later dy'd in Prison, by the infamous hand of a common Executioner. But on the other side, if these *Bassa's* know not how to take their measures rightly, they lose their heads upon the least miscarriage, the Grand Seignor seizing to himself all their Estates at their death, and taking their Children into the Seraglio. Nay, these last are so far from succeeding their Fathers, either as to wealth or imployments, even though it were the Son of a *Grand Vizir*, or of a Sister of the Emperour himself, that the highest advancement they are admitted to, is to be made Captains of Gallies; the policy of the *Turks* not permitting, that in any one House there should be a transference of power from Father to Son, that so they may be prevented from taking any occasions to disturb the State. It may be seen by this account of them, that the fortune of the *Bassa's*, which for a time seems so splendid, is but a tottering fortune, upon which neither the Son, nor the Father himself, what repute soever he may be in, can make any sure reliance.

Observations upon the Standards.

The *Bassa's*, who have the denomination of *Vizirs*, carry three Banners or Standards, at the top of which there is a Horse-tayl fasten'd, put into what colour they please themselves, green only excepted, though they are permitted to paint the Staff, to which the Standard is fasten'd, with that colour. The Origine of this Custom was thus, according to the Story which the *Turks* relate of it. Having one day given Battel to the Christians, their Standard was taken in the heat of the Engagement, and the General of the *Turks* perceiving that the loss of the Standard was a discouragement to the Souldiers, who were beginning to take their flight, he with a Cymitar cut off a Horse's tayl, and fasten'd it to the top of a Half Pike, and advanc'd it on high, crying out, *Here is the Grand Standard, let him who loves me follow me.* Immediately the *Turks* re-assum'd Courage, and having rally'd, renew'd the Charge, and gain'd the Victory. The Officers who are about the Persons of the *Bassa's*, have also their Standards, but they are not allow'd to add thereto one of those tayls; and it is to be observ'd, that the *Bassa's*, who are not *Vizirs*, can carry but two of them; as the *Beys*, who are inferiour to the *Bassa's*, and Governours of lesser Provinces, carry but one of them. When the Grand Seignor goes into the Country, there are seven Stanards carry'd, in regard that according to the *Turks*, the world is divided into seven parts, or seven Climats whereof the Grand Seignor is Master, if taken according to its breadth, and 'tis for that reason that in their Language, they give him the Title of *Master of all Kings*. This is grounded upon what *Mahomet* said, That he, who after his death, should be Master of those Territories, where his Sepulchre were found, should assume the Title of Master or Chief of all the Kings upon Earth. They add, that there are but three Empires, which are, those of *Constantinople*, *Babylon* and *Trebizond*: And 'tis for that reason, that the Grand Seignor wears three plumes of black Heron-tops in his Turbant. Take Notice by the way, that they are only the Herons of *Candia* which have their tops perfectly black, the Herons of all other Countries having them, either white, or of a mixt Colour. And because there must be a considerable quantity of them to make up a plume, it must accordingly be of a very great value, which possibly has occasion'd its being out of use in *Europe*: For as to all the Princes of *Asia*, they have still a great esteem for the Heron-tops; but they must not have the least defect, and if the points of them be ever so little broken, there is no account made of them, as being things of very little value. By those three Heron-tops upon the Grand Seignor's Turbant, it is known that the Grand Vizier is in the Army; inasmuch as at that time, he wears

but two of them, and the thing is worthy our Observation. When the Army is to march, the Grand Seignor gives Order for the drawing up those Troops which are at *Constantinople*, and the parts adjacent, and having the Grand *Vizir* near him, he presents him to them for their General. The Souldiers, at that time, say not a word, nor do they make the ordinary salute, till after the Grand Seignor has caus'd one plume of the Heron-tops to be taken out of his Turbant, and to be put upon that of the *Grand Vizir*; and upon that Ceremony, the whole Army salutes him, and acknowledge him for their General, and from that very time are to receive their Pay from him.

Having spoken of the *Bassa's* in general, it is requisite I should give some Idea of those who are advanc'd to the principal Charges of the Empire, and I shall bring into that List, the *Grand Vizir*, accompany'd by six others, who have the quality of *Vizirs*, the *Caimacan*, the *Bassa of the Sea*, and the *Aga of the Janizaries*; after whom I shall come down to the *Beglierbeys*, and to the *Sangiacbeys*, and to the *Bossangi-bachi*, who has one of the most eminent Charges of the Port.

The Honours and Disadvantages attending the Charge of Grand Vizir.

The *Vizir-Azem*, or *Grand Vizir*, is the Lieutenant-General of the Empire, and of the Armies, the principal Person of the Council, and he who, under the Grand Seignor's Orders, has the absolute dispsoal of all Affairs, relating to the State, or to the War, having in his custody the Imperial Seal. He is attended by, and has assistant to him, in the Divan, six other *Vizirs*, whom they call *Vizirs of the bench*, and who are properly Counsellors of State, but yet such as have not any deliberative voice, and come not into the Divan, but only to be consulted upon some point of Law, wherein they are well skill'd, without intermedling with the government of the State; or concerning themselves in any Affair, unless their advice be requir'd. There are also five *Beglerbeys*, on whom the Grand Seignor bestows the qualification of *Vizirs*, and are possess'd of the greatest anh wealthiest Governments of the Empire, to wit, the *Bassa's* of *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Buda*, *Natolia* and *Romania*. The three former, who are the three principal, had heretofore the priviledge (exclusively to all the other *Bassa's*) of having caried before them (in the same manner as the *Grand Vizir* had) the three Horse-tayls, of which I have related the Story. But at the present, that priviledge extends to the two other *Bassa's* of *Natolia* and *Romania*, and they are all five equal, as to that point.

I am now to return to the *Grand Vizir*, who has a magnificent Court, answerable to the greatness of the Master, whom he serves, and there are in his house above two thousand Domesticks. Though he lyes expos'd, as well as the other *Bassa's*, to the indignation of the Prince, and forc'd to send him his Head, when he requires it; yet does the Grand Seignor, in the Affairs of greatest importance, and such as concern the State, comply much with the Sentiments of his *Grand Vizir*, and his Propositions in Council are as so many definitive Sentences. 'Tis that which renders his Power so absolute, that in all the Empires and Kingdoms of the World, there is not any chief Minister of State whose Authority can be parallel'd to that of the *Grand Vizir*. Whoever comes to make him a Visit, he rises not out of his Chair, either to give him a reception, or to conduct him out again, unless it be the *Mufti*, who is the principal Person relating to the Law (of *Mahomet*) upon whose access, the Grand Seignor himself rises from his Throne. But this particularly worth our observation, That as it belongs only to the *Grand Vizir*, to propose all Affairs of importance, so does it concern him to be very careful, not to advance any thing that may be displeasing to the Grand Seignor; for if it should so happen, he gives immediate Order for the strangling of him, without making him any answer at all, upon this Maxime of the *Ottoman* Court, that there must not be any thing propos'd to the Prince, which may give him any cause of dissatisfaction.

A Privilledge particular to the Caimacan.

The *Caimacan* is the Captain, and Governour of the City of *Constantinople*, Lieutenant to the *Grand Vizir*, yet so as not to have any Authority, but only in his absence; And then he performs all the functions of that important Charge; he has the absolute Command and gives Audience to Ambassadors. He is not subject, as the other *Bassa's* are, to that rigorous necessity of resigning his Head; upon this account, that if he does any thing, which may be displeasing to the Grand Seignor, he lays the blame thereof upon the *Grand Vizir*, from whom he receives his Orders.

The *Bassa of the Sea* is the Admiral, and Captain-General of the Naval Forces. The *Beys*, Governours of the Maritime Provinces, and such as are oblig'd to maintain the Grand Seignor's Galleys in good order, are to obey the Commands they receive from him, and to go to Sea upon the first advertisement they receive to that purpose. The

The *Janizary-Aga*, whom the *Turks* call *Yengeri-Agasi*, is the Colonel-General of the *Janizaries*. The Charge is very considerable, inasmuch as the *Turkish* Infantry, at this time, does for the most part pass under the name of *Janizares*, though such as are really *Janizaries*, who derive their Institution from *Ottoman* the First, and their great Priviledges from *Amurath* the Third, do not at this day amount to a Body of above five and twenty thousand Men. They have excellent Regulations amongst themselves, and are distributed into several Chambers, in the spacious Lodgings, whereof they are possess'd, whether it be at *Constantinople*, or in other places. The order observ'd there is so excellent in all things, and so exactly maintain'd, that they live more like Religious Persons, than Sou'diers; and though they are not forbidden to marry, yet it is very seldom that they do it. The great Priviledges which they enjoy all over the Empire, wherein they are so highly respected, induce abundance of Persons, meerly in order to their exemption from the paying of Taxes, and their being discharg'd from publick Duties, to prevail with the Officers, by Money, to protect them, and make them pass for *Janizaries*. But they receive no Pay from the Prince, and all their advantage is restrain'd to the enjoyment of those Priviledges, which indeed are great enough. It is by this intermixture of the real *Janizaries*, with those who are admitted by corruption, that the number of them amounts at this day to above a hundred thousand; and yet not accounting any but such as are effectively *Janizaries*, their Body has sometimes been so dreadful, as that they have unthron'd the *Ottoman* Monarchs, and chang'd the whole face of the Empire of a sudden.

The number of the real Janizaries.

The Power of their *Aga* is very great, and there is not any Person can approach the Prince, as he is permitted to do. For he may come into the Grand Seignor's presence, with his arms at absolute liberty, and with a confident deportment, whereas all the other Grandees of the Port, without any exception, even to the *Grand Vizir* himself, dare not appear before him, otherwise than with their arms cros their bodies, and the hands one upon the other, on the breast, as a mark of a profound submission.

The great Priviledge of the Aga.

The *Beglerbeys* are, in dignity, next the four first *Bassa's*, and are as 'twere so many Soveraigns, in the general Governments of the Empire, whereof the Grand Seignor bestows the Command on them. But in regard it is not my design to speak of the Government of *Turkey*, any further than is requisite for the Subject whereof I treat, there is not any necessity that I should inform the Reader of the number of those *Beglerbeys*, and it is enough that I have nam'd the five principal ones, of whom I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere. I shall only add here, That those great *Bassa's* have under them a certain number of *Sangiac-Beys*, who are Governours of *Sangiacs*, or particular Provinces, as the *Sangiacbey* of *Salonica*, or of *Morea*.

And whereas there will also be frequently mention'd some others, under the Denominations of *Spahis*, *Zaims* and *Chiaoux*, we must give a short account of those three sorts of Persons.

The *Spahis*, who make up a Body of about fifteen thousand Men, are a kind of Knights, who would pass for the Gentry or Nobility of the Country, and stand very much upon their Gallantry. They are maintain'd out of the Revenue of the *Timars*, that is to say, out of the Mannors, or Commanderies, which the Grand Seignor bestows on them, according to the recompence he would make them for their services. Those *Timars* cannot be taken away from them, unless they be negligent in their duty, which is, that they should be in the Army, when the *Grand Vizir* is there in person. These are the happiest persons in all the *Ottoman* Empire, and as it were petty Soveraigns, in he places where they command.

The *Zaims* differ not much from the *Spahis*, and, as the other, have the Command and Revenues of certain Lands, or Fiefs, which the Grand Seignor bestows on them. There is a very great number of them over all the Empire, and they look on themselves, as the Lords and Barons of the Country. The *Turkish* Cavalry consists of the *Zaims* and the *Spahis*, and they know what number of Horse they are to bring into Field, according to the Revenue of their *Timars*.

The *Chaoux*, or *Chiaoux-Bachi*, is the Chief of all the *Chaoux* of the Empire, whose imployment it is to carry the Prince's Commands, to any part either within his Territories, or without, and to be sent upon Embassies, though indded they are but as so many Messengers, or Expresses. 'Tis ordinarily into their custody that Prisoners of Quality are committed, and they suffer them not to be out of their sight.

And

And thus you have an account of the principal charges and Dignities of the Empire, all poſſeſs'd by Perſons taken out of the rank of the *Ichoglans*. I now come to the Officers of the Seraglio, and in regard they are Eunuchs, on whom the Grand Seignor beſtows the moſt eminent Charges, and who, beſides, have the Government of the *Ichoglans*, I ſhall follow the order of the things, in my placing of them here, before I ſay ought of the ſecond order or rank of tributary Children, or ſuch as are taken in War, who are the *Azamoglans*.

The prodigious number of Eunuchs all over the Eaſt.

Of the *Eunuchs* there are alſo two ranks. There are ſome white, who have endur'd only a ſimple caſtration; and there are black ones, who have all cut off, even with the belly. Both ſorts of them are ſevere, humorous and moroſe, and their Treatments are almoſt inſupportable to all thoſe who are under their Charge. There is a prodigious number of them, as well in *Conſtantinople*, as all over the Empire, and generally all over the Eaſtern parts of the World, where there is hardly a private Perſon, having any thing of abilities, but keeps an Eunuch or two, as Sentinels over his Women. And 'tis this that cauſes ſo great a commerce of Eunuchs in ſeveral parts of *Aſia* and *Africk*, and in the ſingle Kingdom of *Colconda*, where I chanc'd to be in the year 1659. there were put off of the n in that very year about two and twenty thouſand. It comes into my mind, that the Grand *Mogor*'s Ambaſſador, in whoſe Country that Barbariſm is not ſuffer'd, but the Eunuchs he makes uſe of are brought out of other places, took me one day aſide, to tell me that he car'd not how ſoon he return'd into his own Country, out of the fear he was in, leſt that Kingdom of *Colconda* might ſink into the ground, after ſuch cruelties. Moſt of the Fathers and Mothers, who are extreamly poor, and have no love for their Children, and whom they are alſo afraid that they cannot maintain, have no other ſhift, upon the firſt dearth of Proviſions, than to ſell them to certain Merchants, who afterwards have them gelt, and ſometimes make clear work, and cut of all. Some of thoſe who have not any thing left, when they would urine, are forc'd to make uſe of a little Cane or Pipe, and to put it to the bottom of the belly. And whereas few eſcape after ſo dangerous an operation, ſuch are accordingly much dearer than the others, and they are ſold in *Perſia* and *Turkey* at the rate of ſix hundred Crowns; when a hundred, or a hundred and fifty, is the price of the ordinary Eunuchs. For the ſupply therefore of all *Turkey*, all *Perſia*, all the *Indies*, and all the Provinces of *Africa*, it may be eaſily judg'd that there muſt come millions of them from ſeveral places. The Kingdom of *Colcunda*, in the Peninſula on this ſide *Ganges*, and the Kingdoms of *Aſſan*, *Boutan*, *Arachan*, and *Pegu*, on the other ſide of it, afford a prodigious number of them. All theſe Eunuchs are either white, or of duskiſh colour. The black Eunuchs, who are brought out of *Africa*, much inferiour in point of number, are, as I ſaid, much the dearer. The moſt deformed yield the greateſt price, their extream uglineſs being look'd on as beauty in their kind. A flat Noſe, a frightful Aſpect, a large Mouth, thick Lips, the Teeth black, and ſtanding at a diſtance one from another (for ordinarily the Moors have fair Teeth) are ſo many advantages to the Merchants who ſell them. The Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* is full of theſe two ſorts of Eunuchs: The black are deſign'd for the cuſtody of the Apartment where the Women are, and ſent to Court by the *Baſſa's* of *Grand-Cairo*. The white, who are ſomewhat leſs ſavage, and have been educated with ſome care, are for the Grand Seignor's own Apartment.

Obſervations upon this Subject.

The principal Charges of the Seraglio.

The four principal Eunuchs, who approach the Prince's Perſon, are the *Hazodabachi*, the *Chaſnadarbachi*, the *Kilargibachi*, and the *Sarai-Agaſi*, who have for their Superiour the *Capi-Aga*, who has the ſuperintendency of all the Chambers of the *Ichoglans*. They ordinarily ſucceed one the other, that is to ſay, the *Sarai-Agaſi* ſucceeds the *Kilargibachi*; the *Kilargibachi* ſucceeds the *Chaſnadarbachi*; and the laſt named ſucceeds the *Hazodabachi*; and in fine, the *Hazodabachi* ſucceeds the *Capi-Aga*, who is always of the longeſt ſtanding in ſervice of the white Eunuchs.

The noble Advantages of the Aga.

The *Capi-Aga*, or *Capou-Agaſi*, is as it were the Grand Maſter of the Seraglio, he is the principal in dignity and repute of all the white Eunuchs, and he is always near the Grand Seignor's Perſon, where-ever he is. He is the Perſon who introduces Ambaſſadors to Audience, and all great Affairs paſſing through his hands, e're they come into thoſe of the Prince, his Charge renders him neceſſary to all others, and procures him many rich Preſents. All thoſe perſons alſo who are to make any Preſent to the Grand Seignor, muſt addreſs themſelves to the *Capi-Aga*, in order to their being preſented

ſcorted to his Highneſs, of which he makes great Advantages. No Man can enter into the Emperour's Apartment, nor get out of it, without his Order; and when the *Grand Vizir* would ſpeak to him, 'tis the *Capi-Aga*'s place, to take and preſent him to his Highneſs. Whether it be by night or by day, if there happen ſome preſſing Affair, whereof the *Vizir* would give the Grand Seignor immediate notice in writing, the *Capi-Aga* receives it from him and brings him the anſwer thereto. He wears his Turbant in the Seraglio, and rides up and down on Horſe-back, by a Priviledge particularly annex'd to his Charge. He accompanies the Grand Seignor even into the Apartment of the Sultaneſſes, but he ſtays at the door, as having no Command in that place. When he leaves the Seraglio, upon his being diſmiſs'd from his Charge, which very ſeldom happens, he cannot be a *Baſſa*. As to his Table, all is at the Prince's Charge, and he has over and above ten *Sultanines* a day, which amount to ſixty Livers, *French* Money. There have been ſome *Capi-Aga*'s who have dy'd worth two millions, all which return'd into the Grand Seignor's Coffers. The chief of the white Eunuchs is attended by four others, who next to him have the principal Charges of the Grand Seignor's Quarter.

The *Hazodabachi*, is, as it were, the Lord High-Chamberlain, having under his Charge the forty Pages of the Chamber, who ordinarily approach the Grand Seignor's Perſon.

The *Serai-Agaſi* has the general Superintendency of all the Chambers of the Grand Seignor's Quarter, as to what relates to Embelliſhment, and the neceſſary Reparations. He has a particular inſpection over the *Seferli Odaſi*, which is the Chamber of the Pages, who are to look after the Grand Seignor's Linnen, and attend him in his Progreſſes. 'Tis incumbent alſo upon him to give Order for their Cloaths, and whatever elſe they ſtand in need of: And his Charge does ſomewhat reſemble that of Captain of the *Louver-Caſtle*, in *France*, ſince it is his work generally to make proviſion for whatever may contribute to the decency and well-ordering of that great Palace. He has for his Aſſiſtant, or Lieutenant, the *Siraiket-Odaſi*, who is alſo an Eunuch, whoſe imployment it is to have the Tapiſtry and Carpets which are ſpread upon the Floors, in the Halls and Lodgings of the Seraglio, chang'd every ſix months.

The *Haznadar*, or *Chaznadar-Bachi*, is the chief Intendant of the Treaſury, and has the inſpection of the conduct and deportment of the Pages of that Camber. Which is not to be underſtood of the Treaſury, deſign'd for the exigencies of the State, and the ordinary Pay of the Souldiery, and whereof the *Grand Vizir*, and the three *Teſterdars*, or Treaſurers-General have the Keys, and Intendency. But I here ſpeak of, is the place where they keep the Jewels of the Crown, and all the other Rarities, and the wealth gather'd together, from Father to Son, by the *Ottoman* Princes; which I ſhall endeavour to lay down diſtinctly, before the Reader's proſpect, in my Relation, when I come to open to him both the Treaſuries. However it is to be obſerv'd, that the *Chaznadar-bachi* has only the honorary title of chief of the Treaſury, nay, that he cannot ſo much as enter into it, ſince that in the Reign of Sultan *Amurat*, the Pages of the Treaſury having complain'd to the Grand Seignor of the ill conduct of that Eunuch, he, upon their Petition, order'd that the *Chaznadar-bachi* ſhould no longer have any Command there, and that the *Chaznaket-odaſi* ſhould for the future exerciſe his Charge, without depriving him of the title thereof. But in regard the *Chaznadar-bachi* is the better known, and the more pronounceable Name, I ſhall always make uſe of it, inſtead of the other; and we muſt not omit giving you this remark, That when the Chief, or Overſeer of the Treaſury, is remov'd from his Charge, he is made a *Baſſa*. Upon this countercharging of theſe two Officers of the Seraglio, it is to be obſerv'd, That, amongſt all the *Mahumetan* Princes, *Turks*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, and of what Sect ſoever they may be of, what has been order'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Reign of one Prince, is never revok'd by his Succeſſor: And under the ſame *Sultan Amurat*, the *Capou-Agaſi* having committed ſome little impertinence, whereat the Grand Seignor took offence, he excluded thenceforwards all the *Capou-Agaſi's*, who ſhould be remov'd out of the Seraglio, from the priviledge of coming into a capacity to be made *Baſſa's*. I ſhall not think it much to alledge upon this particular, another example of that Maxime, of which I was an eye-witneſs my ſelf, in the King of *Perſia*'s Court. 'Twas in the Reign of *Seach Abas*, againſt whom ſome Grandees of the Court had enter'd into a Conſpiracy, and

attempted

attempted to take away the King's Life, yet with a design to have put his Son into the Throne. About Two or Three in the afternoon, when every one in *Persia* is retir'd to the *Haram*, which is the Appartment of the Women, the Conspirators sent to the Palaces twenty Men well arm'd, with Order, first, to put to the Sword all they should find at the Gates, which ordinarily are guarded only by two or three Men, armed with a massy Club, and afterwards to go and murther the King himself in the *Haram*, which would be but poorly defended by black and white Eunuchs, who are poor Souldiers. But the intended blow of the Conspirators was prevented, and the chief Porter, a Person accounted one of the most valiant of his time, being in his Station, with two of his Servants, *Georgians* by Country, that is to say, valiant, as all those People are, fell upon the Traitors with his Cutclas, and beat them back so smartly, that they thought it the best way to run for't. The King having been inform'd of that action, order'd him to be brought into his Presence, and after he had commended him, made this establishment, That the Charge of chief Porter, should ever continue in his Family, from Father to Son. He also commanded the Keeper of the Archives, or Records, to insert that action into the History, and wish'd that his own Name might be dash'd out of it, and all that had been done during his Reign, if any of his Successors attempted to change any thing of his Will, and deprive the House of that Faithful *Georgian* of that Charge.

The *Kilargi-bachi* is the chief Governour of the Pages of the *Kilar*, which is the place where they keep all the exquisite Drinks for the Grand Seignor's own drinking. It is a kind of Cup-bearers Office, and the *Kilargi-bachi*, a kind of Cup-bearer; and he is also made a *Bassa*, upon his removal from the Charge of *Kilargi-bachi*. He is moreover the Chief or all the *Akegis*, who are the Cooks and Confectioners, since no Body can have any entrance into those Offices, but by his Order; and he has under his custody all the Plate, which is for the peculiar service of the Grand Seignor. This Officer has for his Substitute the *Kilarktodasi*. Now having told you, that, upon the resignation of his Charge, he is made a *Bassa*, it were not amiss to advertise you further, That they who are remov'd out of the Seraglio, in order to their being *Bassa's*, ought to have been of the number of the forty Pages of the Chamber, and to have pass'd through one of these six Charges, of *Chatnakytodasi*, and of *Kilarktodasi*, of whom I have spoken already, of *Dogangibachi*, of the *Chokadar*, of the *Seligdar*, and of the *Rikabdar*, of whom I shall discourse anon. Otherwise, they can only be *Beys*, or *Zaims*, or *Spahis*, or at most, but *Capigibachis*, by the Grand Seignor's singular favour. The cate is the same with the *Cugunbachi*, who is the second Person of the Office of the Treasury, as also with the *Anakdar-Agasi*, who is the third. If these People remove out of the Seraglio, be fore they are admitted into the number of the Forty Pages of the Chamber, they have only a certain Pay, more or less, the highest whereof amounts not to above two hundred Aspers. I proceed to the other Officers of the Seraglio, of whom there will be some mention made in my Relation.

The *Dogangi-bachi* is the Grand Falconer, and his Charge makes him a considerable Person about the Prince.

The *Chokadar* is he who carries the Royal Robe, called the *Ciamberluc*, the same Officer which the *French* call *Portemanteau*.

The *Rikabdar* is he who holds the Stirrup, when the Grand Seignor gets on Horseback.

The *Seligdar* is the first of the Pages of the Chamber; he carries the Grand Seignor's Sword upon days of Ceremony, and they ordinarily advance to that Charge one of the handsomest Pages.

The *Hammangibachi* is the chief Overseer of the Bath. When he leaves the Seraglio, as also when the *Kamachirbachi*, who is the chiefest of the Pages of *Seferli*, does so; their Pay is an hundered Aspers a day; and if they are in favour, it may amount to an hundered an fifty. It is to be observ'd in the general, that when any one of the Forty Pages of the Chamber is remov'd, the vacancy is supply'd sometimes out of the Treasury, sometimes out of the *Kilar*, and sometimes out of the *Seferli*, and in that they take their turns. They always take out the most ancient; and they who were next to them come into their places. How that is done, we shall take occasion to explicate more plainly in the Chapter of the Treasury.

The

The *Chiaoucbachi* is the grand Laundry-man, or the Principal of those, who wash and order the Grand Seignor's Linnen.

The *Ciritbey* is the chief Director of those who are exercis'd in shooting with the Bowe, and casting the Dart. These two Exercises are much practis'd every *Friday*, in a place of the *Seraglio*, appointed for that Divertisement. Thus have you, in few words, an account of whatever relates to the principal Charges of the *Seraglio*, possess'd by those who have pass'd through the Chambers of the *Icboglans*.

The *Black*, or *Negro-Eunuchs*, of whom I have but a word more to say, additionally to what I have intimated before, are appointed to guard the Appartment of the Women, and they make choice, for that Office, of the most deform'd and the most *Æsopical*, that can be found. They are all cut even with the belly, ever since the time of *Solyman* the Second, who being one day in the fields, and seeing a Gelding offering to leap a Mare, inferr'd thence, that the Eunuchs, who Kept his Wives, might likewise endeavour to satisfie their passions; for which he bethought himself of a present remedy, by ordering them to have all cut off; and his Successors have since observ'd that Rule. There is a great number of those *Negro-Eunuchs*, and they have their variety of Chambers, and their Regulations, as the white ones have. I say nothing here of their different Employments, and the Reader will find, in the Chapter concerning the Appartment of the Women, all can be known, that's certain upon that Subject.

The credit and wealth of the Kislar-Agasi, who keeps the Appartment of the Women.

The *Kislar-Agasi*, or, as others name him, the *Kuezer-Agasi* which is as much, in our Language, as to say, *the Guardian of the Virgins*, is the chiefest of all the *Negro-Eunuchs*, and is of equal authority and credit with the *Capi-Aga*, who is the Supreme of the *white Eunuchs*. The former is the Overseer of the Appartment of the Women, has the Keys of the Doors in his custody, and has access to the Emperor when he pleases himself. The charge he is possess'd of brings him in Presents from all parts; and there are not any such made to the Sultanesses, by the *Bassa's*, and other Persons, who stand in need of their favour, in reference to the Sultan, but there comes along with it one to himself, which makes him one of the richest and most considerable Officers, belonging to the Seraglio.

I come now to the *Azamoglans*, who make the second Order of young Lads, wherewith the Seraglio is repleniish'd, and out of whose number they take such as are design'd for mean Officers, of whom I shall give you the List.

The *Azamoglans* as well as the *Icboglans*, are, as I said before, Tributary Children, taken away from the Christians or made Captives, by Sea, or Land. They make choice of the handsomest, the best shap'd, and most robust, for the Seraglio, and they have neither wages nor allowances of any profit, unless they be advanc'd to some small Employments. Nor can they attain those, till after many years Services, and what is then allow'd them does not amount to above four Aspers and a half *per diem*. As for those who are brought up in other places, under the simple denomination of *Azamoglans*, and are not receiv'd into the Seraglio at *Constantinople*, their fortune can amount no higher, than to become *Janizaries*.

When these young Boys are brought up to *Constantinople*, the first distribution which is made of them is into the Seraglio's, or Royal Houses of the Grand Seignor: there are some of them left in the City, to be put to Trades, and others are sent to Sea, to serve for seamen, and so gain experience in Navigation, by which means they capacitate themselves for some Employments. But to confine our discourse to the *Azamoglans* receiv'd into the great Seraglio, they are imploy'd in several Offices, and some of them are made *Bostangis*, some *Capigis*, some *Atagis*, some *Haltagis*, and some, *Baltagis*; which terms I shall explicate to the Reader in as few words as I can.

The *Bostangis* are they who are employ'd in the Gardens of the Seraglio, out of whose number they take out those who are to row in the Grand Seignor's Brigantines, when he has a a mind to divert himself in fishing, or take the air upon the Canal. They who thus serve in the Brigantines, and row on the right hand, may be advanc'd to the charge of *Bostangi-Bachi*, which is one of the most considerable places of the Seraglio: But they who row on the left hand, are capable only of the mean Employments, wich are bestow'd in the Gardens. If it happen that any one of them break his Oar, by strength of rowing in the Grand Seignor's presence, his Highnes immediately orders him a gratuity of fifty Crowns;

and

and there is also a certain distribution made of some Money to the others, as the Grand Seignor takes his diversion in the Brigantine. Their greatest Pay, after they have served some years, is seven Aspers and a half *per diem*, besides clothing and diet, which they all equally have.

Bostangi-bachi one of the noblest Charges of the Port.

The *Bostangi-Bachi* has the general Intendancy or Over-sight of all the Grand Seignor's Gardens, as well those of *Constantinople* as those of the neighbouring Villages, and commands above ten thousand *Bostangis*, who are employ'd in the culture of them. Though he be taken out of the meanest rank of the *Azamoglans*, yet his power is very great, and his employment one of the noblest and most considerable about the Court. That gives him access to the prince's Person, to whom he may speak familiarly when he carries him by Sea; for he has his Seat at the Helm of the Brigantine, wherein the Grand Seignor is, who most commonly makes use of him, to carry his Orders to some *Bassa*, when he would have his Head. All the Grandees of the Port stand in Awe of him, and endeavour to gain his Affection by their Presents, because it lies in his power, to do them either good or bad Offices about the Prince, whom he can dispose as he pleases, when he has him abroad upon the Water. For being as 'twere at his Elbow, and having the whip of the Rudder in his hand, with the priviledge of sitting in his Presence, that he may the more easily Govern it, he has then the opportunity to entertain him with Affairs of State, and the Conduct of the *Bassa's*, and answerable to his Passion or Interest, clearly to Acquaint him how things pass, or turn and disguise them as he pleases. In fine, if he be highly in Favour, he may obtain one of the great Governments, and become *Bassa* of *Buda*, *Babylon*, or *Cairo*, nay haply *Grand Vizier*, which is the most eminent Charge of the Empire.

The *Capigis* are the Porters or Keepers of the Gates of the Seraglio, that is to say, of the first and second Courts; for the third Gate, which gives enterance into the inner Seraglio, is kept by Eunuchs. The Chief of the *Capigis* is call'd *Capigi-bachi*, who has under him other Officers, bearing the same Name; and whom the Grand Seignor makes use of, to carry his Orders. The *Capi-Aga* is above all.

The *Attagis* are the Cooks of the Seraglio, over whom as well as over the *Halvagis*, the *Kilargi-bachi* has full Power. Every Kitchin has its *Attagi-bachi*, that is to say, its chief Director, or Master-Cook. And the *Mouthak-Emin* is the Intendant or Overseer, who supplies the Kitchens with all that is necessary, taking care also for the Tables of the Ambassadors, according to the Orders he has receiv'd from the *Grand Vizir*.

The *Halvagis* are the Confectioners, of whom I shall have occasion to speak more at large elsewhere. They give also the same Name to those who serve the Grandees of the Seraglio, and are permitted to go out of it and into it, when they please.

The *Baltagis* are a robust sort of People, imploy'd in the carrying of Burthens, as Porters, and Cleavers of Wood are amongst us. *Baltagi* implies properly a Labouring Man, who makes use of the Wedge.

The *Hasteler-Agasi* is the Overseer of the Infirmary, who observes what comes in and what goes out, and especially that there be no Wine brought in.

I shall have occasion also, in my Relation, to speak of two others, to wit, the *Emirabour-bachi*, and the *Ekmeggi-bachi*, who are two Officers belonging to the Sultan, but have their Habitations out of the Seraglio.

The *Emirabour-bachi* is the great Gentelman-Usher, who goes before the Grand Seignor, when he appears in publick, and in all Ceremonies.

The *Ekmeggi-bachi* is the Master-Baker, who has the over-sight, and gives direction for the Baking of all the Bread that is Eaten in the Seraglio. These two Employments are not bestow'd on any of those who have their Abode within the Seraglio, but to Persons who live out of it, but have the Liberty of ingress into it, egress out of it, at any time.

To be short, I shall have occasion to speak of the *Caragi-bachi*, and of the *Cham* of the Lesser *Tartary*, and I have some curious Observations to make upon both of them.

The Oeconomy of the Partizans & Collectors of publick Moneys.

The *Caragi-Bachi* is the Chief of those who collect the Tributes, and it is of him, as also of the *Gemmerou-bachi*, or Grand Farmer of the Customs, and of the *Bazarcan-bachi*, or Chief amongst the Merchants, that the Grand Seignor makes use of to make Advancements when he wants Money, and that there is

no

not any in the publick Treasury, he being unwilling that they should meddle with the Secret Treasury. They must of necessity find it out, and it is no hard matter for them to do, in regard that of all the Tributes, Customs, and other Impositions due to the Grand Seignor, there is not any thing pay'd till the end of the Year, and these Officers oblige Men to the payment thereof, at the begining of it.

All sorts of Persons, what Religion soever they are of, except the *Mahumetan*, are oblig'd to pay the Tribute without any exception, from the time of their settling in the Empire, and having attain'd the sixteenth year of their Age. And this Tribute, or Poll-Money, amounts to five hundred and fifty old *Aspers*, which neither rise nor fall, but always keep at the same rate of eighty, to a *Piastre*, which, in the *French* Money, and consequently with little difference in ours, amounts to five Crowns and $\frac{1}{2}$. All other *Christians* who come into the Empire, upon the score of Trade, or Business, though 'twere but for one day, are forc'd to pay, at the first City where they arrive. The forreign *Greeks*, such as they from *Muscovy* or other places, pay three hundred and fifty *Aspers*; but the *Armenians*, who come from *Persia*, *Georgia*, *Mingrelia*, and other Countreys, are tax'd but at three hundred. As to the *Christians*, whom they call *Franguis*, they pay nothing; and that has given much trouble to the Ambassadors of *Europe*, especially to the *French* Ambassador, there being more *French* that are Inhabitants in *Turkey*, than there are of any other Nation. And yet though the *Turks* make their Year to consist but of twelve Moons, ours being near twelve and a half, they make the Tributaries pay but for twelve Moons; yet in requital, and that nothing may be lost, they make them pay that Tribute double, every three and thirtieth year, and are very frugal Husbands for the benifit and advantage of their Master.

There are but two Princes in the World that are known by the Name of *Cham*, to wit, the Emperour of great *Tartary*, and the King of the little *Tartary*, a Vassal to the *Ottoman* Monarchs. I conceive my self oblig'd, to give the Reader some information of the present condition of the latter. When the *Cham* of the lesser *Tartary* enters upon the Government, he comes to take his Oath of Fidelity to the Grand Seignor, and the *Turks* look upon him no otherwise than as a Governour of a Province, or at most, but as a Vassal-Prince. But those of his own Countrey, the *Muscovites*, the *Poles*, the *Georgians*, the *Mingrelians*, and the other Nations bordering upon him, treat him as a King, when they write to him. The Grand Seignor uses much Policy towards the *Cham*, lest he should revolt from him, and render himself more powerful than he is, by Alliances with the neighbouring Princes. For it is to be observ'd, That the lesser *Tartary*, whereof the City *Caffa*, near the *Cimerian* Streight, is the metropolis, is not a Countrey subdu'd by the Arms of the *Ottomans*. The ancient Kings of it did only put themselves under the Grand Seignor's protection who receiv'd them into it, upon condtion, that when the Father dy'd, his Son, or the next of kin, his successor, was not to enter upon the Government, till he had receiv'd the Investiture from the Port, and taken the Oath of Fidelity to the Grand Seignor, obliging himself to come to him upon the first Orders to that purpose. The Grand Seignor promis'd in requital, that he would not establish any other than what were of their Race, to command in the Lesser *Tartary*. And whereas there are two Branches of that Family, he keeps one of them always banish'd in the Island of *Rhodes*, while the other Governs. But if, after Fifteen or Twenty Years, there should be any suspition of this latter Family's having a design, to render it self absolute, he sends for the *Cham* and his Children, when he has any, and sending them to *Rhodes*, brings thence him who was there exile, and orders him to reign in his turn, for some years. The form of his Oath you will find in the sixth Chapter of my Relation, where I speak of the Hall for Audience, and the manner, in which that Prince is there received.

The policy of the Port, to keep the Cham of the lesser Tartary quiet.

I have only now somewhat to say of the *Moufti*, the *Cadilisquer*, and the *Cadis* and the others relating to the Law, which I shall do in few words. Only let it be here observ'd in the general, That, according to the perswasion of the *Turks*, the *Civil* Laws are part of their *Religion*, and that having been given them by their Prophet, they are deriv'd from God, and require an implicite obedience. 'Tis by this course, that they are kept within their duty, and that they obey the Laws, as much out of a principle of Religion and Conscience, as out of the fear of chastisement; and in that they do not much recede from our *Christian* Maxims.

The principal Dignities of those who study the Law.

The *Moufti's* and the *Cadis* pass therefore indifferently under the Name of Persons well skill'd in the Law, as if we should reduce our Divines and our Civil Lawyers into the same Class, and in civil and criminal Causes the *Moufti* is often consulted.

The *Moufti* is the honourary Chief of the Law all over the Empire, and accounted to be the Interpreter of the *Alcoran*. I speak of the Grand *Moufti* of *Constantinople*, who is the most esteem'd, and the principal of all. For there are several others of them in *Turkey*, over whom he has no more jurisdiction, than he has over the *Imans*, or Priests; every one of them submitting themselves only to the Magistrate, and there being no Ecclesiastical Superiority amongst them. That hinders not but that the Grand *Moufti* is honour'd by all the rest, and in great veneration among the *Turks*. The Grand Seignor never bestows that Dignity, but upon a Person of great abilities, and great integrity; he often consults him in the Affairs of greatest importance; he always follows his Directions, and he is the only Person in the World, at whose approach he rises up to receive him.

The *Cadileſquers* follow the *Moufti*, and are Judges-Advocates of the Militia, the Souldiers having this Priviledge, That they are judg'd only by them; whence they also call them, *Judges of the Armies*. There are but two of them all over the Empire, the *Cadileſquer* of *Romania*, and the *Cadileſquer* of *Natolia*, who are in highest esteem next to the *Moufti*, and have their Seats in the Divan, immediately next to the *Grand Vizir*.

The *Mollah*, or *Moula-Cadis*, are the Judges of great Cities, who recive their Commissions from the *Cadileſquers*, to whom there may be an Appeal made from their Sentence, in Civil Concerns only; for as to the Criminal part, the Cause is soon decided, and the least Judge condemns to death without any Appeal.

The *Cadis* are under the *Mollah*, and ought to be well vers'd in the Laws and Customs of the Countrey. They have also under them the *Naips*, who administer Justice in the Villages, and that is done with much expedition, without the help of Proctors, or Advocates.

The *Imans*, or *Emaums*, are the priests of the *Turks*, and as 'twere the Parsons of their *Moſqueys*, where they take care that all things be done in order, and at the times appointed.

The *Hogias* are the Doctors of the Law, and as it were the Regents, and Instructors of Youth.

The *Sheiks* are to them, instead of Preachers, and they make publick Exhortations.

The *Muezims* are they, who cry upon the Towers of the *Moſquey*, to call the People together at the hour of Prayer; the *Turks*, not using any Bells, nor the *Christians*, in the *Levant*.

The *Dervis* are Religious Men, among the *Turks*, who live poorly, and indeed the very word signifies *poor*. They are for the most part ridiculously cloath'd, and all, generally, great Hypocrites.

OF

OF

The Different *Species* of Gold and Silver-Coins, and the ſmall Money now current in

TURKEY:

TOGETHER WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE TRADE

In *Five Sols Pieces* (French Money) and the Abolition of it.

What Money current in Turkey.

THere are but two Species of *Gold-Coins* current all over the *Turkiſh* Empire; the one is the proper Countrey Money, the other comes out of Forein Parts. The former is the *Scherif*, otherwiſe called *Sequin*, or *Sultanine*; and that kind of Gold is worth at the preſent ſix Franks, *French* Money, though heretofore it yielded but five Franks, nay came ſo low as four.

The Gold brought to Cairo and coin'd there.

the *Scheriffs* come from Egypt, and *Cairo* is the only City of the Empire, where Gold is coin'd. That Gold is brought out of the Kingdom of the *Abyſſines*, and this is the manner how it is brought to *Cairo*. The quantity is not the ſame every year, and when the paſſages are ſhut up, whether by War, or by extraotdinary Rains, whereby the Fields are overflown, there comes but little Gold into *Egypt*, during that time. As ſoon as thoſe obſtructions are takn away, and that there is a freedom of Commerce, you ſhall ſee arriving at *Cairo*, nay at *Alexandria* too, ſeveral *Abyſſines* who bring in, one man, two pounds, another four, every one more or leſs, according to his abilities. Thoſe poor People run a thouſand riſques in their Travels, and 'tis almoſt a miracle, how they bring them to a period. Some of them are of that Country, whence the Queen of *Sheba* came, and which is now call'd the Kingdom of *Sabour*. Others come from places at a greater diſtance, and they have ſometimes fifteen days journeys to make, and cannot meet with any waters to drink, but what are corrupt, and deſtructive to health: which I found but too true my ſelf, when I croſs'd the Deſarts of *Arabia*. If by chance they come to ſome Cottage or Hut, where they have kill'd an Elephant, it is a place for them to feaſt in. This conſider'd, we need not wonder at the ſhort lives of thoſe miſerable People, whoſe Bodies are deſtroy'd in thoſe Voyages, and who for the moſt part do not exceed forty years of Age. The caſe is the ſame with thoſe, who trade with the *Portugueſes*, on the Coaſts of *Melinda* and *Mozambico*, the corrupt waters they are forc'd to drink in their way make them hydropical at five and twenty years of Age, and generally, all the ſeveral peoples of the Kingdom of *Sabour*, have the right Leg ſwell'd and twice as big as the left, and ſeldom exceed five and thirty yeats.

The ſincerity of the Abyſſines.

'Tis a miraculous thing to ſee the fidelity wherewith thoſe poor *Abyſſines* demean themſelves in trading, as well thoſe of the Southern parts, who are *Chriſtians*, as thoſe of the North, who border upon Egypt, and are *Mahumetans*. For after they have taken the Commodities they like for the Gold they have brought, if the Merchant they deal with will ſupply them with any thing further, to be paid at their return, and upon their own words, he is ſure enough of it, and need not break his ſleep for it. For if it happen that one of thoſe *Abyſſines*, who is a Debtor, ſhould die by the way, ſome of his Relations or, Friends, whom he acquaints with his affairs, brings the Gold at the next return,

for the Commodity which had been taken up; and it could never hitherto be found, that any Merchant could complain, that ever he had loſt ought by any one of them. All that is to be fear'd, is, that they ſhould fall into the hands of their Enemies, who rob, and kill them, and particularly on the South-ſide, there being leſs danger, towards the North.

The forein Coins of Gold in *Turkey* are the *Ducates* of *Germany*, *Holland*, *Hungary*, and *Venice*. They are very much ſought after, and they are chang'd at ſix Livers and a half, and ſometimes at ſix Livers and fifteen Sols; and that is done in order to the ſending of them to the *Indies*, where they drive a great Trade with them, as I ſhall make it appear in my Relations of the Levant. Sometime ſince, there has been ſome abatement made in the *Ducates* of *Venice*, upon a diſcovery of their not being of ſo good an alloy, as thoſe of *Germany*.

There will be often mention made of *Purſes*, in that Relation of the Seraglio. A *Purſe* implies as much as the ſum of five hundred Crowns, and it is of thoſe Purſes that the Grand Seignor makes his ordinary Preſents. But a *Purſe of Gold*, wherewith he regales his Sultaneſſes, and his peculiar Favourites, amounts to fifteen thouſand *Sequins*, or thirty thouſand Crowns. A *Kize* is alſo a bag of fifteen thouſand *Ducates*.

In all the *Ottoman* Empire, there is not any Money of Copper to be ſeen, and the Spieces current there muſt be either of Silver or Gold. True it is, that there are ſome pieces of Silver taken there, of a very baſe alloy, eſpecially the *Roup*, which are quarter-Ryals, coin'd in *Poland*; and with the aſſiſtance of the *Jews*, the *Baſſa's* in their ſeveral Governments, conterfeit certain forein Coins, which are all much different from thoſe which they are intended to imitate.

The caſe is the ſame as to Silver-Coins in *Turkey*, as it is with thoſe of Gold. There are ſome coin'd in the Countrey, as the *Aſper*, and the *Paraſi*, which are the leaſt of all. And there are ſome forreign Moneys, as the *Spaniſh Ryal*, and the *Rix-dollar* of *Germany* and *Holland*.

An *Aſper* is the leaſt of all the Moneys, which heretofore was worth eight *Deniers*, *French* Money, that is about two thirds of the *Engliſh* Penny, as being of good Silver, and the value ſet upon them was after the rate of 80, for the Crown-piece. But in the more remote Provinces, the *Baſſa's* and the *Jews* cauſe ſuch an abundance of counterfeit ones to be made, that at preſent, a Crown-piece will yield one hundred and twenty *Aſpers*.

A *Paraſi* is another kind of ſmall Money, which is worth four *Aſpers*, and coin'd at *Cario*.

Groche is the Crown, or *Spaniſh Ryal*, otherwiſe called the *Piece of eight*.

Kara Groche is the *Rix-dollar* of *Germany*.

Aſclani is the *Rix-dollar*, mark'd with the Lyon of *Holland*. After which follow the Pieces of four *Ryals*, of two *Ryals*, and of one *Ryal*; and heretofore the Pieces of *five Sols*, *French* Money, wherewith there was a great Trade driven in *Turkey*: 'Tis a thing not well known to all, and therefore the Hiſtory thereof will haply not be unpleaſant to the Reader.

The Trade driven in the five Sols-pieces.

A certain Merchant of *Marſeilles*, without any fore-thought deſign, ſent as many Pieces of *five Sols*, newly come out of the Mint, as amounted to the ſum of two, or three hundred Crowns amongſt ſome other Pieces of Silver-Coins, to buy Silks. The *Turks* found thoſe little Pieces ſo pretty and ſo beautiful, and were at the firſt ſo taken therewith, that they thought them to be the eighth part of a *Ryal*, and were content to allow a Crown, for every eight of them. The Factor, perceiving it, writ to *Marſeilles*, whence he receiv'd a very great ſum in that Money, and gain'd very much thereby. If the *French* could have contented themſelves with that honeſt profit, the commerce of thoſe Pieces, which was quaſh'd by the exceſſive frauds committed in the managment of it, might have continued ſtill, and would have been very advantageous to them. The *Turks* were unwilling to trade in any other kind of Money, and in the payment of the Armies, to give the Souldiers content, there was a neceſſity of diſperſing them among them. One day, returnig out of *Perſia* into *Turkey*, I was perſecuted by ſeveral Women, who would needs have me give them ſome *Tomins*, (ſo they call that kind of Money) and I could not have any thing to eat, for any other Money.

Our *French* Merchants were gainers at the firſt, after the rate of fifty, *per cent.* allowing in *Turkey* but eight of thoſe Pieces for a Crown whereas they had twelve of them

them in *France* for the same Piece. But the other *European* Nations, the *English*, the *Dutch*, and the *Italians*, envying their happiness, came to give a check to their design, and making their complaints to the *Grand Vizir*, that minister order'd, That, for the future they should allow twelve of those Pieces for the Crown, or that they should not be current any longer, and that whatever sums thereof were found in the Ships, should be confiscated.

The *French* were not at all satisfy'd with that; and whereas there was a necessity of submitting to the *Grand Vizir's* Decree, they bethought themselves of having some of those Pieces coin'd, which should not have above four *Sols* of good Silver, which was a considerable advantage, of twenty five upon the hundred. They pass'd well enough for some time, before the *Turks* had discover'd the fraud; they being satisfy'd, that the Stamp was fair, and that he Pieces look'd very white: And the Women and Maidens, of the meaner sort of People, made them contribute to the ornament of their Head-tires, about which they fasten'd those pretty little Pieces, and they came down flaping about their Foreheads, as the wealthier sort fasten'd Pieces of Gold to theirs.

But the better to compass their design, the *French* Merchants were oblig'd to find out other Countreys, where it might be lawful for them to traffick in those Pieces. The'r first recourse was to those of *Dombes*, *Orange*, and *Avignon*, and passing into *Italy*, they found work for some time for those of *Monaco*, and *Massa*. But having observ'd, that the *Turks* were more taken with the Pieces which had the impression of a Woman's Head, and those Princes being unwilling to suffer them to coin among them any Money of so base an alloy, or to give it the Stamp of *Ja*, the Princess of *Dombes*, they cast their eyes upon some Castles situate within the Territories of the *Genuese*, yet subject to the jurisdiction of the Empire, where they obtain'd what they desir'd, upon conditions not disadvantageous to the Lords of those places. The Pieces they got coin'd at *Orange*, where also sought after, and pleas'd the *Turks*, in regard the Stamp was beautiful, and very clear; but those of the Legat of *Avignon* were not so current, the Effigies thereof not being well done, and the Cross, hanging at the Neck, displeasing to the *Turks*. Had they contented themselves, in that Tade, with twenty five upon the hundred, it might have continu'd and the profit would have been considerable: but by little and little, the thing came to so great an excess, till, at last, there was not one penny-worth of good Silver in every piece.

The *French*, to make them pass the better, gave eighteen, and sometimes twenty for a Crown, of which abuse the great Merchants of *Constantinople*, *Aleppo*, *Smyrna*, and other Cities of Trade, made a good hand, they giving but twelve or thirteen for the worth of a Crown, in the payments they made to the petty Merchants of the Provinces of the Empire, for the Merchandizes they brought out of *Turkey*, there was none of that counterfeit Money dispers'd, and the *Armenians* were far enough from burthening themselves with it, in regard that all the Money, which is carried into *Persia*, is presently convey'd to the Mints, upon the Frontiers, to be melted down, and afterwards coin'd into *Abassis*, whereof they give the Merchant an account, answerably to the Standard of his Money, after it has been examin'd; and by that means there can be no fraud committed. The same course is taken over all the Great *Mogol's* Empire; and of all the Princes in the World, he causes all the Species of Gold and Silver of the best Standard to be coin'd without admitting the least alloy.

The jealousie of the other Merchants.

The *Genese* Merchants perceiving that the *French* had, at the beginning been fortunate in their Commerce, would needs imitate them in other sorts of Money, and got two or three hundred thousand *Ducates* coin'd which they carried into *Turkey*. But they had not the success they expected, the Gold was so counterfeit, that the cheat was immediately discover'd, the Consul, and the Captain of the Vessel, were in some trouble about it, and the persons concern'd therein, sav'd what they could of that disaster.

The *Germans* also would needs come in for a share, taking another course all along the *Danow*, quite to the mouth of it, from whence they got to *Constantinople* through the *Black Sea*. With other their Merchandizes, most whereof consisted in the counterfeit Copper-wares of the City of *Nuremberg*, things fit enough those Nations, which border upon the *Euxine* Sea, they carried a quantity of *Roups*

or

or quarter-*Ryals*, of the Coinage of *Poland*, which are pleasant to the Eye, and might have been commodious enough for the Merchants, if the adulteration had been moderate. But the *Italians* need not be much asham'd, that the *Germans* should be more successful than they upon that occasion, since that both Nations came short in point of subtilty, to deceive the *Turks*.

But to return to the *French*, the first concern'd in this History, to which it is time to put a period. In the heat of their Commerce, and while all things were very well with them, they thought it not enough, to carry away the richest Merchandizes, but they also bought up all sorts of good Money they could meet withal, and brought it into *France*, to carry on and continue the coinage of their counterfeit pieces. This Trade was carry'd on so far, thro' the whole extent of that vast Empire, and there was so prodigious a quantity of that counterfeit Mony spread abroad, that it was found by the Register-Books of the Farmers of the Customs, that the sum of what had been dispers'd of it amounted to an hundred and fourscore millions of Livers, not accounting what had never come to their knowledge, and what Seamen, and other private Persons might have conceal'd.

The other Merchants and Traders of *Europe*, who brought none but good Money, having exclaim'd against that disorder, and renew'd their complaints to the *Grand Vizir*; the *Turks* at last open'd their eyes, and that principal Minister, having comprehended, that if the thing continu'd, in a short time, instead of Silver, there would be nothing but Copper in the Empire, prohibited the bringing in of any more of those pieces of *five Sols*, upon pain of confiscation, and great penalties to be inflicted on those, who durst do any thing contrary thereto.

Yet could not that crying of them down, and the *Grand Vizier*'s prohibition make the Souldiers who serv'd in *Candia*, out of love with those little pieces, the beauty whereof they were so much taken withal. Notwithstanding all the Remonstrances that could be made to them, they would not be paid in any other kind of Money; and some discontented Persons and Mutineers beginning to shew their Teeth, they were forced immediately to send Galleys to *Smyrna*, and some other Cities of great Commerce, to bring away all that could be found of that sort of money. The incredible quantity of those counterfeit pieces, dispers'd in all the Provinces of the *Ottoman* Empire, is at last vanish'd, they are grown red, and no longer current.

A mischievous fraud gently punished.

At the First crying down of that counterfeit money, before the news of it could have been brought to foreign Countries, a certain Person named *Goulin*, engag'd all he had in the world, to make up to the sum of five and twenty thousand Crowns in those Pieces of *five Sols*, so extremely falsifyd, that there was hardly so much Silver as was requisite to whiten them. He came to *Smyrna*, where I then was, and where he soon found, that there was no way to put off his counterfit Merchandize. Whereupon he imagin'd, that he might get it off, if he could make a speedy Voyage to *Constantinople*, where, as he had been assur'd, some Persons took them, even after they had been cry'd down. Being unwilling to hazard all by Sea, he sent away, by Land, four or five thousand Crowns, which were taken away by Thieves, near *Bursa*, and carry'd the much greater part to *Constantinople* in a *Dutch* Vessel, of which he had also sufficient cause to repent him. After he had expos'd it at the Custom-house, for the payment of the Duties, the Chief Officer of the Customs told him, that he might return within two or three days, to take back what belong'd to him; and as soon as the other was gone, he caus'd all to be melted down in his presence. The seperation being made, upon twenty thousand Crowns, which was the sum he had brought thither, there was not the full fourth part of Silver, and the Merchant coming again to the Customer, fell down all along, out of pure fear lest a severe punishment might follow the fraud whereof he was visibly convicted, seeing so much scum of brass on the one side, and so little silver on the other. But the *Turks* are not so rigorous, as some persons imagine, all was restor'd to him, nay there was no penalty inflected upon him, and they only order'd him to be gone.

The ancient sincerity of the Turks corrupted by the commerce of the Europeans.

Certain it is, that the *Europeans*, more addicted to subtilty and circumvention, than the *Levantines*, and for the most part not endeavouring to be sincere in Commerce, have taught the *Turks* several Cheats, which they were either ignorant of, or did not practise, especially since the Inhabitants of *Granada*, being driven out of *Spain*, dispers'd themselves into several Provinces of the *Levant*. Before that time,

time, a man might have rely'd on their integrity and fair dealing. But now, when you treat with them, you must stand upon your guard; so prevalent is the Example of Evil to corrupt mens minds. Nor are we to be astonish'd at that ancient undisguized humor of the *Turks* in their Commerce, since we find, that the poor *Abyssines*, who come from the lower parts of *Ethiopia* to Traffick at *Cairo*, and the Idolaters themselves in the *Indies* amongst themselves and with Strangers, with a strict observance of an inviolable fidelity.

CHAP. I.

Of the extent, and external parts of the Seraglio.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The Origine of the word Serrail, *or* Seraglio, *common to all the Royal Houses, as well in* Turkey *as* Persia. *The admirable Situation of the Grand* Seraglio *at* Constantinople. *Its extent, figure, and externals. The Artillery not kept in good order, and the Gunners not well skill'd. A delightful place of it self; but restraint makes it otherwise.*

THE Grand Seignor's Seraglio, whereof I undertake to give a Description, is the Palace where the *Ottoman* Princes ordinarily keep their Court. All the Royal Houses, as well in *Turkey*, as *Persia*, have the same Name, which derives it Origine from the word *Serrai*, which signifies a great Noble House, in the *Persian* Language. The Grand Seignor has many Seraglio's in the Provinces of his Empire, and the principal of them are those of *Bursa*, and *Adrianople*, two Residences which that Monarch does ordinarily make use of, according to the conjuncture of his Affairs.

The origine of the word Seraglio, *common to all the Royal Houses in* Turkey *and* Persia.

But to confine our selves to *Constantinople*, we find there three Seraglio's, which have all their different Beauties. The old Seraglio is the Palace appointed for the retirement of those Women who have serv'd the Predecessors of the Prince Regent, and whence they never get out, unless it be in order to Marriage. The Grand Seignor goes thither but very seldome, and that when he is out of humor, to pass away some days there in solitude. The Seraglio of the *Hippodrome*, so called from the Exercises done there on Horse-back, which was built by *Ibrahim Bassa*, Son-in-Law, and Favourite to the Emperour *Solyman* the Second, serves now for an Amphitheatre for publick Festivals, Exercises, Combats, Carousels, and particularly for the Circumcision of the *Ottoman* Princes, which is their greatest Solemnity. The third is the Grand Seraglio, whereof I make the Relation, and to which that Name is principally attributed, so as that there needs not

any

any thing else to be added thereto, to distinguish it from the others. I shall have but little to say concerning the Structures of it, wherein there is not any thing extraordinary to be observ'd, but shall rather insist upon what is privately done, in each Apartment of that great Palace.

The admirable situation of the Seraglio of Constantinople.

The Grand Seraglio is a vast place inclos'd, which reaches to that point of Land where the ancient *Byzantium* was built, upon the *Bosphorus* of *Thrace*, and the joyning together of the *Ægean* Sea and the *Euxine*, which contribute so much to the Beauty and Wealth of *Constantinople*. This great City, let the Wind sit where it will, does every hour receive some refreshments or other, from one of those Seas; and the Seraglio advancing it self into the Channel, which makes a communication between them, receives the first Advantages that may be derived thence.

Its extent, figure, and externals.

That great Inclosure makes a Triangle, one side whereof is to the Land-side, and reaches to the City, and the two others lye open to the Sea and a River which falls into it. This Triangle is unequal, and if it be divided into eight parts, that side towards the Land takes up three of them, and the five others are for the two sides abutting on the Sea. Its compass is about three *Italian* Miles, or one of our common Leagues. And this Palace is surrounded all about with high and strong Walls, flank'd on the Sea-side with square Towers, at a considerable distance one from another; and towards the City, with round Towers, which are at a nearer distance one from another, from the great Gate of the Seraglio, which is towards *St. Sophia*, as far as the Sea where you Embark for *Galata*. In those Towers, in the Night-time, there are Guards of the *Azamoglans*, to see that no body approaches the Seraglio by Sea or Land; and if occasion require, they may fire some Pieces of Artillery, which stand always loaden upon a Quay of five fathom breadth, which is carried quite about the Seraglio.

Upon one of those Towers, about a hundred paces from the great Gate of the Seraglio, as you go down, in order to your passage over to *Galata*, they have wrought a Closet, into which the Grand Seignor goes sometimes to divert himself, and to see People passing to and fro, without being seen himself. Somewhat lower, and upon the Sea-side, there is a spacious place cover'd over, under which, as if it were in a little Haven, they keep the Caicks or Brigantines, wherein the Prince takes his divertisement by Water, when he is pleas'd to do it.

Not far thence, within the inclosure of the Seraglio, are the Habitations of the *Bostangis*, who are entrusted with the conduct of the Brigantines; and at a little farther distance, in your way to the point of the Seraglio, which is towards *Scudaret*, stands the Quarter of the *Bostanchi-bachi*, Overseer of the Gardens of the Seraglio, and of all the other Gardens belonging to the Grand Seignor.

The Artillery out of order, and the Gunners not well skill'd.

Upon the Quay, which as I told you, does surround the Walls of the Seraglio, there are forty or fifty pieces of Cannon of different bigness, and there are some of so great a bore, that a man might get into them. Opposite thereto, and in the middle of the Channel, there is a Tower built upon a Rock, which the *Turks* call *Quisler kouleſi*, or the *Tower of the Virgins*. It is kept by *Bostangis*, and has its Guns levell'd with the Water, which better defend the Streight, than those at the point of the Seraglio, which for the most part are without Carriages, and unserviceable. Besides, they want good Gunners, and if all that Artillery were well mounted, and manag'd by skilful Persons, it would better keep in awe, whatever comes out of the *Mediterranian*, and the *Black Sea*.

A pleasant abode, but restraint makes it otherwise.

We have spoken sufficiently of the external parts, 'tis time we now enter into the Seraglio, and rather consider what passes in every Appartment of it, than the Structures thereof, wherein, as I said, there is not any thing of Magnificence, whatever some Persons might invent, who in my presence, have made noble Draughts of it, grounded on their own pure Imaginations. I have seen as much of the Seraglio, as a Stranger could do, and I have seen it several times, in several Voyages, having had time enough to consider the two first Courts, the Divan, and the Hall of Audience, but cannot celebrate them much for any great Beauty I could find in them. There is, I must confess, abundance of Marble and Porphyry in all the Apartments; but on the other side, all those Apartments are confusedly shuffled together; there is no regularity at all; most of the Rooms have but little light, and all the Ornament of them consists in Rich

Tapistry

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The Regulations of the Infirmary of the Seraglio.

On the right hand of that first Court, there runs all along a spacious structure, containing several Appartments or Chambers, and serving for an Infirmary to the whole Seraglio. The Gate of it is kept by an Eunuch, who has under him a great many People, employ'd in attending on, and ministring to the sick, whom, answerably to their quality, they dispose into convenient quarters in that house, where they may be better assisted, then in those which their indisposition had oblig'd them to quit. The two principal Physitians, and the two principal Chirurgeons, whom they call *Hequim-bachi*, and *Cerrah-bachi*, make their visits there every day, at certain hours. A man cannot imagin a place better order'd and regulated then that is: and the Grand Seignor himself sometimes comes thither in person to take an exact account of the Sick and their condition, as also to enquire whether they are well treated, whether the Physitians visit them often, and whether every Officer of the Infirmary perform the duty incumbent on him. There is seldom any place void in that House, for as soon as one is gone out, another comes in: and though it be design'd only for such as are sick, yet several persons, who are well, are brought thither, under pretence of indisposition, or to enjoy themselves a while, or to weather out some trouble or discontent. They continue there for the space of ten or twelve daies, and are diverted, according to their mode, with a wretched kind of vocal and instrumental Musick, which begins betimes in the morning, and holds on till night. The permission they have there to drink wine, which they never have elswhere, is a greater inducement for their coming in thither than the musick. But that permission, which, they would as 'twere conceale, and which the superstition of the *Turks* dares not publickly own, is accompany'd by a thousand difficulties. They are not permitted to bring in any wine in the sight of the *Eunuch*, who stands at the entrance of the place: and if any one should be surpriz'd in the doing of it, his punishment would be to receive three hundred bastinadoes, and a penalty of three hundred *Aspers*, to be paid to those from whom he had receiv'd them. But if he can cunningly get in with the Wine not having been stopp'd at the Gate, assoon as he is got in, he runs no risque at all, and may drink of it without fear of any chastisement, though 'twere in the presence of the Grand Seignor.

The difficulty of getting wine into the Infirmary.

The small quantity of Wine which can be got in by this way, would signifie but little among so many People, if there were not some other lets difficult contrivances to supply them therewith. And this is one of them. The Infirmary adjoins to one side of the Gardens, from which it is separated only by a wall which is not very high; so that the *Bostangis*, who find that wine goes off at a good rate, and that they who are within the Seraglio know not how to spend their money, do, in the night time, by ropes convey over the wall, so many Borrachoes or Bags of Buck-Skins, full of wine, containing forty or fifty quarts, which some other persons of the Infirmary stand ready to receive. This way brings in abundance of wine, but not without fear of being suppriz'd by the *Bostangi-bachi*, who goes the rounds every night.

The subtilty of some persons to be receiv'd in, though not sick.

Nor is the drinking of Wine the main inducement which makes those counterfeit sick persons to seek out pretences, to go and pass away some daies in the Infirmary; insomuch that some have the lewd artifice to put themselves into a slight Feaver, which is presently remov'd. A detestable passion, and which is in a manner naturall to them, though it be against nature, makes them study all the imaginable waies to satisfie it. This proves a hard matter for the *Ichoglans* to do, while they are in their Chambers observ'd and watch'd night and day by severe Overseers, who never pardon them the least misdemeanour.

For though the Grand Seignor be himself subject to the same passion, the very name whereof causes a horror, yet he orders cruel punishments to be inflicted on those who shall presume to imitate him. He does what he can to prevent the mischief, which he would not have countenanc'd by his example, and imposes the prevention of it as a task upon the *Eunuchs*, a vigilant sort of animals, whose Eyes are alwayes open. But in the Infirmary, all these precautions prove fruitless; the *Eunuchs* belonging to that place being corrupted partly by presents, partly by treats, or being made drunk with wine, or some other liquors, they bring in thither some young lads, of whom there is great store in the City of *Constantinople*. The better to over-reach the *Eunuchs*, they put those young lads into the habits of the *Halvaris*, and so the cheat succeeds, in regard they are the Attendants on the Officers of the Seraglio, and all the Errands they have to do in the City.

Of

Of these *Halvages*, there is ordinarily to the number of six hundred, and they have only their cloathing and sustenance allow'd them, without any wages, till such time as they have serv'd thirteen or fourteen years. Their wages begin at the rate of two *Aspers per diem* and in time may rise to seven *Aspers* and a half: but they have other contingent Profits, and they know well enough, how to make their advantage of the Employments they are upon. For whereas they only are the Persons who have the freedom of going and comeing in and out of the *Seraglio*, they set double the price on every thing they buy. But their most considerable gain proceeds from the infamous commerce of those young Lads whom they bring in to their Masters, and whom they cunningly slip into the Infirmary, after they had put them into Habits like their own. They wear a white Cap, which rises up from the Crown of the Head, to a pretty height somewhat to the resemblance of a Sugar-loaf.

The *Hasteler-Agasi*, or chief Overseer of Infirmary, is inded continually at the Gate with five or six other Eunuchs, and carefully observes whatever goes in, or comes out. But all that vigilance will not do the work; nay though he had a hundred eyes, yet were it impossible for him to discern those young Lads, amidst the great number of those *Halvagis* and that the rather, for these reasons, that they are frequently chang'd, that some of them are made *Janizaries*, and that new ones are taken in upon the advancement of the old ones to some other Employments. But if it should happen that the said Superintendent Eunuchs should have any secret information of what's design'd, and seems as if he would make some noise about it, he is presently appeas'd with a silk Vest, or some other Present, and 'tis thence that he derives his greatest advantages. In fine, that brutish Passion is so ordinary amongst the *Turks* and generally over all the Eastern parts, that notwithstanding all the endeavours that has been us'd to prevent the effects of it, they will hardly ever be able to do it. There happen'd a memorable Example of this in my time. Two Pages of the Chamber, who could not have the convenience of executing their wicked design in the Seraglio, would needs aggravate their crime, by going into the Mosquey to satiate their brutality. After Prayers where ended, they suffer'd all the people to go out, and having so well hid themselves that he who shut the doors could not perceive them, they fell to the doing of an action, whereof the very Idea causes horrour.

The fruitless endeavours us'd to check its course.

Abominable excess over all the East.

The Sacrilegious action of two Pages.

On the left hand of this first Court, there is a spacious Lodgement, answerable to that of the Infirmary; and that's the habitation of the *Azamoglans*, persons design'd for the meanest Employments of the Seraglio. Within that Structure there is a spacious Court, where you shall find dispos'd in order, all about, and in the middle so many Wood-piles, which are renew'd every year, and there are brought in thither above forty thousand Cart-loads of wood, every Cart-load being as much as two Oxen can draw. Some part of this wood comes in by the *Black Sea*, and the rest out of the *Mediterranean*: and whereas there is a great quantity of it left every year, especially when the Grand Seignor does not winter at *Constantinople*, that remainder, which must be very considerable, is dispos'd of to the advantage of the principal persons among the *Azamoglans*. They are cunning enough to take their opportunity, when it is unloaden upon the Port, and computing, as well as they can, how much may go to make up the Piles, they proportionably send, what they think may be spar'd, to the City, and lodge it in the houses, where they are acquainted. Which they may do with so much the more security, in regard that no body minds what they do, and that they perform their duty, when the Piles are compleated in the season during which they are wont to make their Provisions. The wood they thus convert to their own use they are paid for, and the sum rais'd thereby is considerable for Persons of so mean a Quality.

The Wood Pile of the Seraglio.

The great profit of such as have the Charge thereof.

On the same side as the Infirmary, and a little lower, (for the Seraglio is a rising ground for a certain space, and then there is an insensible descent on both sides, quite down to the point, whereby it is terminated) you discover the great Portal of the Gardens, which they call *Bagge-Karpousi*. From that Gate, which overlooks the foresaid descent, and where you are as it were upon an Eminency, you descend into a very noble Place, which the Grand Seignor causes to be always kept neat and even, where the Great Persons of the Court come to do the-

The Exercise of the Girit.

Exercises of the *Girit*, or the Dart, which is perform'd most commonly on *Fridays*; immediately after their coming out of the Mosquey. There are about two hundred paces from the Portal to that place, and in the Court there may ordinarily be, upon those days above fifteen hundred Persons, yet so as that not any person whatsoever is permitted to go any further, unless he be call'd by the Order of the *Girt-Bey*; who is the chief Overseer, and Director of that Exercise. They who enter into the Lists, do many times amount to the number of a thousand Persons. If the Grand Seignor himself, who is present at those Exercises, the end whereof proves many times Tragical to those, by whom they are perform'd, has found any particular divertisement therein, especially when there are Limbs lost or broken, he orders every one to receive a Purse, which, as I told you, amount to five hundred Crowns. The distribution of those Presents is greater or lesser, according to his being in a good or bad humor, and sometimes there are distributed at his departure thence, to the number of ten Purses. The Treasurer, who is always attending on him, and has ordinarily brought along with him fifteen or twenty thousand Ryals in Gold or Silver, stands ready, upon a beck to obey his Orders.

The Grand Seignors liberality.

But this is worth our observation, That when the Prince is ready to bestow his Liberalities, on those who had behav'd themselves valiantly in that exercise, the Grandees of his Court, who had appear'd therein as well as others, purposely shift themselves out of the way, and leave him to make his Presents to other less considerable Persons, as being such as stand more in need of them than they do. This is their custom ordinarily, whether it proceed from Generosity, or from a counterfeit and personated Modesty, it matters not. And after the Grand Seignor is withdrawn, it is lawful for those who are left in the foresaid Court, and are skil'd in the handling of the Dart, to spend the remainder of the day in that exercise. But those, how great soever their performance may be, and what wounds soever they may receive, are not to expect any Presents; There's no Prince to be a spectator of their Gallantry, nor Treasurer, to distribute his Liberalities. They only lay some wagers amongst themselves, and he who gives the fairest blow, wins, and the fairest blow is in the head or face. There is ever and anon an Eye struck out, or a Cheek carried off, and that Solemnity proves very fatal in the end to some of them.

The counterfeit modesty of the Grandees of the Port.

And this is an account of all that is observable in the said first Court, Let us now make our entrance into the second, and observe what is most remarkable in all its Appartments.

CHAP

CHAP. III.

Of the second Court, wherein are the little Stables, the Kitchins, and the *Divan*.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

A square and spacious Court, and its Embellishments. The Janizaries *extremely sprightful, active, and well order'd. The number of the Kitchins. The ordinary dishes of meat that are serv'd up in the Seraglio. The way of ordering the* Pilau. *A particular way of roasting in the* Levant. *The* Turks *cannot endure the Hare. Conserves of all sorts. Several Compositions of* Sherbet. *Receeptacles for all the Waters of the Seraglio. The little Stables. The Quarters of the Eunuchs.*

OUT of the first Court, into which the *Bassa's* and Grandees of the Port, may come on Horse-back, and where they are oblig'd to alight, if they intend to go any further, there is an entrance into another, through a second Gate, kept, as the former, by fifty *Capigis*. The second Court, much more noble, and more delightful, then that whereof we gave you the precedent description, is near three hundred paces square, and only the walks, leading to the several Appartments, are pav'd, the rest being in Grass-plots, planted about with Cypress, and water'd by Fountains, with rails all about, to hinder people from going upon the grass. Over the Gate of that Court, may be seen these words, written in great golden Characters.

La Illahe Illa Alla,

Muhammed Reſoul Alla.

That is to ſay,

There is no other God than God,

Mahomet *is ſent by God.*

Reſoul ſignifies *Sent*, which is the greateſt Title given by the *Turks* to their Prophet.

The Janizaries well order'd.

On both ſides of that Court there runs a very noble Gallery, the Pillars whereof are of Marble, all along which the Companies of the *Janizaries* are drawn up, and diſciplin'd when the Grand Seignor orders them to ſhew their Activity, and to appear well Arm'd, at the Arrival of ſome Ambaſſador, who is to have Audience.

On the right hand, behind the Gallery where the *Janizaries* are drawn up, on the *Divan*-days (that is to ſay, upon Council-days) are the Kitchins, and the Offices of the Seraglio, diſtinct one from the other, and every one ſerv'd by its peculiar Officers. Heretofore there were Nine of them, but now that Number is reduc'd to Seven. Every Office or Kitchin, has its chief Director, or Maſter-Cook, and there is a Superintendent above them all, named the *Akegi-Bachi*, who has the Command over four hundred Cooks.

The chiefeſt of theſe Kitchins, which is for the Grand Seignor himſelf, is called *Haſmoutbak.*

The number of the Kitchins.

The Second is called *Valede-Sultanum-Moutbaki*, and is deſign'd for the *Sultaneſſes*, as for inſtance, the Mother, the Wife, or to ſay better, the Princeſs, for whom the Grand Seignor has the greateſt kindneſs, and who had the Happineſs to bring into the World a Succeſſor to the Empire, as alſo for his Siſters and Daughters.

The third Kitchin, which they call *Kiſlr-Agazinum-Moutbaki*, is appointed for the Overſeer of the Appartment of the Women, and the other Negro-Eunuchs who are employ'd about the guarding of them.

The fourth is for the *Capon-Agaſi*, or Grand-Maſter of the Seraglio, who has the greateſt acceſs to the Grand Seignor's Perſon, and whoſe Charge (as I ſaid elſewhere) generally extends over whatever enters into the Palace. And this Kitchin ſerves alſo for the Officers of the *Divan*.

The fifth is for the *Chaſnadar-bachi*, or the chief Perſon concern'd about the Treaſury, and for thoſe who are under his Juriſdiction, and obey his Orders.

The ſixth is for the *Kilargi-bachi*, or principal Cup-bearer, and thoſe who have their dependance upon him.

The ſeventh and laſt, is that of the *Sarai-Agaſſi*, and of all the Officers, who are under his Charge.

Laſtly, as for the *Boſtangis*, whoſe work lies in the Gardens, they dreſs their Meat themſelves, and appoint ſome among them to execute that Office, and they provide the Commons for all the reſt. There are alſo ſome of theſe *Boſtangis* employ'd in the Offices deſign'd for the Grand Seignor.

The ordinary meats ſerv'd up in the Seraglio.

There enters no Beef into the Kitchins of the *Seraglio*: but the ordinary conſumption of every day, including all, as well thoſe who eat within, as without, may amount to five hundred Sheep, in which number muſt be comprehended Lambs and Kids; and the greateſt part of thoſe Sheep are brought from the Frontiers of *Perſia*; which Country excells all others, as to that Creature. According to this proportion of Mutton

Mutton, may be computed the quantity of Pullets, Chickens, and young Pidgeons, the number whereof is limited, according to the Seasons; as also what may be consum'd in Rice and Butter, for the *Pilau*, which is accounted the best dish in *Turky*, and all over the East. Those Nations who are lovers of Temperance, and do not much study the satisfaction of the Palate, seldome have any other dish; and that not being contemptible, some haply will give me thanks for communicating the ordering of it.

The way of ordering the Pilau.

The *Turks*, and generally all the Inhabitants of the Eastern Parts, make the *Pilau* after this manner. According to the quality of the persons who are to be entertain'd, and the quantity which is to be made of it, you take either a piece of Mutton alone, or together with that some Pullets or Pidgeons, which are to be boyl'd in a Pot, till they are half done, or somewhat more. When you think them so far boyl'd then pour out both Meat and Breath into a Basin, and the Pot being wash'd, put it on the Fire again with Butter in it, which they suffer to melt, till such time as it is very hot. Then they chop the meat which had been but half-boyl'd, into little pieces, the Pullets into quarters, and the Pidgeons into halves, and so they cast it into the Butter, they fricasi it till it be of a very brown colour. The Rice being well wash'd they put some into the Pot over the meat, as much as they think fitting, and the Broath which had been pour'd into the Basin, they also put it into the Pot Ladle-ful after Ladle-ful, over the Rice, till such time as it stands two fingers breadth above it. Then is the Pot immediately cover'd, there is a clear Fire made under it, and they ever and anon take out some grains of the Rice, to see if it be softned, as also whether it be not requisite to put in some more of the Broath to compleat the stewing of it. For it is not like the Rice brought into our parts, which presently breaks asunder, but their Rice is of such a kind, that it must be fully boyl'd and yet the Grain entire, as well as the whole Pepper wherewith they season it. As soon as it is come to that condition, they cover the Pot with a Cloth three or four times doubled, and set the Pot-lid upon that, and sometime after they make another melting of Butter, till it be very red; to be cast into the holes, which are made in the Rice with the handle of the Ladle, after which they cover it again of a sudden, and so let it stand soaking a while, and then serve it up. It is put into large Dishes with the Meat, handsomly dispos'd upon it, and some part will be white, that is, continu'd in its natural colour, some part yellow, occasion'd by a little mixture of Saffron, and a third part of a Carnation-colour, done by the tincture of the juyce of Pomegranate. Nay, though the meat be as fat as is requisite for the ordering of this Dish, yet to make the *Pilau* more delicate and palateable to them, they bestow three pound of Butter on six pound of Rice, which makes it so extraordinary fat, that it disgusts, and is nauseous to those who are not accustom'd thereto, and accordingly would rather have the Rice it self simply boyl'd with Water and Salt. There are always two or three Dishes serv'd up after that manner, to the Grandees of the Port, who for the most part, keep open Table, and instead of Flesh they covet them with a great Aumelet or Omelet, made with good Herbs, and about three fingers thick, or with some poach'd Eggs, which are neatly dispos'd about it. A man is never incommodated by this kind of Rice, but the other, which is too fat, is not fit for those who drink Wine, and will not excite in them a desire to Eat of it often.

A particular way of roasting in the Levant.

Since I have given you an account how they order the *Pilau*, I cannot forbear making you a further discovery of the *Turks* management of the Kitchin, and telling you how they roast their meat. The greater sort of meat, as Sheep and Lambs are roasted whole in Ovens made in the Floor, wherein they hang them by the heads, and they are taken out thence as it were brown-bak'd and Cook'd well enough, so as to excite Appetite. At the bottom of the Oven there is ordinarily a Basin plac'd, having in it some Rice and fair Water, which receives the dripings of the Beast, the very Tayl it self, which sometimes weighs fifteen or twenty pound, yelding a good quantity thereof, as being in a manner all fat. The Tayls of the Lambs, having not so much fat, are excellent meat, and in a manner as delicate as the Sweet-breads of Veal. These Lambs being thus roasted, are always serv'd up with Rice under them, and for the

greater

greater Tables, they ſerve up two of them in a Diſh. So that there is no uſe of Spits in the *Turkiſh* Kitchins but what is for Poultry or Fowl, which they order ſo untowardly, that when they are brought up to the Table they appear ſo mangled and diſorder'd, that it is no eaſie matter to diſtinguiſh the head from the feet. But it is to be obſerv'd, that the *Pilau*, and all ſorts of Fleſh-meat, are not ſerv'd up, but only at Supper, about five of the Clock in the Evening; and that in the Morning thoſe of better Quality Eat only Sallets, Herbs, Fruits, and Conſerves; the meaner ſort of People contenting themſelves with meats made of Milk, Melons and Cucumbers, according to the Seaſon.

As for Fiſh, the *Turks* care not much for it, and though the Seas and Rivers are well repleniſh'd therewith, yet they ſeldom Eat of them. It ſeldome happens alſo, that any Veniſon or Wild-Fowl comes into their houſes, as being a kind of meat they do not any way reliſh, But above all meats they have an averſion for the Hare; which Obſervation I made alſo in the *Armenians*, who are of a perſwaſion, that the Female of that Creature has its Monthly Courſes regularly, as the Woman hath. It is eaſily perceivable, by what account I have given, that there is no great variety or delicacy in the *Turkiſh* Entertainments, and that the *French* and other *Europeans*, would not think themſelves well treated thereat. But however, their Kitchins are kept very neat, they have all the accommodations requiſite for their way of dreſſing, and whether you conſider the Diſhes and other Veſſels they uſe, or the meat it ſelf, there is as much cleanlineſs as can be expected.

The Turks have an averſion for the Hare.

Conſerves.

The Offices where the Conſerves and Sweet-meats are made (there being ſix or ſeven of them) are above the Kitchins, and ſerv'd by four hundred *Halvagis*, who were Eſtabliſh'd by Sultan *Solyman*, a magnificent Prince, who alſo regulated all the Offices and Officers of the Seraglio. They are perpetually at Work in thoſe ſeven Offices, and there they prepare all ſorts of Conſerves, dry and liquid, and ſeveral ſorts of Syrups, as alſo ſeveral kinds of *Turchi*, which are Fruits preſerv'd in Vinegar and Salt, into which they put a quantity of fragrant Herbs, ſuch as Roſemary, Marjoram and Sage.

Several Compoſitions of Sherbet.

In the ſame Offices they alſo prepare the ordinary drink of the *Turks*, which they call *Sherbet*, and it is made ſeveral ways. That which is moſt common in *Turkey* comes ſomewhat near our *Lemonade*, but there is very little water in it; 'tis in a manner all juyce of Lemmon, or Citron, having an intermixture of Sugar, Amber, and Muſk. They make another ſort of it, which is highly in eſteem, and that is made with the water deſtill'd from the flower of a Plant, which grows in Pools and Rivers, and has the figure of a Horſe-ſhooe. Theſe flowers are yellow, and called *Nulouſer*. But the *Sherbet* which they moſt eſteem, and which is drunk by the Grand Seignor himſelf, as alſo by the Baſſa's and other Grandees of the Port, is made of Violets and Sugar, and there is but little juyce of Citron put into it. They make alſo another ſort of drink, which they call *Magion*, compos'd of ſeveral Drugs, whereby it is made hot: and there is another ſort purpoſely prepar'd for the Grand Seignor himſelf called *Muſcavi*, of which he takes a Doſe, when he intends to viſit the *Sultaneſſes*. The principal Perſons about the Court ſend for it ſecretly to the *Halvagi-bachi*, who does not deny them, as being a great advantage to him, becauſe he is well paid for it. Nor do they want Snow and Ice to cool all thoſe Liquors, and the *Turks* are much more humerous and delicate in their Drinks, than they are in their Meat.

Receptacles for the Waters of the Seraglio.

At a place ten or twelve Paces diſtant, and oppoſite to theſe Offices is the Receptacle, or Reſervatory, which diſtributes all the Waters of the Seraglio, and they are thence directed to every Quarter, into the places where there is a neceſſity of them. One of the *Baltagis* has his ſtation there all the day long, to give Water as he is directed. And when the Grand Seignor paſſes from one Quarter to another, the Fountain of that where he is in Perſon, plays continually during his abode there, by a Signal which is given to the *Baltagi*.

The little Stables.

On the left hand in the ſame Court, and oppoſite to the Kitchins, may be ſeen the Grand Seignor's little Stables, which do not hold above twenty five or thirty choice Horſes, deſig'nd for his Exerciſes with his Favourites, and above the Stables, in great Rooms, they keep the Saddles, Bridles, Houſſes, Trappings, Foot-Cloaths, and Stirrops, which are of ineſtimable value by reaſon of the abundance

dance of precious Stones whereby they are enrich'd. There are some Harneſſes which amount to a million of Livers, *French* Money. The great Stables ſtand all along the Canal, which beats againſt the Walls of the Seraglio. They are always well repleniſh'd, and in good order, and they take care that there be not ſo much as one vacant place therein. In thoſe Stables does the Grand Seignor keep a great number of Horſes of value, to be reſerv'd for the War, or to be us'd in ſome Magnificent Solemnity, that Strangers may ſee the Splendor of his Court.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Hall of the *Divan*, and the exact Juſtice which the Grand Seignor cauſes to be admitted there.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The Divan-*Hall not very magnificent. The Council-days. Cauſes quickly decided. The cauſes of that expedition of Juſtice in* Turkey. *The ſubtle Policy of the* Ottoman *Family. The care which is taken to prevent the revolt of the* Janizaries. *How the Grand Seignor aſſiſts at the* Divan, *or Council. The bold action of a* Timar-Spahi, *who kills a Grand Vizir, and is pardon'd. The noble Genius of Sultan* Amurat, *and by what Artifices he diſcovered a great breach of Truſt. A kind of Beads us'd by the* Turks *at their Prayers. A noble Example of a ſevere Act of Juſtice. At what times, and how, the Grand Seignor rids thoſe out of the way whom he ſuſpects. The days on which Ambaſſadors come to the* Divan.

THE Hall of the *Divan*, which belongs to this Second Court, is on the left hand next to the little Stables, as you go towards the Grand Seignor's Quarter. 'Tis a great low Hall, cover'd with Lead, and wainſcotted and gilt in ſome places within, from which it derives a little Ornament. The Floor of it is cover'd with a great Carpet, and there are ſome Benches for the Officers, of whom that Council conſiſts, which the *Turks* call *Divan*. There are, as I told you, Galleries of all the ſides of that Court, which makes it look as it were like a Cloiſter; and 'tis under that Gallery which is on the right hand, that the *Janizaries* have their Station, while the *Divan* is ſitting. *The Divan-Hall not very magnificent.*

Council-days.

The Council sits, ordinarily, four days in the week, which days are answerable to the *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Munday*, and *Tuesday* of the *Christians*.

Causes soon decided.

Justice is there exactly administred to any one that desires it, and for what cause soever it be, so, as that the differing Parties have no need either of Proctors or Advocates, Names not known in *Turkey*, and the Persons concern'd are to lay open their Cases themselves. There is no talk of delays, or putting off from one time to another; People shall not languish in Expectation, but the business is decided immediately, what nature soever it may be of.

The Reason of that Expedition of justice.

Though this Custom be very commendable, yet can it not be so well practis'd amongst *Christians*, because they stand upon the property of what they have, and that is deriv'd by inheritance from some to others, and the litigious partitions of them do many times engage the Proprietors thereof in long Suits of Law. 'Tis quite otherwise amongst the Great Officers of the Port, who are all Slaves, either taken in War, or sent up, as Presents, by the Bassa's, and Governours of Provinces. All their Estates, when they die, return to the Grand Seignor, from whom they had receive'd them, so that it is a perpetual Circulation, and their Children, as I told you in the begining of this discourse, are brought up to the Seraglio, to be educated there, and that without any hope of ever succeeding their Parents, either in their Estates, or Employments. The *Ottoman* Monarchy has always observ'd this subtle Policy, not to permit that any Family should aggrandize it self, and be powerful from Father to Son: but they bring it down, as soon as they have rais'd it up, and timely enough deprive them of the means whereby they might create Factions, to the disturbance of the State. Thence it comes, that, besides the Royal Family of the *Ottomans*, they know not what Gentility, and antiquity of Extraction means; there's no emulation upon that score, Charges and Dignities are bestow'd answerabl to the Merit of the Person, without any consideration of his Extraction. Nay, it sometimes happens, that the Principal Ministers of the Empire are the Sons of Cow-keepers, as was one *Rustan*, a Grand Vizir, who made so much noise under the Reign of *Solyman*. And so, being not any way oblig'd to their Birth, they acknowledge their Fortunes to be the reward of their Education.

But to return to the administration of Justice amongst the *Turks*. Those who make the Law their profession, and are look'd upon as the Clergy of *Mahomet*, leave no place for suits at Law; every one knows his privileges, and what belongs to the function of his Charge, and there arise no differences among them, because all things are perfectly well regulated.

In like manner, the people are ignorant what pleading signifies. There's no occasion for publick Notaries, in order to Matrimonial Contracts; There's no great sums given with a daughter, and the jewels and cloaths which she can get out of her Fathers house, are all the portion she brings to her Husband. And this, in few words, is the reason that the *Turks* can put an expeditious end to all their affairs, without giving any toleration to that pettifogging, which, among Christians, proves the ruine of so many People.

The Officers, who sit in the *Divan* are, first, the *Grand Vizir*, the Lieutenant-General of the whole Empire, who is President of it, and represents the Grand Seignor's Person; Then the six other *Vizirs*; Then the *Cadilesquers* of *Romania* and *Natolia*, who are the Judges and Intendants of the Armies; Then the three *Testerdars*, or Treasurers-General; Then the *Nissangibacha*, the Lord Chancellour; And the *Netangi*, who is as 'twere the Secretary of State, with some Clerks, or Notaries. All these Officers come into the *Divan*-Hall, at four in the Morning, and continue there till Noon, to administer Justice. The *Chiaoux-bachi* has his station at the Gate, with a troop of those that are under his charge, to execute the Grand *Vizir's* Orders, and has a silver-rod in his hand, as a badge of his Authority.

The care taken to prevent the revolt of the Janizaries.

On those days that the *Divan* sits, the Officers are entertain'd at dinner in the same Hall, which is done with much Sobriety, and little Ceremony. All is over and taken away, in half an hours time. The Grand *Vizir* eats alone, unless he call a *Bassa* or two, to keep him company. There are carried also messes of *Chourba* which is a kind of pottage made with Rice, for the dinners of the *Janizaries*, who are in their stations, under the Galleries. But if it happen that they are in a mutinous humour, and incens'd against a *Vizir*, or against the Grand Seignor himself, not one of them will put his hand to the *Chourba*; but they

they ſcornfully thruſt back the diſhes, and by that action diſcover their diſcontent.

The Grand Seignor is preſently advertis'd of it, and ſends to them the *Capon-Agaſi*, Grand Maſter of the Seraglio, to know what their pleaſure is, and what they deſire. Then they depute one of their own Body to go, and ſpeak on the behalf of them all, and that perſon whiſpering the *Capon-Agaſi* in the Ear, declares to him the occaſion of their diſcontent. That Eunuch preſently carries it to the Grand Seignor; And if they have a peck againſt a *Vizir* or a *Caddeſquer*, or ſometimes againſt their *Aga*, or Colonel, it often happens that to appeaſe thoſe mutineers, the Grand Seignor orders them to be ſtrangled, and ſends them their heads.

How the Grand Seignor is preſent at the Divan.

Sunday and Tueſday are the principal days of the *Divan*, and then it is properly a Council of State, and of publick affairs. The Grand Seignor moſt commonly aſſiſts at it, but is not ſeen; and that keeps in awe as well the Grand *Vizir*, as the other Officers. He can come thither from his own Appartment, through a cloſe Gallery, and ſeat himſelf at a window, which looks into the *Divan*-Hall, and has always a velvet Curtain before it, which he draws when he pleaſes, and eſpecially when he perceives that they have not done Juſtice. I ſhall produce here, an example, famous enough as to that particular, which happen'd in the Reign of Sultan *Achmet*, the Father of *Amurath* and one of the juſteſt Princes, that ever the *Ottoman* Empire had.

The bold action of a Timer-Spahi, who kills a Grand Viſir, and is pardon'd.

The Reader is to call to mind, what I ſaid at the beginning concerning the *Timar-Spahi*, on whom they beſtow, during their lives, the Government and revenue of ſome Town, according as they have deſerv'd by their Services. The *Sapbi*, whoſe ſtory I am going to relate, had a *Timar*, between *Aleppo* and *Damas*, which might bring him in a revenue of fifteen hundred Crowns. The Grand *Vizir*, either out of ſome averſion to the *Spahi*, or upon ſome falſe reports which had been made of him, and which he had been too forward to believe, without taking an exact information of things, took away from him the *Timar*, whereof he was poſſeſs'd, and beſtow'd it on one of his own Creatures.

The *Spahi* finding himſelf ſo unjuſtly diſpoſſeſs'd comes to *Conſtantinople*, enters into the *Divan*, and preſents a Petition to the Grand *Vizir*, wherein he remonſtrates to him his long Services, and how he never was chargeable with any negligence of his duty. The Grand *Vizir* having read it, tears it in his preſence, which was to ſignifie as much, as that he would not anſwer it, and that there was nothing for for the *Spahi* to hope for. The Petitioner withdrew, without ſaying any thing: but ſome days afterwards, he returns to the *Divan*, and preſents a ſecond Petition, whith the Grand *Vizir* likewiſe tears, as he had done the former, without making any anſwer thereto. Upon this ſecond injury, the *Spahi*, full of fury, and juſtly exaſperated, draws his Poniard, falls upon the *Vizir*, and kills him.

The Grand Seignor, who was then at the Window, having obſerved that action, draws the Curtain, and with a loud voice commanded that no hurt ſhould be offer'd to the perſon who had done it. He thereupon orders the *Spahi* to approach, and ask'd him the Reaſon of his having demean'd himſelf with ſo much violence. The other much aſham'd, humbly makes anſwer, but with reſolution enough, That he could not forbear doing what he had done, upon the ſight of ſo great a piece of injuſtice: and thereupon preſenting to him the Petition, which had been torn to pieces, the Grand Seignor cauſ'd it to be read, and patiently hearkend to the juſt complaints which it contain'd. Having fully examin'd the Affair, his Highneſs commended the *Spahi* for the Action he had done, uſing the word *Aferin*, which is as much as to ſay, *'Tis well done*, and which is ordinary in that Language, when they approve a thing; and thereupon, there was an additional Liberality made by the Grand Seignor to the Command which he gave, that he ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in his *Timar*. He thereupon took occaſion to ſpeak to the other *Vizirs*, and to tell them, That that Example ſhould teach them to do juſt things, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſo blinded by favour, as not to obſerve Equity. The violent action of the *Spahi* is certainly not to be approv'd, though the injuſtice of the *Vizir* was manifeſt, but the procedure of the Grand Seignor, cannot be look'd on otherwiſe then as moſt commendable, and a great Model of perfect Equity.

I shall not think it much, to produce here a second Example of the exact Justice which the Grand Seignor would have administred to the People: and in this Example there is something that is signally remarkeable. A great Stone-Morter, which may be seen at the Gate of the *Divan*, serves for a Monumental confirmation of this Story; and whereas it is accompany'd by many circumstances worthy our observation, I think my self oblig'd not to conceal them from the Reader.

How Sultan Amurate discover'd a secret breach of trust.

In the Reign of Sultan *Amurat*, a certain private Person finding himself without Wife or Children, resolv'd to undertake the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*. Before his departure, he conceiv'd, that he could not better dispose what he left behind him that was most valuable, then by putting it into the hands of a *Hoggia*, a Doctor of the Law. He thereupon left in his custody certain Jewels, in a little bag, intreating him to keep them till he return'd, and declaring him his Heir, in case he dy'd in his Pilgrimage. It was the Pilgrim's fortune to return safely from *Mecha*, and making no question but to get what he had entrusted the *Hoggia* withal, calls for what he had deposited in his hands. The other makes him a very cold answer, telling him, That he knew not what he meant, leaving him very much surpriz'd at so unexpected an account of his concerns. The Pilgrim, smothering his discontent, and reflecting, that the thing had been done without witnesses, did nothing for some days; but afterwards, he presents a Petition to the Grand *Vizir*, and acquaints him how all things had pass'd between him and the Doctor. The Grand *Vizir* perceiving there was a great nicety in that affair, and that the Doctor might easily deny a thing which had been transacted without witnesses, bid the Pilgrim have patience a while, and that he would give the Grand Seignor an account of it; which he accordingly did.

The Grand Seignor Commands the *Vizir* to be very circumspect in the management of that Affair, as being very desireous to sift out the truth of it, and orders him to send for the Doctor, to make protestations of friendship to him, and to put him in hopes of being imployd of things in great importance. Some days pass on, while the Grand *Vizir* minds what Game he had to play. At length, he sends for the Doctor, he commends his ingenuity, and his Conduct; and so putting him into very fair hopes, he promises him to prevail so far with the Grand Seignor, as that he should have the honour to kiss his hands, since it was not just, that so transcendent a Wit as he should be any longer unknown to his Highness. The Doctor overjoy'd at that discourse, thought himself the happiest man in the World, especially when he saw, that the Grand *Vizir* had made him his *Hogia*, which is as much as to say, his Almoner. The *Vizir* proceeds, and according to the secret Orders he had received from the Grand Seignor, gives the Doctor another Employment, which was, that he should bring him in Report of all the Criminall Affairs which could be presented. The Grand Seignor, upon the Report a of the *Hogia*, ask'd him his advice, and what punishment the guilty Person deserv'd for the Crime whereof he was convinc'd, the execution being to be done according to the judgment which the Doctor had pass'd, whom he made his ordinary Reader, and would have near his Person.

Five or six months pass on in this manner, ere there could be any discovery made of the falsify'd Trust. And it is to be observ'd, That the Pilgrim had given the Grand Seignor an exact Inventory of all the several things, which he had put into the little Bag. Among other things, there was particular mention made of a *Tesbuch* of fine Coral. This *Tesbuch* is a kind of Chapplet, or String of Beads, consisting of ninty and nine beads, upon each of which, the *Turks* repeat certain words taken out of some sentences of the *Alcoran*. That Chaplet is divided into three parts, from thirty three, to thirty three beads, by a little string, which separates them: and at the end there hang'd a long piece of Corral, next to which there was another round bead, of the same material, of an extraordinary bigness.

The more Puritanical sort of *Turks*, have their Beads in their hands when they are upon visits, and especially when they approach great Persons, and that very thing made the first discovery of the *Hogia's* theft, and breach of trust. One day, coming into the Seraglio with his Coral-beads in his hand, the Grand Seignor, before whom he presented himself, casting his eyes upon them, and presently imagining, that it might well be the Pilgrim's *Tesbuch*, according to the description he had

had given it in the Catalogue of what things were left in the little Bagg, told the Doctor, that he had a great rarity there. The other immediately approaches him, and intreats his Highness with all submission to accept of it. The Grand Seignor takes it, and making some discoveries how acceptable that Present was to him, does by that prudent dissimulation, cause a joy in him, whose Chastisement he was then contriving.

But that single indicium the Grand Seignor does not think enough, but he will have other discoveries; and knowing that among other things that were in the Bag, there was a Ring, the Work of an Excellent and Ancient Master, famous for that sort of Rings which the *Turks* wear on the Thumb, when they shoot with the Long bowe, he expects a second occasion, in order to a fuller discovery of the Cheat, and the more absolute conviction of the Doctor.

'Twas not many days ere that happen'd, by the contrivance of the Emperour himself, who calling for one of his Pages, one well skill'd in Archery, went to the place of the *Girit*, where he also call'd for a Bowe, there being not any Person in the whole Empire but was inferiour to him, as to strength and dexterity in the Exercise of the Bowe and the Dart. When he came to bend the Bowe, he complain'd that the Ring hurt his Thumb, presuming that the Doctor, who stood near him, and had already presented him with the Coral-Beads, would also make him a proffer of the Ring, which he had of the Pilgrim. Is it possible says the Grand Seignor, that there is not at this time any Master living, who can make a Ring any thing like such a one, whom he nam'd? The Doctor whose apprehension was not so good, as to see that this Trap was laid for his destruction, and thinking to insinuate himself more and more into the Grand Seignor's Favour, told him, That by good Fortune he had a Ring of that very Master's Work, which he had kept a long time, and that if his Highness would be pleas'd to Accept of it, he would bring it thither, which he presently did.

Assoon as the Grand Seignor was return'd to his own Quarter, he sent for the Grand Vizier, and the Pilgrim, who came into his presence, and he had in his hand the Chaplet of Corral, which he made as if he were repeating, to try whether the Pilgrim would know it again. The other having well observ'd it, addres'd himself to the Emperour, saying, If it shall please your Highness to permit me to open my mouth, I dare affirm, that the Chaplet, you have in your hands, is very like that which I have in my little Bag of Jewels, and possible I shall not be mistaken, if I say it is the very same. Whereupon the Grand Seignor commands him to come nearer, and putting the Chaplet, and the Ring into his hands, the Pilgrim affirms, upon his Life, that they are the very same things, which he had left in the custody of the Doctor. He coming the next Morning, according to his custom to make a Report of some Criminal Cause to the Grand Seignor, that Prince, who was a person of great Ingenuity and Apprehension, proposes to him a Case somewhat of the same nature with that between him and the Pilgrim, and ask'd him what Punishment such a Crime deserv'd. The unfortunate man, blinded by a good fortune wherein he thought himself well establish'd, and what was past being clearly got out of his remembrance, pronounc'd Sentence against himself, and answers the Grand Seignor, That such a Person, deserv'd to be pounded alive in a Mortar.

Upon that Sentence, the Emperour caus'd him to be immediately secur'd, and having order'd all his Chests to be brought into the Seraglio, by the *Baltagis*, whom he sent to his Lodgings, pulls out of his Pocket the Chaplet of Coral and the Ring, which a Pilgrim of *Mecha* had entrusted him with the custody of. He afterwards shews him the Note or Schedule of all the other Pieces, and commanding him to open his Chests, the Jewels were there found, which that unhappy man, convinc'd of his Guilt, and trembling for Fear, deliver'd up into the hands of the Grand Seignor. The Pilgrim was call'd, who presently knew his Bag and his Jewels; and the Doctor by an open Confession, acknowledg'd his Crime, and Perfidiousness.

The next day, the Emperour order'd the *Divan* to be Assembled, at which he commanded that all the Grandees about *Constantinople* should be present, to render the Judgement the more solemn. He first commanded, that whatever belong'd to the Pilgrim should be restor'd to him, together with some additional recompence:

pence: and his next command was, That the Doctor ſhould be puniſh'd, according to his own Sentence. To that end, order was given, that a Stone ſhould be made hollow, after the form of a Mortar, into which he was thrown ſtark naked, and pounded alive by the common Executioners. And that is the ſame Stone-Mortar which I have often ſeen near the Gate of the *Divan*, and is left there for a Memorial of ſo admirable and ſo ſolemn a Judgment. And this was the period of a Hiſtory, whereof all the circumſtances are remarkable, and which is not one of the leaſt Monuments of the Wiſdom of the Emperour *Amurat*. That Prince, inſtead of uſing his abſolute power at the firſt overture of ſuch an Affair, thought it fitter, by a perſpicacity of mind and prudence, patiently to expect remote occaſions, that he might thence deduce evident proofs of a conceal'd Crime: and his intention was to raiſe the Doctor to great dignities, if he had found him innocent; and to puniſh him ſeverely, as he did, upon the diſcovery of his guilt.

At What time, how, the Grand Seignor rids out of the way, thoſe, whom he ſuſpects.

I told you at the beginning of this Chapter, that of the four days of the Week, appointed for the ſitting of the *Divan*, thoſe which are anſwerable to our Sunday and Tueſday, are the principal, as being thoſe on which the Affairs of greateſt importance are debated. They call thoſe two days *Arzghiunz*, in regard, that after the Grand *Viſir*, the ſix other *Viſirs*, and the two *Cadileſquers*, who aſſiſt at the *Divan*, have adminiſtred Juſtice, they go all together to kiſs the Grand Seignor's hands. If any one of thoſe Nine Judges have ought to ſay to him, he is permitted on thoſe days, to ſpeak to him freely: and it is ordinarily upon thoſe days alſo, that the Grand Seignor takes his time, if he has a mind to take off any one. He then orders the *Boſtangi-Bachi* to be ready, with ſome of thoſe who attend him, to execute his will; and having declar'd to him who they are, whom he would have ſtrangled, the order is no ſooner given, but that either at their arrival, or at their departure, it is punctually obey'd. True it is, that he does not demean himſelf ſo, but when he is afraid of ſome popular ſedition, in caſe he ſhould ſend to puniſh them in their own Houſes, where they might make ſome reſiſtance. But within the Seraglio, and in ſight of the *Janizaries*, who are in their ſtations near the *Divan*, the unfortunate Perſon, whom they would have to be ſtrangled, has no more to do than to bow down his Head, and to ſtretch out his Neck, without thinking of any reſiſtance, which would be to no purpoſe. In the Eleventh Chapter I ſhall give an Account at large, how they proceed to that Execution.

The days on which Ambaſſadors come to the Divan.

A little beyond the Hall of the *Divan*, you come to another Hall, rais'd up after the manner of a Balcony, where the Ambaſſadors are ſeated, when they aſſiſt at the *Divan*, and that they do, once in three months, and upon the days that the *Janizaries* receive their Pay. There is Notice ſent them to be there, out of a vain oſtentation, that they may ſee, what abundance of money goes out of the Treaſury. Between theſe two Halls there is a Gate, which leads to the Quarter of the *Baltagis*. Thoſe are a ſort of ſtrong and robuſt People, employ'd, as I told you, in carrying of Wood all about the Seraglio, and other mean and painful Offices. As to the wood, which is burnt in the Appartments of the Women, they diſburthen themſelves of it at the Door, where the Negro-Eunuchs take it up, and carry it into the Baths and other Rooms, into which they only are permitted to go. And this is all that is conſiderable in that ſecond Court. Let us now enter further into the Seraglio, and ſee how things are manag'd there.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the inner part of the Seraglio in general, and particularly, of the *Quarter* of the *Eunuchs*, and the *Ichoglans*.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The Ichoglans *Educated under a ſevere Diſcipline. The great Officers of the Port taken out of the ſame School. The miſerable condition of the Children of the* Baſſa's. *The great Authority of the* Capi-Aga. *The Claſſes, through which the young Lads of the Seraglio are to paſs. The Quarters of the four principal Eunuchs.*

THE inner Seraglio is that part of the great Palace of the *Ottoman* Emperours, which, from the Second Court, whereof we have given a deſcription, extends to the point, at which place the Gardens are terminated, and which comprehends in general, the Grand Seignors Quarter, and the Quarter of the Sultaneſſes. But in regard the former is diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral Appartments, appointed for the Habitations of the Officers, who ordinarily approach the Grand Seignor's Perſon, and are his moſt neceſſary attendants, I will conduct the Reader from one to another, and give a diſtinct relation of every one of them. In this Chapter, I ſhall treat only of thoſe Appartments which are taken up by the *Eunuchs*, and the *Ichoglans*, who are under their Diſcipline.

The Ichoglans kept under a ſevere diſcipline.

At the begining of this diſcourſe, I made mention of the four principal *Eunuchs*, who have others ſubſtitute to them, to obſerve the actions of thoſe young Lads, who are committed to their charge, and to inſtruct them, as well in the *Mahumetan* Religion, as in the Exerciſes of the Body, and particularly, as to what relates to the Grand Seignor's Service. The Quarter as well of the *Eunuchs*, as the *Ichoglans* ſtands next to the *Divan*-Hall, and begins to make part of the third Court, all along which it reaches on the left hand. It is divided into ſeveral Appartments, and among others, there are four, which they call *Oda's*, that is to ſay, Chambers, into which are diſtributed ſix hundred *Ichoglans*, according to the orders of the *Capi-Aga*; who, with the other principal *Eunuchs*, judges of every ones capacity. 'Tis the *Capi-Aga* alſo, who orders their paſſing out of one *Oda* into another, as we remove our Scholars from a ſixth form to a fifth; and the caſe is the ſame in their *Oda's* as in our Forms, or Claſſes, this firſt of the four *Oda's*, the ſeverities whereof they muſt weather out as well as they can, being the laſt in point of dignity. When he makes his general Viſitation, upon which follows the foreſaid promotion, he turns out of the Seraglio, all thoſe whom he thinks uncapable of doing their Prince good Service, and that ſuch as betray their diſguſt of ſo auſtere a life; and then they are put out of all hopes of ever entring into the Seraglio any more, and cannot pretend to any other Fortune, then that of *Spahis*, with a ſmall pay. The advantages of capacitating themſelves for the moſt eminent Charges of the Court and the Empire, makes thoſe who remain behind to take the greater courage, and accordingly they patiently ſuffer, for the ſpace of many years, the harſh and unmerciful treatments of the Eunuchs, whom, upon all occaſions, they always find very liberal of the Baſtinado.

They

The wretched condition of the Bassa's Children.

They are those *Ichoglans*, whom we may also call the Grand Seignor's Pages who are advanc'd to the dignity of *Bassa's*, *Beys*, *Capigi-bachis*, *Haznadar-bachis*, and the other great Officers of the Port. But they are particularly cull'd out of the number of the Tributary Children, who are taken away from the Christians, or taken in War, by Sea or Land. For, as to the *Beiczades*, or Children of *Bassa's*, whom they bring up in the Seraglio, you are to remember what I have already said, that they can never ascend higher, than to the Charges of *Beys*, or Captains of Galleys.

When any one of these *Ichoglans* is desirous to remove out of the Seraglio, or if any one of the white Eunuchs has the same desire, he presents a Petition to the *Capi-Aga*, who carries it to the Grand Seignor, he receives his dismission, and is allow'd certain Pay, proportionable to the continuance and quality of his Services. But there are others, whom the same *Capi-Aga* turns out of the Seraglio against their wills, and that after they had weather'd out the first years, which are the most insupportable. And that is done sometimes upon this score, that the *Capi-Aga* having had some contest with any one of those *Ichoglans*, while they where Camarades in the time of their youth, and fearing least he should come one day to traverse his designs, he employs all his credit and interest, to remove him out of the Seraglio, but withal procuring him a Recompence and Salary, according to the number of years he has serv'd.

The Classes through which the Lads brought into the Seraglio are to pass.

The first of the four Chambers, into which the *Ichoglans* are distrubuted, has the greatest number of them, because they are yet very young, and as it were Novices, under the first *Perula* and it is called the *Couchouk-Oda*, that is to say, the little Chamber, though it be the largest of them all, in regard it is the lowest in point of Dignity. There they are taught to read and write, and are initiated in the first grounds of the *Mahumetan* Law. And after they have spent six years in that Chamber, they are remov'd into the second, which they call *Quilar-Oda*, wherein being grown more robust, they are instructed in the Exercises of the Body, in shooting with the Bowe, using the Lance and other divertisements of that kind. They are more perfected in the speaking of the *Turkish* Language, whereto they also add the *Arabian*, and the *Persian*, which they shall have occasion to use, in the Governments whereto they may be sent.

There are four years spent in this second Chamber, out of which they are again removed into the third, which they call *Chasnadar-Oda*, or the Chamber of the Treasury. In this Chamber they begin to do the Grand Seignor some Service, and to be imploy'd in the Wardrobe, and the Baths, and there they are also taught to Ride, and to perfect themselves in the Exercises suitable to that Station, wherein they ordinarily spend four years. Each of these three forementioned Chambers has a white Eunuch for its Chief Overseer. The *Serai-Agasi* has the Direction of the first; the *Quilargi-bachi* Commands in the second; and the *Chasnadar-bachi* is the Governour of the third.

I shall have occasion to speak more at large of the two last, when I come to the Chapters of the Cup-bearers Office, and the Treasury; and therefore I shall only add here, concerning all the three in general, that the *Ichoglans*, who are instructed therein, have not any Commerce with those of the fourth Chamber, of whom I shall give an account by and by, nor with any other Person out of the Seraglio, or in the other Courts, but with the particular permission of the *Capi-Aga*, and in the presence of an Eunuch, who hears all that is said: That they cannot converse amongst themselves but at certain regulated hours; and that conversation must be manag'd with a great observance of Modesty, as there is an exact Obedience remarkable in all their deportments: And lastly, that they are all clad in ordinary Cloth, even to the *Beigstades*, that is, the Sons of *Viziers* and *Bassa's* who are dead, while those of the fourth Chamber wear Cloth of Gold and Silver, because they come into the Grand Seignor's presence, and often approach his Person. I shall give you an account anon of their Dormitories, that is, the places where they take their repose, as also of the Functions of the *Oda-bachi* and the *Destergi-Aga*, who act according to the Orders they receive from the four Eunuchs.

The fourth Chamber, which is the Prince's Chamber, is called *Haz-Oda*, and I shall speak of it when I come to treat of the Cup-bearers Office, and the Grand

Grand Seignor's secret Apartment. Here, the *Ichoglans*, who have endur'd hardship so many years in the three first Chambers, begin to take breath, and to be allow'd more Liberty. They are permitted to converse with all Persons within the Seraglio, and they have the advantage of frequent approaches to the Prince's Person, to whom they make themselves known, and from whom they ever and anon receive favours.

The Quarters of the Four principal Eunuchs.

Under the Gate of the third Court, where a certain number of Eunuchs are upon the Guard Night and Day, there is a passage on the left hand which leads into a little Gallery, out of which there is an entrance into the Appartment of the *Capou Agasi*; and when the Gate is open, it hides that passage, into which a man cannot enter but with some difficulty.

A little further, and on the right hand of the Hall of Audience, stands the Appartment of the *Serai-Agasi*, who is to take care for the keeping of the Seraglio clean and in good order; and a little further yet, near a little Mosque, where the *Ichoglans* of the three first Chambers go to their Devotions, lies the Quarter of the *Seferlis*, who are an hundred and fifty of the *Ichoglans*, or thereabouts, particularly appointed for the washing of the Grand Seignor's Linnen. When he goes into the Countrey, the most Antient among them are of his Retinue; and there must be comprehended in that Number, such as play on Timbrels, and the other Instrumental Musicians, who have the same appointments with the rest.

Let us now enter into the Hall of Audience, which is a Quarter as 'twere independent from others, and where the Grand Seignor receives Foreign Ambassadors.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Hall wherein the Grand Seignor gives Audience to Forein Ambassadors, and the manner how they are receiv'd.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The description of the Hall of Audience. The Grand Seignor's Throne. The manner how Ambassadors are receiv'd. Remarks upon the number of Vestments which the Grand Seignor orders to be bestow'd on the Ambassadors of Christian *Princes. The form of the Oath of Allegiance, which the* Cham *of the Lesser* Tartary *comes to take at the same place.*

The Hall of Audience described.

THE third Court of the Seraglio, wherein we now are, is far from being so regular, as the precedent, and the Structures within sufficiently discover, that the Persons by whom it was built, minded not the observance of any Order in the doing of it. When you are at the Gate of this Court, you have just opposite to you a little Appartment, not adjoyning to the others, at the entrance of which you find, on both sides, a Fountain issuing out

of a Wall, the Water whereof is receiv'd into two Baſins or Ciſterns: And 'tis in this Appartment that the Hall of Audience ſtands. 'Tis an arched Structure noble enough in its kind, ſuſtain'd by Marble Pillars, and there is yet to be ſeen in the midſt of it, a ſmall ſpout of Water, which falls into a Baſin. This Hall is open of all ſides, and at the lower end, oppoſite to the Gate, they place the Grand Seignor's Throne.

The Grand Seignor's Throne.

This Throne, which is rich enough is in the manner of an Altar, and it is brought into that Hall only upon thoſe days, whereon the Grand Seignor is willing to give Audience to Ambaſſadors, and when the new *Cham* of the Leſſer *Tartary*, whom he has choſen to govern there, comes to receive the Inveſtiture of his Kingdom, and to take the accuſtomed Oath. The back-ſide of the Throne, is ſet againſt a partition erected for that purpoſe, which is not above half a foot higher than it, and 'tis that keeps in the cuſhions which are behind the Grand Seignor.

There are in the Treaſury-Chamber eight ſeveral very ſumptuous Coverings purpoſely made to cover the aforeſaid Throne: and they are ſo large, that they reach down to the ground on three ſides of it, that is to ſay, before, on the right hand, and on the left: for as to the back-part, it is, as I told you, faſtn'd to the partition. The moſt Magnificent of all thoſe Coverings is of a black Velvet, with an Embroydry of great Pearls, whereof ſome are long, and others round, and in the form of Buttons. There is another of white Velvet, ſet out with an Embroydery of Rubies and Emeralds, moſt whereof are ſet in Beazils, or Collets, the better to keep them in. There is a third, of a Violet-colour'd Velvet, embroyder'd with Turqueſes and Pearls. The three others, which are next in eſteem to theſe, are alſo of Velvets of different Colours, with a rich Embroydery of Gold. And the two laſt are of a Gold-Brokado, which have alſo their particular Beauty and ſumptuouſneſs. The Throne is adorn'd with one of theſe coverings, according to the Grand Seignor's reſpect to the Sovereign, whoſe Embaſſy he receives; and he levels his own Magnificence to that of the Prince whom he would honour.

The manner of receiving the Ambaſſadors,

And this is the manner how the Ambaſſadors are received into the Hall. For as to the Order, and Ceremonies of their march from the Hôtel, or great Houſe of *Perra*, to the Port of *Conſtantinople*, and from the Port, to the Seraglio, no queſtion but there have been Relations enough made already. After the Ambaſſador has din'd in the Hall of the *Divan*, with the Grand Viſir, who there expected him, while his Retinue are entertain'd under the Gallery, upon ſome old Carpets of Leather, which they ſpread upon the ground, and upon which there are a few Diſhes of Meat ſet, he receives the Veſts or Garments, which the Grand Seignor ſends him, as well for his own Perſon, as for thoſe who Accompany him, and they put them on immediately, over all the Cloaths they have about them, as they would do a Morning-Gown.

In this Equipage the Ambaſſador is conducted to the Hall of Audience, by the *Capi-Aga*, the Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies, who is aſſiſted by ſeveral Eunuchs: and when he is at the Door, two *Viſirs* ſtand ready to receive him, and they go on each ſide of him, till he comes to the place, where he is to bowe, and to kiſs the Grand Seignor's Garment. From the very Gate of the Court, kept by the Eunuchs, quite to that of the Hall, they walk all along upon Carpets of Silk; and the Floor of the Hall, though all paved with Marble, is alſo covered with another Carpet of Gold, the Workmanſhip whereof ſomewhat reſembles that of our ordinary Straw-Mats, and much about the ſame thickneſs.

The Grand Seignor demeans himſelf with a great deal of gravity, while he is in his Throne; and behind the little Wall or Partition, againſt which it is ſet, you ſee, ſtanding in order, the *Kiſler-Agaſi*, who is a Negro-Eunuch, and chief Overſeer of the Appartment of the Women; the *Seligdar-Aga*, who carries the Grand Seignor's Sword; the *Chokadar-Aga*, who carries the Royal Robe, an Officer whom in *France* they call *Porte-Manteau*; the *Riquabdar*, who holds the Stirrup, when the Prince gets on Horſe-back; and the *Hazadabachi*, chief of the Chamber, which Office would be equivalent in *France*, to that of the Grand Maſter of the Wardrobe.

All

All these fore-mentioned Officers do all deport themselves with a great appearance of modesty, having their Arms cross their Breasts: And as to the *Capi-Aga*, the Introductor to the Ambassadors, and Grand Master of the Seraglio, he stands in the midst of the Hall, and in the same posture of humility. On the left side of the Throne, there is a kind of a low Seat, cover'd with red Velvet, with a Gold-fringe, on which the Ambassadors go and sit down, after they have kiss'd the Grand Seignor's Robe, till such time as those of their Retinue, who have had Vests, the number whereof is limited, have perform'd the same Ceremony. In the mean time, all the *Bassa's* are standing; in the presence of their Prince; nay, the *Cham* of the Lesser *Tartary* is not excepted out of that Law, when he comes to do homage. All this action is perform'd in great silence, and the Grand Seignor making no answer at all at that time, leaves it to the Grand *Vizir*, to make some short Complement, in order to the dismission of the Ambassador, who withdraws with a profound reverence, without uncovering his head, or turning his back, till he be out of the Hall.

The Ministers of Christian Princes and States who ordinarily reside at the Port, are the Ambassadors of *England*, *France*, and *Venice*, and the Resident of the States General, who have all their respective Habitations in *Pera*. When there comes thither any Ambassador or Resident, from the Emperor, or from *Poland*, or *Muscovy*, they oblige them to take up their abodes at *Constantinople*, that they may be the more assur'd of their persons.

Remarks on the number of Vests, which the Grand Seignor orders to be given the Ambassadors of Christian Princes.

The Grand Seignor distinguishes the Quality of those Princes and States, and the esteem he has for them, by the number of Vests which he orders to be bestow'd on their Ambassadors when they come to Audience. The Ambassador of *France* has four and twenty allowed him; the Ambassador of *England*, sixteen; the Ambassador or Agent of *Venice* receives twelve, and the *Dutch* Ambassador as many.

When Monsieur *de Marcheville* was Ambassador in *Turkey*, from his most Christian Majesty of *France*, I had the honour to be one of those who accompanyed him to the Seraglio, where after Dinner with the *Viziers*, in the *Divan*-Hall, while his Retinue were treated under the Gallery, the Vests were brought according to the custome. The Ambassador coming to distribute them to those whom he had a mind to favour, and take along with him to the Audience, he was much surpriz'd, to find that he had got but sixteen. He immediately sent word to the Grand *Vizir*, that he wanted eight Vests, and that he would not go to his Audience, till he had the full number, which they had wont to present to the Ambassadors of *France*. There was some contest about it, which retarded the Audience near an hours time; but at last Mounsieur *de Marcheville* persisting in his resolution, the Grand *Vizir* complyed, and sent him eight other Vests.

The Form of the Oath of Allegiance made by the Cham of the Lesser Tartary to the Grand Seignor.

What remains of this Chapter must represent the manner, how the *Cham* of the Lesser *Tartary* comes into this Hall of Audience to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Grand Seignor. The Reader will be pleased to remember, what Observation I made at the beginning of this Work concerning the Family of that Tributary Prince, whom the *Ottoman* Emperors keep under the Yoke. The *Cham* who is to Reign in his turn, and according to what disposal the Grand Seignor has made of the Government, presents himself before him in the Hall of Audience, and after he has kissed his Robe, retires some paces back, and stands. Then they bring in the *Alcoran*, upon a great green Velvet Cushion, without any Embroydery, at the four Corners whereof there are four Tassels of Gold and Silk, and they place it on the Grand Seignors right hand. Now whereas he sits on a Carpet cross-legg'd, there must be great care taken, that the Cushion be not so high as his knees; for the *Turks* would account that a great sin; and they bear so great a respect to the Book of the *Alcoran*, that they cannot touch it till they have first wash'd themselves. Before they open it, they kiss it, and put it upon their heads, and after they have read something in it, they kiss the writing of it, and then they rub their faces with it, before they shut it. The Prince, who is to take his Oath, is standing all this time, as I told you, with his hands stretch'd out one against the other, and lifted up as high as his shoulders, to receive the Book of the *Alcoran* out of those of the *Capi-Aga*, who had been to take it off the Cushion, having kiss'd it and touch'd his head with it.

The Oath which the *Cham* takes is in these Words:

Bou quittab hak juchun ſeadetlu, padichaim, tare ſin den her ne Emir, ve ferman bana keleurſe itaat ideym.

That is to ſay,

By the Truth of this Book I will cauſe to be executed all the Orders and Commands which ſhall be brought unto me from my Lord.

And now that I have given you the Oath of Allegiance made by the Vaſſal to his Lord, I ſhall alſo add the Form of that, which the *Ottoman* Emperour requires of all the *Chriſtian* Princes, who are ſubject to his Jurisdiction, ſuch as are the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*. It runs in theſe words:

Hi iſa hac Juchum, ſeadetlu padichaim tare ſin den her ne Emir, ve ferman bana keleurſe itaat Ideym.

That is to ſay,

By the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt, *I will cauſe to be executed all the Orders and Commands, which ſhall be brought unto me from the Emperour my Lord:*

The Grand Seignor requires alſo an Oath of Allegiance of all the *Baſſa's*, whom he ſends to the Frontiers of the Empire; as the *Baſſa's* of *Grand Cairo*, *Babylon*, and *Buda*, which is more than he exacts of the other Governours of Provinces, which are not upon the Confines of his Territories, and of whom he has no ground to be afraid.

Let us now make our Entrance into the Quarter of the *Eunuchs* and the *Ichoglans*, whereof the Baths make a great part.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Baths of the Seraglio.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The prodigious ſtrength of Body of a certain Ichoglan. *The Moſquey belonging to the Appartment of the Eunuchs. The Employments of the Dwarfs, and the Mutes. The ſuperſtition of the* Turks *in the manner of paring their Nails. The Colours forbidden the* Chriſtians *in whatever they wear about their heads. The Deſcription of the Baths. Certain Abuſes reform'd. Why the Inhabitants of the Eaſtern Parts do not make uſe of Paper upon an undecent account. The* Perſians *more ſcrupulous than the* Turks. *They are great Lovers of cleanlineſs. Certain Chambers very commodious and divertive. The ſtrict prohibition of* Mahomet *for any one to ſuffer himſelf to be ſeen ſtark naked. A certain Earth which takes off the Hair, and its dangerous effects.*

THE Baths deſign'd for the Grand Seignor's own Perſon, and his principal Officers, take up a great ſpace of the Quarter of the Eunuchs. The little Ovens, whereby they are heated, called *Kulkans*, are adjoyning to the Appartment of the *Serai-boudaſi*, and fifteen *Ichoglans*, the moſt robuſt that can be found, are employ'd in keeping the Fire going. They have the denomination of *Kulkangis*; and five and twenty others, who are named *Dellaks*, are employ'd in the Baths, to ſhave and rub the Body, as alſo in applying Cupping-Glaſſes to thoſe who ſtand in need thereof. Among the *Kulkangis*, he who is the moſt antient in that employment, has a pre-eminence and ſuperiority over the reſt, whom he many times commands to exerciſe themſelves in wreſtling, and lifting a heavy Iron Bar with one hand.

There are three ſuch Bars faſten'd upon great Cramp-Irons over the door that goes into the Baths, and the middlemoſt of the three, as it is commonly reported, weighs a hundred *Okkes*, which amount to Three hundred and fifty pounds *Paris* weight, an *Okke* weighing three pounds and a half, or thereabouts. There was heretofore one of thoſe *Ichoglans*, of ſo prodigious ſtrength, that the Grand Seignor himſelf would have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a tryal whether he could with one hand lift up and turn about that Iron-bar; which he did to the great aſtoniſhmen of the Prince, and preſently after he entertain'd him with another demonſtration of the ſtrength of his Arm. Over theſe three Iron-bars, there hung two Head-pieces of Iron, whereof one was an inch in thickneſs, and the other about the eighth part of an inch. The ſame *Ichoglan* did, in the Grand Seignor's preſence, at one blow of a Battle-Axe,

The prodigious ſtrength of Body of a certain Ichoglan.

Axe, cut through the head-piece of an inch thick, and, at one blow with a Sabre, cleft the other to the middle of it.

The Mosquey belonging to the Appartment of the Eunuchs.

Opposite to those Ovens are the Cocks, whereby the Waters are distributed into the several Rooms of the Baths; and I forgot to tell you, That before you enter into that place, you find a little Mosquey, adjoyning to the Appartment of the *Saraiket-houdasi*, where all the *Ichoglans* go to their devotions twice a day. If they fail the doing of it, the *Oda-bachi*, who, in every Chamber, takes notice of their demeanours, calls them to an account, and they are sure of the bastinado, as they are also for any other fault they commit; and sometimes they receive the said puishment on the soles of their feet, and, upon some occasions to such a number of blowes, that the nails of their toes come off; and that is the puniſhent which is properly call'd *Drubbing*.

The Employment of the Dwarfs and Mutes.

Out of that Mosquey you pass into a Gallery, adjoyning to the Baths, and there the *Distis* and the *Genges*; that is to say, the Mutes and the Dwarfs are employ'd in some work or other all day long. Some spend the time in learning to make up Turbants, wherein there is more work and difficulty than is imagin'd, especially in making up the Grand Seignior's own Turbant, when he goes to the *Divan*. For then he takes an extraordinary large one, as do also all the Officers of the same *Divan* when they go to Council: and I cannot make a better representation of that kind of Turbant, then by the form of our largest sort of Citrals, if they be made hollow in the middle, so as that the head might enter into that hole.

Others are employ'd in shaving, paring the nails, and other things of that kind. They do not make use of any Scizars for the nails, in *Turkey* nor in any part of *Asia*; it being a thing forbidden by *Mahomet* in his Law, and accordingly they account the doing of it a great sin. But they make use of a little Steel Instrument, somewhat like a Pen-knife, and the only cutting part is the end of it, and they are dextrous enough in the performance of that Office. It is the Custom all over the East, that the Barber who trims you, should also make up your Turbant, which is many times discompos'd, pair the Nails of your Hands and Toes, and take away the filth out of your Ears: for the *Turks* and all the Inhabitants of *Asia*, are great lovers of cleanliness, and cannot endure the least nastiness, either on themselves, or those who come near them, as I shall give you an account anon.

Colours forbidden the Christians in their Coiffure.

And having spoken so much of the Turbant, it will not be unseasonable for me to communicate this Remark to you here, That in the *Ottoman* Empire, and all over *Arabia*, none but *Mahumetans* are permitted to make use of White for the covering of their Heads; whereas in *Persia*, and all over the Great *Mogul*'s Empire, men may take what Colours they please themselves.

The description of the Baths.

I come now to the great Bath, which is adjoyning to the Chamber of the *Hamangi-bachi*, who is the chief Overseer of it, and which makes part of the Appartment of the *Seferlis*, or the Grand Seignor's Laundry-men. The place where they put off their Cloaths, is a spacious Louver or Banquetting-House of Free-stone, high enough, and in one of the most eminent parts of the Seraglio. The Floor is paved with a very delightful kind of Marble laid in square pieces; and it has two large Windows jutting out upon the Gardens, somewhat like Balconies, from which you have a Prospect of the two Seas. In the midst of that *Dome* or *Louver*, you find a Fountain, the Water whereof is received into two Basins or Cisterns: The former, which is the highest, and withal the least, is of one piece of White Marble, having in it a little intermixture of Red and Black Veins, and piereed through at six several places, for the reception of so many small Pipes of Copper through which the Water falls down into the other Basin, which is also of Marble, of several Pieces, and several Colours.

Abuses reform'd

Within the Dome, there is a great number of Poles, which are disposed all about it, and supported by certain pieces of Iron coming out of the Wall. Upon those Poles they dry the Linnen which they had used in the Bath; and of that Linnen there are several sorts. Heretofore, the Pages were allowed only a long Piece of Linnen Cloth, which came only twice about their wastes: but upon observation made, that they abused them, and that handsome young Lads playing together, snatched that piece of Linnen one from the other, purposely to discover

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their nakedneſs, they uſe in the Baths only ſuch Garments of Linnen as are ſowed cloſe above, and reach from the waſte down to the Feet, much after the manner of a Womans Petti-coat. At their coming out of the Bath, they have two other ſorts of Linnen to dry themſelves withal, of the largeneſs of ordinary Table-Cloths, whereof the one is Red, with a border of Silk of three fingers breadth, which covers them, as ſoon as they are out of the water, from the waſte downwards to the ham; and the other is White, wherewith they rub themſelves. For theſe two ſorts of Towels they have but one Name, to wit, *Pechetamal*.

Why the Levantines *do not uſe Paper undecently.*

On one ſide of the Fountain, which is in the midſt of the Domo, there is an entrance into the Bath, and near that is the Hall where they uncloath themſelves in the Winter-time. A little Gallery which lies on the left hand, leads to the places deſign'd for the eaſing of nature, and every ſeat has a little Cock, which ſupplies them with water to waſh themſelves, after they have done. It is accounted an heinous Sin among them, to make uſe of Paper for that purpoſe; and the reaſon they give for it is this, That, poſſibly, the Name of God might be written upon it, or might contain ſome Text of the Law, which would be a profanation of it, and conſequently ought to be avoided. Beſides, they have another opinion, That Paper is not ſo proper ſo well to make clean that part, which the neceſſity of the Body does ordinarily ſo much defile, but that there may be ſomething of ordure left; and that being obliged to preſent themſelves before God with an abſolute Purity of Body and Mind, their Prayers could not be heard, if they ſhould not be wholly clean.

The Perſians *more ſcrupulous than the* Turks.

The *Perſians* are yet more ſcrupulous than the *Turks* upon this account. For though they both agree in this, That their Devotions are ineffectual, nay indeed that they are not in a condition to perform them without crime, if they be not pure, as to Body and Mind; Yet the former are of a perſwaſion, That the leaſt ordure which, through Negligence or Inadvertency, might remain upon their Perſons or their Garments, would render their Prayers fruitleſs and criminal, which the *Turks*, ſomewhat leſs ſuperſtitious as to that particular, will not acknowledge.

They are great lovers of cleanlineſs.

Certain it is alſo, That in *Perſia* they are extraordinary Lovers of Cleanlineſs; inſomuch that I have obſerved, That at *Iſpahan*, the Metropolis of that Country, where the Streets are not paved, when there falls a little Snow or Rain, which muſt occaſion ſome dirt, few People will come out of their Houſes, unleſs they be forced thereto by ſome Concern of great importance. And when they do go abroad at ſuch a time, at the Houſe-door into which they are to enter, they put off their Shooes, their Upper-garment, the Cap which covers their Turbants; and if they have the leaſt dirt or filth about them, they think themſelves impure, and that it would be a diſreſpect to the Perſon whom they are to Viſit. Nay, a *Perſian* ſhall be very ſcrupulous, and make a great difficulty to receive a Man into his Houſe in Foul Weather; and if any one preſents himſelf into that pleaſure, he makes a ſign to him with his hand to keep at a certain diſtance from him, in the place wherein he is to enter into Diſcourſe with him. For if by chance as he comes out of the Street, where there is ſome dirt, and where Horſes paſs to and fro, and may caſt ſome of it upon him, he has the leaſt ſpot of any daggling about him, and afterwards touch the Perſon whom he comes to Viſit, this latter would be *Nagis*, that is to ſay, *Unclean*, and thereupon be obliged immediately to change his Cloaths; ſo great is the Superſtition of the *Perſians*, as to that particular.

Chambers very divertive and Commodious.

At the end of the Gallery, there is a door which gives you paſſage into three Chambers, which are ſo many Baths for the uſe of the Grand Seignor's Quarter. There is adjoyning to the laſt of thoſe Chambers a ſpacious place pav'd Chequer-wiſe with Marble of different colours, and there the *Iehoglans* are trimm'd. This place has a little eminency in the midſt of it, from which there is a gentle deſcent of all ſides, that the Water wherewith the Barbars waſh their Heads and Beards may the more eaſily be carried off, and the place be always kept clean. On both ſides of the Wall, whereby it is enclos'd, there is a great double Cock, with two Keys belonging to it, which, at the ſame mouth, ſupplyes them alternately with either hot water, or cold, and that falls into a Baſin or Receptacle of White Marble,

Marble, wherein three or four men may bathe themselves without any inconvenience, or trouble one to the other. There is also at one of the ends a little Room of Black and White Marble, and there the Barbers, who have no knowledge of any other Profession, put up all their necessary Utensils and Instruments, as Razors, Hones, Balls, and those Irons wherewith they pare their Nails: for as for Linnen, they do not use any; and those who are to be shav'd come in stark naked from the Waste upwards, and are cover'd from thence downwards, only with a Cloath, which reaches to the Ancle. 'Tis a great Rarity to meet with any one among those Barbers that knowes how to let blood, and their Lancets, are much like the Fleams, wherewith our Farriers bleed Horses.

Opposite to the Chamber of the Barbers, there are three other Rooms arch'd with Marble, the largest whereof much surpasses in Beauty those that are adjoyning to it. The Floor of it is of white and black Marble, and the Walls are done about with square pieces, that are white and blew, and in every one of them you find a Flower in emboss'd Work, done to the Life, and which a man would take for enamell. Little Lamines or Plates of Gold cover the junctures of those square pieces, and there cannot any thing be imagin'd more pleasant and divertive than that Chamber is. In the Roof of it, there are several round holes, of about half a foot diameter, over which there are little Glasses made in the fashion of Bells, order'd as the Venice-Looking-Glasses are, lest any one should have the curiosity, to get up to the Roof, and laying himself upon his belly think to see what is done in the Bath. The place has no light but what it receives by the means of those holes, and while some body is in the Bath: But especially when they go out of it, the door is shut, the better to keep in the heat, and to prevent their being seen; which might be if instead of those forementioned holes in the Roof, there were Windows below, according to our Mode. All the other Baths have their Structures after the same manner, and having no light but what comes at little glaz'd holes, there is not any passage into it but that of the door, to the end that being presently shut, the heat might the better be kept within the Bath, and to prevent their being seen who are in it.

The Second Chamber is another Bath, but as to Beauty, it is much inferiour to the other; And as for the third, there is something in it which is singularly remarkable. The Floor of it is lay'd as with a sort of small stones, so as that the foot cannot slip, though it be wetted at their departure out of the Bath: And the whole Room is done all about with square pieces, having in them flowers of emboss'd work, done to the Life and covered with Gold and Azure. This is the place into which the Grand Seignor enters, when he comes out of the Bath; and he always goes into it alone, when he intends to shave himself in those parts, which are not to be nam'd without immodesty.

Mahomet's *Prohibition to be seen naked.*

Mahomet pronounces a Curse upon those persons who suffer themselves to be seen, and upon all those who look on them: And the strict observance, of his Law requires, That both Men and Women ought to shave themselves, without using the assistance of any other hand.

An Earth that takes off hair, and its dangerous effects.

But most of the Inhabitants of the EASTERN Parts, the *Arabians*, *Tartars*, and the *Indians*, make use of a more easie expedient then the Razor, to get off hair. It is a certain Earth, which they mix with some Orpiment, or Arsenick, and which becomes soft as butter. When they are in the Bath, and begin to sweat, they take of that Earth and therewith rub the parts, from which they would have the hair to fall, and presently after they must be very carefull to see, whether it begins to fall, as one would observe a Fowl, whose feathers he would take off, after it had been cast into scalding water. For if that Earth be left too long upon the parts whereto it had been apply'd, it burns and makes holes in the flesh, the marks whereof will remain, somewhat resembling those, which the Small Pox sometimes leaves behind it. Besides the skin of those parts, whereto this application is made, becomes in time as hard and rough as Leather; and those ungrateful inconveniencies have diverted the *Turks* and *Persians* from using that Expedient. Nor do the *Christians* of the *Levantine* Countries make use of it, though they imitate the *Mahometans* in the Custom of frequenting the Baths:

Baths: But above all, in *Persia*, none make use of that remedy, but the poorer sort of people. The Ladies, not regarding the prohibition of *Mahomet*, employ their Female Slaves for the performance of that Office; and with a small kind of Pincers and twitchers, such as those, wherewith we take of the hair of the mustachoes, they do, with a little more trouble, but less hazard, what that Earth does in less time, but with more danger. Our *Sultanesses* are yet too delicate to imitate the Ladies of *Persia*; nay the Men themselves, in *Turkey*, are not very forward to have that twitch'd off with pain, which the Razour can take off without any trouble.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Grand Seignor's Treasury.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

Noble Relicks of Antiquity. The Turks *cannot endure Figures representing either Man or Beast. The Chambers of the Treasury, and their Wealth. The Blood of the* Bassa's *is one of the Rivers which enter into that Sea of the Treasury. The use of* Aloes *Wood in* Turkey. *A sort of Basins of a more commodious form than ours, for the washing of the hands. Tapers or Candles of a kind of wax of great value. Coffers full of all sorts of precious stones. The Precautions and Ceremonies which are observ'd at the opening of the Treasury. A magnificent Piece of Tapistry, wherein the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth, is represented, in embossed Work. A particular Relation of a* Bassa *named* Rustan. *The heroick sentiment of a* Turk. *The principal sources of the Wealth of the Empire. How the Revenues of* Egypt *are employ'd.*

THE Treasury of the Seraglio and the *Ottoman* Empire, the vast Wealth therein contain'd, and the excellent order wherewith it is govern'd, requir'd my being a little more large upon that subject. I shall discover all the Rivers which fall into that Sea, and may have some resemblance to those that enter into the *Caspian* Sea, and are never seen to come out of it again.

Out of the Chamber, where the Grand Seignor shaves himself, you pass into a Gallery, which is Thirty Paces in length, and between Nine and Ten in breadth. There are on the one side of it, Six great Marble-Pillars, of Fifteen Foot in height, and of different colours, among which there is one of a very delightful Green, and that colour makes the *Turks* have a great esteem for it. You have under your feet in this Gallery a Walk of large square Pieces of Marble, and the high-rais'd Fret-work thereof is a Relick of Antiquity, and there are in it excellent Pieces of Painting after the *Mosaick* way, representing divers Persons, *Noble Relicks of Antiquity.*

and which some conceive to have been made for the reception and entertainment of some great Prince, in the time of the *Greek* Emperours.

The Turks have an aversion for Figures representing Man or Beast.

The *Turks*, who have not among them either Gravers or Painters, in order to the making of any representation of Man or Beast, for which they have an aversion, have thought it much to endure those Figures, and not being able to refrain from disfiguring the heads, there is nothing left but the bodies; which is much to be regretted. It may eatily be conjectur'd, that the Gallery was open on both sides, as being so still to the Court-side, and 'tis in the midst of the Wall, whereby it is enclos'd on the other side, that the Door of the Treasury stands.

The Chambers of the Treasury, and their Wealth.

The first Treasury consists in Four Chambers full of Riches and Rarities. The first contains a vast quantity of Long-Bows, Arrows, Cross-bows, Muskets, Fire-locks, Sabres, Cymitars, and other Arms of that kind, which are all so many Master-Pieces, that have been presented, from time to time, to the *Turkish* Emperours. All these Arms are either hung up at the Ceeling, or fasten'd against the Wall; but in a pitiful condition, all over-run with rust, and cover'd with dust; and the Grand Seignor suffers them to be so neglected, because there come in daily Presents of Arms excellently wrought, the novelty whereof makes him forget the old ones; as also for that it is the humour of the *Turks*, not to make any great account of Curiosities, but at the very time they are presented with them.

The Second Chamber is a very spacious Arched Structure, of the same height and Architecture as that of the Bath, of which I gave you an account in the precedent Chapter, where they go and uncloath themselves in the Summer time: And there is no difference between them, save only that this last has no overtures in the Roof. That place contains Six great Chests, or Coffers, each of them of Twelve Foot in length, Six in breadth, and Six in depth; and if the Covers were not broken to pieces, two men would find it a hard matter to lift them, they are so weighty. These Coffers, which are called *Ambars*, are full of all sorts of Cloaths for the Grand Seignor's use, as Vests, rich Furs, Magnificent Turbants, and Cushions embroider'd with Pearls.

Besides the Six Coffers before mentioned, there are Eight others, which are but Eight Foot in length, and four in breadth; and these are fill'd with Pieces of Scarlet, *English* and *Dutch* Cloaths, of the finest sorts, Pieces of Velvet, Gold and Silver Brokadoes, Embroider'd Coverlets and Counterpanes for Beds, and other rich Commodities of that Nature. As for the Bridles and Saddles cover'd with precious Stones, they are dispos'd upon supporters of Wood or Iron, coming out of the Wall: and all this Chamber is generally very well kept, and all things are neat, and in good order.

The Third Chamber is very spacious, and is more like a great Hall. The first thing that entertains your Eye, is a great Coffer, the inside whereof is divided into three parts, and makes as it were Three other Coffers, one upon the other: but they are open'd all on the out-side, so as that if there be any thing look'd for in the undermost, there is no necessity of stirring the uppermost. The lowermost Coffer contains those sumptuous Coverings for the Grand Seignor's Throne, of which I have spoken in the Description of the Hall of Audience. In the middlemost are dispos'd the Houses and Trappings, enrich'd with Embroidery, and some of them with Pearls and precious Stones, which are used in great Solemnities. In the uppermost Coffer, are kept the Bridles, Breast-Pieces, Cruppers, and Stirrups, which are recommendable upon the score of the Diamonds, Rubies Emeralds, and other Precious Stones, whereby they are enrich'd: but the greatest part of them is cover'd with *Turkish*-Stones, which they have the art of setting excellently well.

The Blood of the Bassa's one of the Rivers that fall into the Sea of the Treasury.

It is a most astonishing sight, to behold the quantity of those precious Harnesses: but it is such only to those, who are ignorant, how the Grand Seignor replenishes his Treasury with so much Wealth. It happens thus, That there being a frequent mortality amongst the *Bassa's* and others, who are Governours, of Provinces, whether it be by a natural death, or a violent, and all they have in the World falling to the Grand Seignor, as I told you elsewhere, and being brought into the Seraglio, there are ordinarily found, amongst their rich Harnesles, some Bridles cover'd with pretious Stones, and those Bridles are brought into the Treasury.

The

The Case is the same with the Gold and Silver ready coyn'd, and all the Jewels, and whatever else those Bassa's were possess'd of. But as to their Saddles, which ordinarily are cover'd with Plates of Gold of the thickness of a *Ducat*, they are put into the hands of the *Imbrahor-bachi*, who is the Master of the Horse, and come not within the Seraglio.

There are besides, in the very same Chamber, several other Coffers of different Bulks, wherein there is contain'd abundance of most precious things. Some of them are full of rich Swords, adorn'd with precious Stones, as also of Sabres which have the same Ornaments. For the *Turks* when they are on Horse-back, make use of both Sabres and Swords, of a good length, and somewhat broader than ours. They wear the Sabre on one side, and fasten the Sword all along the Saddle, as they also do the Battle-Axe, yet so as that this last passes under their Thighs, which cannot incommode them much, because when they are mounted, they ride with very short Stirrups. The Sides, and the Handles of the Battle-Axes which they carry in Triumph, are also covered with precious Stones; and in all their Accoutrements the *Turks* are Magnificent, and do not spare for Money. When the Grand Seignor designs to honour a *Bassa*, he sends him one of those Swords, or one of those Sabres, with a Vest of Gold-Brockado, lin'd with some rich Fur. But these sumptuous Pieces do but pass to and fro, in as much as that upon the Death of the *Bassa's*, whose Estates fall to the Grand Seignor, and consequently are brought into the Seraglio, they are still found again in the Treasury, as in their Center.

There are yet other Coffers fill'd with *Amber-greece*, *Musk*, the precious Wood call'd *Lignum Aloes*, and *Sandal-wood*. There is a certain sort of this *Lignum-Aloes*, which is worth a thousand Crowns the Pound, according as it is Fat, or Oily, the most Oily being always the best, and the *Turks* are very expensive in this *Aloes* Wood. When some Persons come to visit them, and assoon as they are sate down, it is their custom to present them with a Pipe of Tobacco, with some *Lignum Aloes* in it, which is done after this manner. They take of that Wood, according to the Oylines of it, and consequently its making a greater fumigation, the quantity of a Pea, or a small Bean, and after they have moisten'd it a little they put it over a few Coals in a Chafing-dish, in a kind of Perfuming-Pot, which they present one after another, to all the Company. There comes out a thick Steam or Exhalation, wherewith every one Perfumes his Head and his Beard, and sometimes the in-side of his Turbant, after which he lifts up his hands on high, crying *Elmendela*, that is to say, *Thanks be to God*. But before they present them with the Perfuming-pot, there is some Rose-water brought in a Vessel of Gold, or Silver, according to the Quality of those who make the Visit. This Vessel is commonly a foot in height, the lower part of it being about the bigness of a mans fist, and from thence growing gradually smaller and smaller to the top of it, which is about the bigness of ones little finger. At the top of it there is a little hole, out of which comes the Rose-water, wherewith they wash their hands and faces, and then hold them over the suffumigation of the *Lignum Aloes*, which not only dries up the water, but also sticks so much the closer to the hair of the Head and Beard.

The use of Aloes Wood used in Turkey.

There are also in those Coffers abundance of Aromatical Simples, and precious Drugs, *Bezoar*-Stones, and store of *Mastick*, wherewith the *Sultanesses*, and the young Maids of the Seraglio pass away their time. They have of it perpetually in their Mouths, and this *Mastick* sweetens the Breath, and cleanses the Teeth, upon which score they are the better belov'd.

There may be seen also in the same Chamber, and in other Coffers, abundance of Plate, both Gold and Silver, which is never us'd, the Grand Seignor having other pieces, for his ordinary use, in the *Kilar*, whatever is serv'd up to his own Table being altogether in Pourcelain.

There are, amongst other Pieces, several Basins and Ewers, whereof some are enrich'd with several sorts of precious Stones. Those Basins are of a fashion more commodious than that of ours, and it is an evident Mark of the cleanliness of the *Levantines*. They are round, and about half a foot in depth, and cover'd as it were with a Plate or Server, full of little holes, which makes the concavity of it of equal height with the sides, and so hides the dirtiness of the water which lies at the bottom of it. They do not rise after their refection, in *Turkey*, till they

Basins of a more commodious fashion than ours.

have wash'd their Mouths and their Hands, to do which they bring you Soap and warm Water; and amongst Persons of Quality, they present Rose-water or some other sweet Water, into which you put the corner of your Hand-kercher.

Tapers of a kind of Wax of great value.

They have also in those Coffers great Tapers, or Wax-Candles of above two foot in length, made of a certain very dear composition, of a greyish colour, which has some resemblance to Wax, and is brought out of *Ethiopia*, every Taper amounting to near a hundred Crowns. They are not us'd but only when the Grand Seignor goes to visit the *Sultanesses*, and then there are two of those Tapers lighted, and set in great golden Candlesticks, enrich'd with precious Stones. When they are a little above half burnt out, the Negro-Eunuchs, who serve in the *Haran*, light others, and, out of civility, make a Present of the fore-mentioned remainders to the principal Women attending on the *Sultanesses*.

There is moreover in one of those Coffers, abundance of Clocks and Watches, *German*-work, as also of Knives and Ink-horns, after the *Turkish* Mode, all those pieces being the choice Productions and Master-pieces of great Artists, and adorn'd with precious Stones. There is to be seen, in fine, all along the Walls, but cover'd with a Scarlet Stuff, several Arms, after the *Turkish* Mode, neatly kept in order, as Bowes, Arrows, Targets, Battle-Axes, excellently well wrought, and most of these Pieces are of a considerable value.

An inestimable Coffer of all sorts of precious Stones.

But what is most precious in that Chamber and transcends all the rest is a strong Coffer all of Iron-work, which contains another of about a foot and a half square, wherein there is a vast Treasure. When this Coffer is open'd, you see a kind of Gold-Smiths Jewel Box, wherein are ranked all sorts of Jewels of highest value, as *Diamonds*, *Rubies*, *Emeralds*, a huge number of excellent *Topazes*, and four of those Gems call'd *Cats-eyes*, which are so beautiful, that they are not to be valu'd. Having satisfy'd your curiosity with the former, you come next to certain little Drawers full of several Jewels, great Roses of Diamonds, Pendants, other Roses of Rubies and Emeralds, Strings and Chains of Pearls and Bracelets. There stands aside by it self a Cabinet, where are the *Sorgonges*, or the thing wherein are fasin'd the Heron-tops, which the Grand Seignor wears in his Turbant. They are as it were little handles, made in the fashion of Tulips, cover'd over with the most precious Stones of the Seraglio, and 'tis into this that the Heron-top enters, that rich Plume of Feathers, whereof I have elsewhere given the description. Of these Handles, some are higher and more precious than others; and my Overseer of the Treasury assur'd me, That, of all sorts of them, great and small, there are above a hundred and fifty. The lesser ones serve only for the Campagne, and the great ones, which are the richest are reserv'd for the Pomps and Magnificence of the Court, and when the Grand Seignor marches in Ceremony to *Constantinople*. If he has a desire to satisfie his sight with the lustre of his precious Jewels, he Orders the Coffer to be brought into his own Chamber; but if he call for some particular Piece of the Treasury, he gives order to the *Chasnader-bachi*, to fetch it, and that Chief Officer of the Treasury cannot enter into it, without abundance of mysterious precautions.

Precautions and Ceremonies observ'd at the opening of the Treasury.

There are alwayes Sixty Pages, more or less, belonging to the Chambers of the Treasury. The number of them is not fixt, but the Credit of the *Capi-Aga*, and the *Chasnader-Bachi*, may augment or diminish it, according to their inclinations and interests. Unless they fall into disgrace, as he had done from whom I have some part of these Instructions, they never go out of the Seraglio, but upon their advancement to some considerable Government, or the settlement of a handsome Pension for their maintenance; and so, provided they do nothing amiss, they are well enough accommodated for their lives. The Chief Officer of the Treasury having receiv'd Orders from the Grand Seignor to bring the Piece he would have, assembles all the Pages in their Chamber, and sends for the *Anakdar-Agasi*, who has the Custody of the Keyes. This last having given three stroaks with his hand upon the Drawer, wherein they are enclos'd, takes them out of it, and following the *Chasnadar-Bachi*, attended by the Sixty Pages, they all make their appearance together at the door of the Treasury.

The

The first thing that is done is the untwisting of a Chain, which they had put there for the better securing of the Seal, which the Chief Officer of the Treasury had set over the hole, and having found it entire, he orders it to be broken by the keeper of the Keyes, and commands him to open. Assoon as they are got into the Chamber into which the *Chasnadar-bachi* knows they are to go, he sets himself down upon a low Bench, and declares what Piece it is that the Grand Seignor requires. They thereupon open the Coffer, wherein it ought to be, then they present it to the *Chasnadar-bachi*, and, if he be desirous of that honour, he has the priviledge to be himself the Bearer of it to the Grand Seignor. Then has he a fair Opportunity to secure something that is precious to himself, if he has the dexterity to do it without any discovery. When he is in the Treasury, he needs only say, That the Grand Seignor desires also the Piece, which he has a mind to convert to his own use, and causing all to be immediately carried to his own Chamber, he there leaves what he would keep, and presents to the Prince only that which he had commanded to be brought him. Not but that whatever is receiv'd into the Treasury and whatever goes out of it, is exactly set down and enroll'd by the *Haznaquatib*, or Clerk, who keeps the Registers; and the Cheat might be easily discover'd, when at the quitting of his Charge the *Chasnadar-bachi* gives an account of all things to his successor. But it ordinarily happens, that they are friends, and that the *Chasnadar-bachi*, who does not leave his Charge, but upon his advancement to that of the place of the *Capi-Agà*, in case he should dye, or be exalted to a higher Dignity, or upon his being made a *Bassa* and Governour of a Province, proposes him, among the Pages, for whom he has the greatest affection, and who is his Confident, as a Person qualify'd for the Charge of principal Officers of the Treasury. Accordingly being his Benefactor, he gives in his Accompts as he pleases himself, and delivering unto him an Inventory of what is in the Treasury, he withal produces a *Memorandum* of the Pieces, which had been taken out thence, during his Surintendency, by the Grand Seignor's Orders. The Clark of the Treasury, might, notwithstanding their intelligence and combination, discover the intrigue; but being one of the eldest Pages of the Chamber, and in a capacity of advancement to the Charge of *Chasnadar-bachi*, he shuts his eyes, and so avoids the creation of Enemies, thinking it more prudence, to be appeas'd, by the Presents he receives as well from him who enters into the Charge, as from him who quits it. But these Thieveries are not very often committed, and if there were but the least discovery made thereof, a severe punishment would soon be inflicted both on the Author and his Complices.

As to the little Chest or Coffer, wherein the most precious Jewels are kept, it is impossible to get any thing out thence: for when the Grand Seignor would have any Piece taken out of it, he orders the Coffer it self to be brought into his Presence, by the principal Officer of the Treasury, accompany'd by the Keeper of the Keyes, and all the Pages; and before he opens it, he takes notice whether the Seal be entire. After he has taken what he desir'd, the Coffer is lock'd up in his Presence the Seal is set upon it, and it is carry'd back into the Treasury with the same Ceremony. Then do the Sixty Pages receive, ordinarily some demostrations of the Grand Seignor's Liberality, which may amount to ten or twelve *Purses*, to be divided amongst them.

Rich Tapistry, wherein Charles the Fifth is represented,

We are not yet got out of the third Chamber of the Treasury, which may pass for one Spacious Hall, the middle part whereof is taken up by a Scaffold, of nine or ten foot square, the height, the length, and the breadth being equal. This Scaffold is cover'd and surrounded with a piece of Tapestry of Gold and Silk, and in the upper part of it, there is, in embos'd Work, the Effigies of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, seated on a Throne having in one hand, a Globe, and in the other, a Sword, surrounded by all the Grandees of the, Empire, doing him homage. At the bottom of the said Piece of Tapestry, there may be read certain Verses in *Gothick* characters: And the upper part of the Scaffold is full of Books in the *Latin*, *French*, *Italian*, high *German*, *English*, and other *European* Languages. There are also some Treatises upon the subject of Navigation, together with two Globes, the Celestial, and the Terrestrial, and some Geographical Maps drawn upon Velom: whence it may be conjectur'd, that they were all taken at Sea, by some *Turkish* Pirate, and sent as a Present to the Grand Seignor. But not being carefully look'd after, the dust has quite spoyl'd both the Tapestry, and the Books,

Books, and so they remain there as a Monument of some Victory gain'd over the Christians.

A remarkable Story of the Bassa Rustan.

The Fourth Chamber of the Treasury is very dark, and has no other light than what it receives from a little Garret-Window, which looks into the Court, and has three strong Iron-bars, one over the other. Over the Door, there are these words Engrav'd in the *Turkish*-Language; *Money acquired by the Diligence of* Rustan. Take here an account of what occasions this Monument, which they were pleas'd to Erect, to perpetuate the memory of a Grand *Visir*, as I have been told it, by several Persons in *Constantinople*. He was the Son of a Cow-keeper, and had followed the same Employment himself: but he had a Genius that might become a Person of the highest Extraction, and which raised him to the Charge of Grand *Visir*, and the Honour of being Son-in-law to *Solyman*. He had many traverses of Fortune, and was for some time out of Favour: but in fine, *Solyman*, who had great Affairs to manage, and was engaged in a War with *Persia*, coming to a little indigency of Money, sent for *Rustan*, and bestowed on him the Superintendency of his Revenues. He knew him to be a Man of great Abilities, and capable of putting them, in a short time, into a good posture; and accordingly his pains and diligence in the management thereof proved so successful, that he presently fill'd *Solymon's* Coffers, and re-establish'd the Affairs of the Empire.

The Heroick Sentiment of a Turk.

Upon which occasion I shall here set down a thing which is still fresh in the remembrance of many *Turks*, who receiv'd it from their Fathers. The *Turks* have so great a zeal for the welfare of the State, that one of the Grandees of the Port, an Enemy of *Rustans*, and one, who, upon other occasions, would gladly have ruin'd him, protested to one of his Confidents, That, though it were in his power to do him an ill turn, yet he would not do it then, because he had, by his Industrey and Labours, upheld the State, which he retriv'd from the Precipice of destruction, and was in a fair way to make a considerable augmentation of its Revenues. This generous and heriock Sentiment in the Soul of a *Turk*, who at his first rise was but a simple Slave, would meet with but few Examples amongst *Christians*.

But, to reassume our discourse concerning the Fourth Chamber of the Treasury. It is full of Chests of two foot in length, and a breadth and depth proportionable thereto, fortify'd with plates of Iron, and made fast, each of 'em, with two Chains. The number of them is not always the same, because the Money is coming in, and going out of that Chamber, and the Coffers are transported thence according to the occurrent exigencies, for the payment of the *Janizaries*, and the maintenance of the Armies.

The principal Sources of the Wealth of the Empire.

All the Gold and Silver which is brought into the Treasury rises out of the Revenues of the Empire, and out of the Sale of what Goods the *Bassa's* leave at their departure out of this World. As to what is rais'd out of the Empire, which dilates it self so far into the three parts of our great Continent, and comprehends so many Kingdoms, it may be easily imagin'd, that it must supply the Treasury with vast Sums; but it is not easie so to ascertain them. Its revenues consist principally in the collection of the Tributes, and in the Customs: and the three *Tefterdars*, or Treasurers-General, give an account to the Grand *Vizir* of the Receipts of the Provinces. That Principal Minister has the custody of one Key of that fourth Chamber of the Treasury, and the first *Tefterdar* has that of another, and besides that, it is always seal'd with the Grand Seignors Seal. It is ordinarily open'd, but upon those days, on which the *Divan* sits, that is, on Council-days, either for the reception of Money into it, or for the taking of any out, to defray the Charges of the Empire.

What is so receiv'd into it is for the most part in Silver; and as to the Species of Gold Coins that are brought into that Chamber, they come from four Sources, two whereof are upon a Foreign account, and the other two upon that of the Countrey. One of the two former consists in the Commerce of the *French*, *Englishs*, *Dutch*, *Italians*, *Moscovites*, and *Polanders*, who bring in *Ducats* out of those Provinces. The other is the annual Tribute, which the *Cham* of the Lesser *Tartary*, the Princes of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, the Republick of *Ragusa*, and part of *Mingrelia* and *Russia*, are to pay the Grand Seignor in Gold, which amounts to very great Sums. One of the two Sources of the Country poceeds from what is found upon the

the removal of the *Bassa's*, whereof the very coined Gold makes the best part; the other from the Revenue of *Egypt*, where there is an annual coinage of a certain number of *Sequins*, according to the quantity of Gold, which is brought thither out of *Ethiopia*, and being coin'd into *Sequins*, is all convey'd thence into the Treasury.

The Revenue of *Egypt* may amount yearly to twelve millions of Livers, (that is, about one million and two hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*) which must be divided into three parts. Five millions of the twelve, are brought into the Grand Seignor's Treasury. Four millions of the foresaid Sum, are employ'd in the maintenance of the Officers and Souldiers of that Kingdom: And the other three are design'd for the rich Present, which the Grand Seignor sends every year to *Mecha*, for the Expences which relates to Religious Worship, and to fill the Cisterns of *Arabia*, which are supply'd with Water, brought by Land, many days Journeys. *The Revenues of Egypt how employ'd.*

Of the five Millions Which are brought into the Seraglio, the greatest part is in *Sequins*, according to the quantity of Gold, which the *Abyssines* bring into *Egypt*, and the rest in *Dutch Rix-Dollars*. All is brought together into the Coffers of the fourth Chamber of the Publick Treasury. But as to the *Sequins* they are carried into the Secret Treasury, which it is time for us now to open, and give the Reader an account of according to the description which has been made to me thereof, by two men whom their Employments oblig'd to enter into it often.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Secret Treasury.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

A Vault under ground, into which few Persons have access. The great frugality of the Emperour Amurat. Ibrahim *his Successor, charg'd with evil Conduct. The Grand Seignor's precautions for the security of his Treasure. His Liberalities to the Grandees of the Port.*

WIthin the fourth Chamber of the Treasury, you find a door laid all about with good store of Iron-bars which opens the first passage, to the place that contains the Grand Seignor's Secret Treasure. It is never open'd, but when he himself has a mind to enter into it; and he do's not enter into it but when the Grand *Vizir* advertises him, that it is time for him to do so, and that there is a considerable Sum to be carried in. In the first place, by the light of Torches they go down a Stair-Case of ten or twelve steps, at the bottom of which, after an advancement of seven or eight paces further, they find a second Door, fortify'd with Iron-work as the former, but much less, so that a man is oblig'd to stoop ere he go into it. When it is open'd, and that they have made their entrance through it, as if they had pass'd through a Wicket, they are under a great Vault, where they find a great many Coffers, of the same largeness, as those of the Chamber we came last out of. *A Vault under ground, into which few have access.*

In

The great frugality of the Emperour Amurat.

In those Coffers they have, for these many years, laid up all that was not expended upon the Publick account, of the great Revenues of the *Ottoman*-Monarchs, and so it may be call'd his Private Exchequer, into which there is nothing but Gold has entrance, all the Silver being carried into the other Treasury, to be thence taken out again and dispos'd of, as occasion requir'd. After the death of *Amurat*, *Ibrahim*, his Successor in the Throne, found in that Treasury four thousand Bags, which they call *Kizes*, and every bag contains fifteen thousand *Ducats* of Gold, which amount to thirty thousand *Crowns*, and those reduc'd to our Pounds, come to thirty Millions *Sterling*. 'Twas the same *Amurat* (a prudent and valiant Prince, a man of great Parsimony, and as great conduct in Military Affairs, of whom I have often had occasion to make mention) who enter'd into a War against the King of *Persia*, and besieg'd *Bagdet*, or *Babylon*, which he took on the Twenty Second of *December*, 1638. I remember, that I was then but Five Days Journey from that place, in the Deserts of *Arabia*, as having left *Aleppo*, in order to my going to *Balsara*, and that of the Threescore and five daves, which the Caravan spent in that Journey, for nine of them, we were destitute of Water, which must needs press very hard, both on the Men and the Camels.

Ibrahim *charg'd with ill management of the Treasury.*

Ibrahim, therefore, at his coming to the Crown, found, in the secret Treasury, that prodigious quantity of Gold, whereto he could not make any augmentations; nay some, on the contrary, are of opinion, That he was forc'd to use some part of it, through his ill Conduct of the Warr of *Candia*. True it is, That the long continuance of that Warre made a great hole in the Revenues of the Empire; but there are Two great Reasons, which divert me from giving absolute credit, to such as affirm, That those Exigencies reach'd the Secret Treasury. For, in short, it is as 'twere a fundamental Law among them, That, before any thing is taking out thence, it is requisite, the Empire should be in imminent danger of ruine; And it is manifest, That though the *Turks* could not reduce *Candia* under their Jurisdiction, yet their Empire was so far from being near its decadence, that it still continu'd powerful. Besides, it is to be observ'd, That when the Grand Seignor loses a Battel, it is a disadvantage to his provinces, upon the score of their being thereby depopulated, and so much the less cultivated; but that it is an advantage to his Coffers, in regard there's so much the less comes out of them. The reason of it is evident, because he pays the Veteranes, or Souldiers of long standing, seven or eight *Aspers* a day, and that those of the new-rais'd Forces do not stand him in above one and a half, or two at the most; their pay augmenting with the time, answerably to their services, and the Prince's good Pleasure. Whereto it is to be added, That when an Emperour dies, his Successor augments the pay of the *Janizaries*, by an *Asper*, or two, *per diem*.

It must be acknowledg'd indeed, That there died a great number of *Turks* in the Warr of *Candia*: but it is certain also, That if we consider the great number of Kingdoms and Provinces, whereof the Empire consists, among which there are some very fertile, and very well peopled, it is an easie matter to raise numerous Armies, and to recruit them, when they have been weakned, by a Defeat, or by some Sickness, which often happens among them. Upon these two grounds, I cannot be induced to believe, that *Ibrahim* was oblig'd to make any diminution of the Secret Treasury: but I am very apt to believe, that he made not any great additions thereto, because he had not either the good Conduct, or good Fortune of *Amurat*, and ordinarily, the one avails not much without the other.

All the Gold that lies interr'd under that Vault is in Leather-bags, every Bag containing Fifteen thousand *Ducats*, that is Seven thousand five hundred pounds *Sterling*: and 'tis with his own hand that the Grand Seignor puts his Seal to them, which is the same that his Predecessors had us'd before him, save only the name, which must be that of the Prince then reigning. *Amurat's* Seal had these words graven upon it. *Nasrum min allahi abdihi melekil Mourath.* Which signifies, *The Assistance of God is upon his Servant the Emperour* Amurath.

The Grand Seignor's Precautions for the security of his Treasury.

And this is the manner how the Bags of Gold is brought into the Secret Treasury. All the Gold and Silver which come into the Seraglio, is first carried into the

the Chamber of the Treasury, and each of them is dispos'd into the Coffers design'd for them. When there is as much Gold as will amount to two hundred *Kizes*, the Grand *Vizir* gives notice of it to the Grand Seignor, who appoints a day, for the disposal of it into the Secret Treasury. The day being come, the Grand Seignor, led under the Arm by the *Chasnadar-bachi*, who is on the left hand; which is accounted the more honourable amongst the *Turks*, and by the *Seligdar-Aga* who is on the right, comes into the Chamber of the Treasury, where the Sixty Pages expect him, ranked in order on both sides, with their hands cross their Breasts. The Grand Seignor, having pass'd through the Chamber, and order'd the first Door of the Secret Treasury to be open'd, enters into it, by the light of several Torches of white Wax, and is followed by the Pages, two by two, till they are within the Vault, into which the Bags are brought, ty'd with a Silk-string. Upon the string they put a piece of red soft Wax, whereto the Grand Seignor sets his Seal himself, which is upon a Gold-Ring, wherein are engraven the words before mentioned, with the name of the Prince then reigning, after which they put the Bags into the Coffers which are all double chain'd.

Before they come out of the Vault, the chief Officer of the Treasury, does ordinarily make this Complement to the Grand Seignor; *Seadetlu padicham cumûl dur quibon bendelerignus euzre ibsan eberifgnus izhar idesis*: That is to say, *My Emperour, we hope, that you will make a discovery of your Liberalities to your Slaves.* According to the humour the Grand Seignor is then in, he orders, That there should be a distribution of Twenty or Thirty Purses amongst all those who have accompany'd him, every Purse, as I told you before amounting to Five hundred Crowns. The Grand *Vizir* and the other Grandees of the Port, are permitted to enter into the Chambers of the Treasury, where the sumptous Harnesses, and the Precious Stones are kept, when the Grand Seignor comes thither himself, but they are not to go as far as the Secret Treasury. They stay for him in the Fourth Chamber, when he is to come out of the Vault and then he orders the Coffer of his Jewels to be opened, to shew them the most precious things there are in it. And whereas there are always some Favourites attending there, as also divers other persons, whom the Prince looks upon kindly upon the score of their merit, it seldom happens, but that they all receive some Present or other from him, and he makes not any, but what is of very considerable value. The Treasury being shut up, the Grand Seignor returns to his own Quarter, and all the Grandees accompany him to the Gate of it.

His Liberalities to the Grandees of the Port.

CHAP. X.

Of the Means which the Grand Seignor makes use of, to augment his Treasures, besides what is done by the ordinary Revenues of the Empire.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The Presents made by the Bassa's to the Grand Seignor, when they enter into their Charges. The Trade driven by the Jews *very hazardous to them. The extraordinary Wealth of the Bassa's. The great Advantages of the* Chaznadar-Bachi, *and the Pages of the Treasury. The prohibition of lending Money upon Interest. The* Persians *but poor Casuists. Formalities observed in* Turkey *about Schedules.*

BEsides what may be left every Year in the Treasury, or Exchequer, out of the ordinary Revenues of the Empire, after all charges deducted, the Grand Seignor has Two other Expedients very Conducive to the augmentation of both the Treasuries, to wit, the entrance of the *Bassa's* upon their Governments, and their removal out of them, whether it be by some disgrace, or by their natural, or violent deaths.

The Bassas *Presents to the* Grand Seignor, *upon their advancements.*

All the *Bassa's*, on whom the Grand Seignor bestowes Governments, and generally all those, who are remov'd out of the Seraglio, upon their advancement into Charges, are oblig'd, before they take possession of them, to make him Presents, every one, answerable to the benefit he has receiv'd from the Prince. For example, the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, assoon as ever he is nominated to that Government, knows, that two Millions of Livers, that is reduc'd to the *English* account, two hundred thousand pounds *sterling*, will hardly make good the Presents, which are expected from him at the Port, that is, those due to the *Grand Seignor* himself, and to the principal *Sultanesses*, as also to the *Mufti*, the *Grand Vizir*, the *Caimacan*, and other Persons of Credit in the Court to whom he is ingag'd for his advancement to that Charge, and of whom he may stand in need for the future. The Present he makes the Grand Seignor himself, amounts to Five hundred thousand Crowns, and the rest will come to Two hundred thousand. Add again to that, Five hundred thousand Crowns, which will be expended in the *Bassa's* equipage, and so before he sets his foot in *Cairo*, his own Purse, or those of his Friends, will be drain'd of Three Millons and six hundred thousand Livers.

The hazardous Trade of the Jews.

When he comes out of the Seraglio, if he want much of the aforesaid Summe, there is a necessity of borrowing; and if the purse of his Friends cannot do it, those of the *Jewes* are readily open'd for his supply. They run a great hazard, upon hopes of the great profit of makeing *Cent. per Cent.* interest which the *Bassa* does promise them. And to be the sooner reimburs'd of the Money they have so hazarded, least his Government be but a short one, they teach him a thousand

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leu'l wayes, to ſuck out the Peoples blood, and particulary to haraſs the poor *Chriſtians*. If the *Baſſa's* can but quietly enjoy their Governments, for one year, nay for ſix Months, the *Jews* make a good hand of it, and recover the Summs they had advanc'd. But, on the other ſide, they run a great hazard in regard that it happens, many times, the Grand Seignor ſends for the head of a *Baſſa*, before he has had time enough to ſettle himſelf in his new Government, and then, they who have lent him Money are not to hope ever to recover any part of it.

From what has been ſaid, it may eaſily be concluded, That the greateſt part of the Money of the whole *Ottoman* Empire is in the Grand Seignor's hands, and among the *Jews*; I mean the *Jews* of *Conſtantinople*. For as to thoſe who live in the Provinces, the world goes but ill with them, and they are in a much more wretched condition, than the *Chriſtians*; in regard they do not follow any thing of Husbandry: and their inclinations being altogether bent for Traffick, and the management of the publick Taxes or the Cuſtoms, 'tis impoſſible there ſhould be employment for them all.

The extraordinary Wealth of the Baſſa's.

The Grand Seignor therefore receives very conſiderable Summs from the Baſſa's, and other perſons, on whom he beſtows Charges, even before they have taken poſſeſſion of them. But that amounts to little or nothing in compariſon of the advantages which he makes, upon their removal out of them, and eſpecially when they have had a fair time to gather Treaſures, by their inſupportable exactions from the people. Some of theſe Baſſa's have come to that exceſſive Wealth and Power, that their Revenues were equal to thoſe of many great Princes. Such was the fortune of one *Machmut*, *Beglierbeg* of *Europe*, under the Reign of *Mahomet* the Second; and that, of the Grand *Vizir Nuſſuf*, under *Achmet* the Firſt. At the death of the latter, there were extraordinary Riches found in his Houſe, in Silver, Gold, and Jewels, and all was brought to the Seraglio, along with his head.

It may eaſily be conjectur'd, by the number of the greater and leſſer Governments, whereof the Empire conſiſts, that there is a conſiderable mortality amongſt thoſe, who derive their Charges and Fortunes from the pure Munificence of the Grand Seignor, and whoſe acquiſitions thereupon falling to him, muſt of neceſſity make vaſt additionals to the Seraglio. But beſides thoſe who are gently convey'd out of this World, by a natural death, there hardly paſſes a year but, violent death comes and acts its part, and upon the leaſt jealouſie, or any fantaſtick apprehenſion the Grand Seignor may have, a Baſſa receives a peremptory Order to ſtretch out his Neck, and he is immediately ſtrangled. In the next Chapter, I ſhall give the Reader an Account, of the formality and ceremony, which is obſerv'd upon that occaſion, where he will find ſomewhat worth his remarking; and I think I may confidently affirm, That they who know it is the cuſtome, to ſtrangle thoſe, whoſe Lives the Grand Seignor would take away, know not all the Particulars obſervable in that Action.

The Baſſa's Goods brought into the Seraglio.

Aſſoon as a Baſſa, or other Grandee of the Port is dead, howe're it came to paſs, and an Inventory of his Goods taken, of which by the Laws of the Country the Prince is the only Heir, all is carried away into the Seraglio, and the *Baltagis* bring it in Coffers to the Door of the Treaſury. The *Chaſnadar-bachi*, having diſpos'd them into one of the Chambers, Commands the Locks to be broke open, and the Coffers to be emptied in his preſence; And 'tis then, that as well he himſelf, as the Pages of the Treaſury endeavour to make their advantages of that Rich Booty. For there being ordinarily, amongſt the other things, Jewels of great value, ſuch as that wherein the Heron-tops are faſten'd in their Turbants, or a Ponyard enrich'd with precious Stones, or ſome Carcanet of Pearls, if one or other of thoſe Pages can make a dexterous and clean conveyance of ſome Piece, 'tis his own and he puts it to what elſe he has in ſtock, reflecting on what he has to do, at his departure out of the Seraglio, in order to his eſtabliſhment in ſome Charge, and the great Expences he muſt be at upon that account. The *Chaſnadar-bachi*, who does his work firſt of all, and with more liberty, does ſometimes connive at what he ſees done by the others, remembring that he has been as they are, and was then glad, that he was not reprov'd for ſo doing. Yet if he perceives that any one of them has ſecur'd to himſelf a piece of great value, aſſoon as he is got to his Chamber, he ſecretly ſends for him, and makes him reſtore it, paying him one half of its worth, and ſo keeps it himſelf.

The great advantages of the Chasnadar-bachi, and the Pages of the Treasury.

There are yet other great advantages accrewing to the Chief Officer, and the Pages, from those things which are brought into the Seraglio, upon the death of the Bassa's. When the *Chasnadar-bachi* has advertis'd the Grand Seignor, that, in the Coffers, which had been brought in, there were many things not fit for the Service of his Highness, and that it were better to put them off, before they were injur'd by the moisture or the dust; the Prince gives his permission for the sale thereof, and therupon they take out of the Treasury what they do not account worthy of a place there. Immediatedly, they send for the *Bazarcan-bachi*, or Chief of the Merchants, who is the best skill'd in those things, and who, in the presence of the *Chasnadar-bachi*, and the Pages of the Treasury, sets a value on every piece, to their satisfaction; for he does not prize it at above half the worth. All the Jewels that will bear a good price, and all the precious stones are dispos'd into the Treasury, and they expose to sale only things of less value, yet such as are worth much: as Trappings for Horses, Ponyards, Sabres, garnish'd with Gold, Garments, rich Furres, Satches, Turbants, and other things of that nature; all the pieces being valued, the *Chasnadar-bachi* sets aside the best of them, to be sent, together with the value set upon them, to the principal persons of the Seraglio, with whom he is glad to hold a fair correspondence, and they pay for them the more willingly, because they have them at an easie rate. The rest is distributed among the Pages, according to the valuation, and having made choice of such things as they will keep themselves, send away what they do not like, to be sold in *Constantinople*, by the *Halvagis*, wherein they also make a vast advantage, considering the apprisement; not accounting what the same *Halvagis* may hedge in for themselves, as a compensation for their trouble.

When there is such a sale made, the *Jews* are always waiting about the great Gate of the Seraglio, not daring to come too near, for fear of a chastisement of the Bastinado from the *Kapigis*, which they are very free to give them. They stand in expectation of these *Halvagis*, with their bags full of Ducats and Ryals, and make the best bargains they can with them. These sales are seldome made above once in two years, and the least of them does ordinarily exceed five hundred thousand Crowns, nay some have amounted to eight hundred Thousand. The Grand Seignor is soon advertis'd, what money has been rais'd by the sale, and giving orders for the disposal of it into the Treasury, he at the same time bestows ten or twenty Purses on the principal Officer, and the Pages of the Treasury. He does not make them that Present out of any other design, then to shew his Grandeur, as being not ignorant of the advantages they have made by the Sale; but he tolerates that custome, and knows well enough, that sooner or later, all those profits will come again into the Treasury.

The prohibition to lend at Interest.

'Tis upon the same consideration, that the Grand Seignor permits a manifest breach of the Law of *Mahomet*, which prohibits the taking of any interest for money lent; for he suffers the Pages, and others to lend considerable sums to the *Jewes*, at the rate of fifteen upon the hundred, interest. And the *Persians* have found out a very pleasant evasion, to stave off the reproach which might be made to them, of their transgressing against the same prohibition.

The Persians ill Casuists.

The evasion is this. When they lend out mony to any one, they have a Bill or Schedule made of the sum that's lent. Then they compute what the interest will amount to, which is commonly after the rate of twelve in the Hundred. That done; they take a handkerchief, or some old Satche, and giving it to the Person whom they lend the money to, they make him write a second Note, upon the score of the interest, wherein it is expresst, that the debt is for commodities bought, and duly receiv'd. And thus do they think to elude the reproaches of their own Consciencies, and imagine, that they do not offend against the prohibition of *Mahomet*. The promise which the Debtor makes in writing, is not sign'd by him, it being not the custom of the Countrey, but he puts his seal to it. And yet that too is not sufficient, and it is further requisite, that they go before the *Cadi*, or the Judge of the Law, who consummates the work, by putting his own Seal to the writing.

I have made appear, in this Chapter, the Means and Expedients, which the Grand Seignor makes use of, to augment his Revenues; we shall see in the next, the ways he has to exercise his Liberalities, without any charge at all to himself.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

A Subtle Expedient, whereby the Grand Seignor exercises great Liberalities, and meddles not at all with his Revenues.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The Commendable Policy of the Turks. *The Ceremonies attending the Presents sent by the Grand Seignor, to those whom he would honour. The particular way us'd by* Mahomet *the Fourth, to shew himself liberal, without any charge to himself. Formalities observ'd at the Death of the Bassa's, who are strangled by the Prince's Orders. When, and how they strike off the Head in* Turkey. *A prohibition against shedding the blood of the* Mahumetans, *who are condemn'd to Death. The Inventories of the Goods of Bassa's deceas'd, not faithfully taken. The Causes inducing the* Turks *to defie Death with so much constancy. How difficult it is to get out of* Turkey. *Presents made to the* Sultanesses.

THE Two expedients which the Grand Seignor makes use of to augment his Treasury, besides what comes in by the ordinary revenues of the Empire, are much of the same nature, with those he uses, to bestow great largesses, without disbursing any thing himself. He makes his advantages of all; the *Bassa's* are as so many spunges, and he squeezes them, as well while they are living, as when they are dead, and at their cost assigns recompence to those, who have done him some acceptable service. Let us take things in order, one after another, and shew in the first place, how he manages his subtle design, while the *Bassa's* are living, in getting out of them wherewithall to make ample gratifications, without any diminution of his Revenues.

Amongst the Political maximes of the *Ottoman* Monarchs, this is one of the most remarkable. They would have the *Bassa's* to be respected in their several Governments, by the People, as much as if they were there themselves in Person: and to make a greater, and a more lively impression of that veneration in their minds, they think it fitting, to honour them, from time to time, with some Present, which is carried to them with much Ceremony. This Present, which is a certain demonstration of the Esteem, which the Prince has for the Person to whom he sends it, is commonly some Rich Garment; and when he is willing to make it compleat, he adds the Sabre, and the Ponyard, garnish'd and adorn'd with precious stones. The Grand Seignor, upon the consideration before-mention-ed, finding himself as it were oblig'd to make a Present to that *Bassa*, knowes well enough, that he will be sure, on the other side, to send him one which shall be worth ten times as much, and to make another to his Envoy, which he must look on as a recompence of his Services.

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This Present is receiv'd with great demonstrations of joy, real, or apparent; the person, to whom it is brought, is immediately to take order for the sending back of another, much exceeding it in value, to the Grand Seignor. And that consists ordinarily in excellent Horses, good pieces of Gold-Brocado, or rich Furrs. But his work is yet not half over; there must be much more done for him, through whose hands he has receiv'd the Present, and he scapes very well, when, not accounting what he sends to the Grand Seignor, the carriage of it costs him but Ten thousand Crowns. Nay many times, he is forc'd to double the Sum, when he has not been so liberal, as the Prince expected he should have been; for he presently dispatches away an Officer, to reproach him with the slender account he has made of his Present, and the small recompence he had receiv'd, whom he had employ'd to bring it him. To these reproaches he sends him an expres Order, to make an additional Reward of Twenty or thirty Purses, which is immediately put in execution: and as to the Present which the Grand Seingor has receiv'd, he commonly makes a distribution of it, amongst those, who are then about him.

And these are the Advantages which the Grand Seignor screws out of the *Bassa's*, and other Grandees of the Port, whilst they are alive. Let us now consider those which accrew to him by their death, in order to the recompensing of those, whom he favours, without being oblig'd to take any thing out of his Coffers. When the death of a *Bassa* is resolv'd upon, the Grand Seignor delivers the Commission to him, whom he has design'd to be kind to; and he finds it much more advantagous, to bring him the Sentence of his death, than to bring him a Present from the Prince.

Formalities observ'd at the death of the Bassa's, who are strangled by the Princes Orders.

If the Execution is to be done in *Constantinople* the ordinary Executioner is the *Bostangi bachi*, who is alwaies about the Grand Seignor's Person, and he himself does the Work. But if there be a necessity of going into some remote Province, 'tis commonly either a *Capigi-bachi*, or one of the principal *Bostangis*, whom the Prince has a mind to shew his kindness to, who is sent to perform the Execution. He who carries the Order, accompany'd by five or six *Capigis*, sometimes manages his Affairs so, as to arrive at the place, while the Council is sitting. But if that cannot be so order'd, he goes to the *Bassa*, and commands him in the *Grand Seignor's* name, to call one immediately. That Council consists of the *Bassa's* Lieutenant, the *Mufti*, the *Cadi*, the chief Commander of the *Janizaries* belonging to that place, and some other persons concern'd in the administration of Justice, who are of the most considerable of the Province.

The Council being assembled, the *Capigi-bachi* enters, attended by his people, and presents the *Bassa* with the *Grand Seignor's* Letter. He recives it with great respect, and having put it three several times to his forehead, he opens it, reads it and finds that the Prince demands his head. He makes no other answer to that Order, then what he does in these few words; *Let the Will*, says he *of my Emperour be done: onely give me leave to say my Prayers* which is granted him. His Prayers being ended, the *Capigis* seize him by the Arms and the chief of them presently takes off his Girdle or Sasche, and cast it about his Neck. That Girdle consists of several small strings of Silk, with knots at both ends, which two of the company immediately catch hold of, one drawing one way, and the other, t'other-way they dispatch him in an instant.

If they are unwilling to make use of their Girdle they take a handkerchief, and with the Ring which they use, in the bending of their Bowes, and which they ordinarily wear on the right-hand Thumb, they thrust the hand between the handkerchief, which is ty'd very close, and the Throat, and so break the very Throat-Bone. Thus they make a shift to strangle a man in an instant, suffering him not to languish in pain, that he may dye a faithful *Mahumetan*, and not have the time to enter into despair; the *Turks* thinking our way of hanging Criminals, who are so long in torment upon the Gibbet a strange kind of Execution.

When and how they strike off the Head in Turkey.

Though I have often us'd this expression, That the *Grand Seignor* sends to demand the Head of any person, whom he would rid out of the way; yet they never cut it off, but when he expresly declares his desire to see it, and then it is brought to him. If it be from some place at a great distance, they take out the Brains, and fill the empty place with Hay; and it was my fortune to see two

Heads

Heads so order'd at the same time, which they carried in a Bag. They were the Heads of the Bassa's of *Kars*, and *Erzerom*.

It is further to be observ'd, That when the Sentence of Death is pass'd by the Prince against any one, what quality soever he may be of, the *Turks* make no further Account of him; and when they speak of him, treat him no otherwise than they would do a Dog. The *Bostangi*, who had been commissionated to bring those two Heads to the Grand Seignor, finding himself weary, and indispos'd at a Village, in *Armenia*, where it was my chance to be at that time, and having understood that there was a *French*-man in the Inne, asked one of my Servants whether I had any wine, and would be content to let him have any, to cheer up his Spirits. I immediately sent him some in a large Flaggon; whereupon having intreated me to come and take a Glass with him, which I thought it not fit to deny, he would needs shew me, whether I would or no, the Heads of those two *Bassa's*; a sight I had no great curiosity to see.

A Prohibition against shedding the blood of the Mahumetans who are condemn'd to death.

When there is no order given for the bringing of the Head, they bury the Body about Mid-night, without any ceremony, and the memory of the *Bassa*, who had made so much noise before, is soon extinguish'd and laid in the dust. But it is moreover to be noted, That it is the Custome in *Turkey*, not to cut off the Head of any one, till after they have strangled him, and that the blood is quite cold; it being against their Law, That the blood of a *Mussulman* (that is, one of the Faithful) should be spilt, upon any occasion, but in Warr.

The Inventories of the Goods of Bassa's deceas'd, not faithfully taken.

The execution being over, he who brought the Order for it, makes an immediate Seizure of all that belong'd to the deceas'd *Bassa*; and after he has set aside what he liked best for his own use, whether in Gold or Jewels, he brings the same persons, who had been at the precedent Council, to proceed to the Inventory of his Goods, which are afterwards, as I have said elsewhere, transmitted to the Chambers of the Treasury. They who assist at the taking of that Inventory, know well enough, that many things, which belong'd to the deceas'd, are embezill'd but they are so far from repining or murmuring at it, that they sign and attest, that there was not any more found. They are afraid, if they demean'd themselves otherwise, least that Officer of the Seraglio, whom the Grand Seignor has sent, and who possibly is in favour, should do them ill offices at the Court, and spread some false report of them; whence, according to the Example they have then before their eyes, might happen, in like manner, the loss of their Charges, and Lives.

They therefore think it prudence, to connive at what ever is done by that Envoy, as being otherwise perswaded, that he will not be disown'd by the Grand Seignor, who is not ignorant of what's done upon those occasions. Nay on the contrary, and whatever he may have dextrously secured to himself of the *Bassa's* Goods, they make him some additional Presents of their own, at his own departure from them, engaging him thereby, to speak well of them to the Grand Seignor, and to the Grand *Vizir*, at his return to the Port. And then also, not accounting what he had taken before-hand, and what Custom tolerates, he receives new marks of the Liberality of his Prince, who is satisfy'd that he has so faithfully executed his Orders and so he participates of what is set down in the Inventory, when the *Bassa's* Goods are brought into the Seraglio.

The causes inducing the Turks to defie Death with so much Constancy.

Some possibly, will be apt to imagine, that this Sentence of Death pass'd in the Grand Seignor's Letter, should raise some disturbance and astonishment in the Soul of him who reads it, and who reading therein his own Condemnation, knows that it must be immediately executed. Yet is it not apparent in his Countenance, that he is much startled at it, he is not surpriz'd therewith, he sees that few of his Companions escape the same fate, and he has dispos'd himself for such an end, assoon as he first took possession of his Charge. Besides, the *Turks* have a strong perswasion, That the Decrees of Predestination are irrevocable, and that it is impossible to avoid them; which makes them look Death in the face, with such a degree of constancy and interepity, as render them in a manner insensible. To which reflection we may adde this, That that ready and implicite obedience and submission of the *Turks*, to the Orders of their Sovereign, is rather a principle of Religion, than of State, which has been instill'd into them, by a most subtle piece of Politicks; and they believe, That, if they dye by the Command of their Prince, they go straight into Paridise.

As

As for the opportunity of making an escape out of *Turkey*, by any one who might have some preadvisement of his destruction, it is to no purpose to think of it. All the Officers and the Slaves, whom the Bassa's have in their Retinue, are so many Spies, and observers of their Actions; and it is impossible for them, to conceal what they doe from them. Twere dangerous for a man to entrust a Secret with any one of them; they are mean Souls, and uncapable of any gallant Action, besides that the Ports and Passages are equally shut up against both. If there be the least discovery made thereof, the Governour of the Frontier places would immediately have Orders from the Port, to take the Field; nay if there were not any such, they are but over-diligent, in enquiring after, and informing themselves of all those, who pass through the extent of their Jurisdiction. *The Difficulties of making an escape out of Turkey.*

Besides, though there were some likelihood of compassing it, and that, travelling only in the Night time a man might get into some Neighbouring State; yet *Turkey* being in a manner quite surrounded by Nations who abhor the Domination of the *Ottomans*; 'twere as much as to leap out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, and to go and pass for a Spy, amongst a sort of people, who would give no quarter. Whence it might be imagin'd, that there were less difficulty in attempting an escape by Sea, than to hazard it by Land: but the former is the much more difficult, and the severe prohibitions made to the *Christians*, upon pain of death, not to take any *Turk* or Slave, into their Ships, which are exactly search'd, before they weigh Anchor, shut up all the Ports of *Turkey*, against those of the Country, who might be desirous to get out of it.

True it is, however, that few years pass, but that a considerable number of Slaves are convey'd away, by the charity and contrivances of the *Christian* Consuls, and Merchants. They are secretly kept at the Houses of some *Christian* Inhabitants of the Country, whose Secrecy and silence are bought with Money; and the same receipt stops the mouths of those, who have the over-sight of the Ports, and are warmly entertain'd with drinking, while thy cunningly get the Slaves aboard the Vessel, which has been visited, and is then ready to set sail. They would be loath to run themselves into that danger for natural *Turks*: there would be some ground to fear, that it might be some Plot on their side, to surprize and try the *Christians*; and it seldom happens that they have a thought of making any escape. They know well enough, that, whether it be by Sea, or Land, (excepting only the Kingdom of *Persia*, where they are hated upon the account of the difference of Sects) they cannot make their escape any where but into Christendom, where they would not be permitted the exercise of their *Mahumetan* Religion, which they would not renounce for a thousand lives.

E're we close up the Discourse concerning the Liberality of the *Ottoman* Monarchs, it is to be observ'd, that sometimes they make very considerable Presents, which they take out of the Grand Treasury, and which are paid in Silver only, if they are order'd for the Grandees of the Port, whether in the Seraglio, or out of it. Those Presents consists ordinarily of a Purse of Gold, which amounts to Fifteen thousand *Ducats*, or Thirty thousand *Crowns*; and when there are any such made to the *Sultanesses*, they receive all in Gold. To do that, there's no occasion of going to the Secret Treasury, there is gold enough in the Fourth Chamber, into which they at first bring in all the Gold and Silver of all the Revenues of the Empire; and that Summe, which makes no great hole in the great heap, returns again into the same place, by several waies. *Presents made to the Sultanesses.*

CHAP. XII.

Of the Present, which the Grand Seignor sends every Year to *Mecha*.

THE PRNCIPAL HEADS.

The third part of the Revenue of Egypt, *how employ'd. The great Wealth of the* Sheck *of* Mecha. *Ceremonies observ'd at* Mahomet's *Tomb. The Caravan of* Cairo. *The Present sent from* Mecha *to the Great* Mogul. *The Opinion of the* Mahumetans, *concerning* Mecha *and* Medina.

THAT I make here a particular Chapter of the Present, which the Grand Seignor sends every Year to *Mecha*, is occasion'd by this third part of the Revenue of *Egypt*, which is peculiarly design'd for it; and upon this Consideration withall, That I have singular Remarks to make upon that subject.

The third part of the Revenue of Egypt, how employ'd.

Three Millions of *Livers*, of Twelve, of annual Revenue, which the Kingdom of *Egypt* pays the *Grand Seignor*, are partly expended in the Rich Carpet, and the Sumptuous Tent, which he sends to the *Sheck*, every year, in honour to *Mahomet's* Tomb. Another part goes to the payment of those who serve in the Mosqueys; As for instance, the *Imans*, who are Priests; the *Chenchs*, who are their Preachers; the *Muezins*, who, by their noise on the Towers of the Mosqueys, call the people to their Devotions; and the *Karims* of *Mecha* and *Medina*, who look to, and keep clean the Mosqueys, and light the Lamps. We must also put into the Account of these Three Millions, the Sustenance of all the Pilgrims for the space of Seventeen dayes, the Grand Seignor sending, for that end, a sufficient Summe to the *Sheck*. This *Sheck*, who is, as 'twere the Supream Person upon the score of the Law, and the high Priest of all the *Mahumetans*, what Country and Sect soever they be of, makes the poor ignorant people believe, that there come every year to *Mecha*, Seventy thousand Pilgrims, Men and Women; and if that number were not compleat, the Angels would come in humane forms, to make it up.

The great Wealth of the Sheck of Mecha.

This Prince, whom we call the *Sheck*, for whom all the *Mahumetans* have a great Veneration, is very Rich, and very powerful, and that may be easily conjectur'd, by the Presents, which he receives every year from the Grand Seignor, and the other *Mahumetan* Princes. The Presents are all his own, to be dispos'd of as he pleases, at the end of the Year, when new ones are sent to him. He makes his advantage also of all the presents that are made by the Pilgrims, and of the Summes of Mony, which those very Princes send him, to be distributed in Alms, which he also disposes of as he pleases; and all these Presents put together, make him such a Revenue as is hardly imaginable. For *Mahumetisme* spreads very much into *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, and that much more then is commonly believ'd as I shall more distinctly make it appear, at the end of my Relation, in a particular Chapter, which I design for the handling of that matter.

From

From several Parts of the World, there come Caravans to *Mecha*, and when the Devotion is to begin, the High Priest, assisted by all the people belonging to the Law, spends night and day, in saying of Prayers, and performing the necessary Ceremonies. On the Seventh day, all the Pilgrims are assembled together before the *Sheck's* Tent, who appears at the entrance of it, and standing upon a low Stool, that he may be seen by those who are at the greatest distance from him, Prayes, and gives his Benediction to all the people, putting a period to the Devotion, with these words, *That God would enable them to return in Peace, as they came thither.* *Ceremonies observ'd at Mahomet's Tomb.*

From that minute, every one must bethink himself, that he is to be at his own charge; the *Sheck* gives no more, and 'tis then that he begins to make great advantage to himself. For whatever is sold for the Sustenance of the Pilgrims, comes from him; and besides, he holds a correspondence with the Masters of the Caravans, of whom the Pilgrims are fore'd to buy conveniences for their rideing back again, at more then three times the rate they are worth, when the Beasts they had brought out of their own Countries have fail'd them by the way.

The Caravan of *Cairo* is the most numerous, and the most considerable of all the Caravans, that come to *Mecha*. The *Caravan-bachi*, who is the Captain and Conductor of it, makes his gains by it, at his return, worth him Two hundred thousand Crowns; and there is a great competition about his place, which is at the disposal of the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, and commonly carried by the highest bidder for it. The Captain of this Caravan is also Master of the Waters, which are carried into the Cisterns, and it is according to his Orders that they are distributed; and whereas that distribution is equal, as well in Relation to the Poor, as to the Rich, if the latter would have any beyond the quantity allow'd them, they must pay dearly for it; and the Captain, who sets what imposition he pleases upon it, makes a considerable advantage thereby. *The Caravan of Cairo.*

But let us return to the Grand Seignor's Present. The Tent, and the Carpet, which he sends, are two Pieces equally precious, as well for the excellency of the Stuffe, as the additional embellishments hereof. The Carpet is design'd for the covering of *Mahomet's* Tomb; and the Tent, which is erected hard by the Mosquey, is for the *Sheck*, who does not stirr out of it, during the Seventeen dayes of Devotion. This high Priest of the *Mahumetan* Law, has found out the Secret knack, of extracting inexpressible Summs of Money, out of that Carpet and Tent, which are renew'd every year: and when the new Present is arriv'd from the Grand Seignor, he sends, as 'twere out of a singular favour, certain pieces of the Curtain of the old Tent, to several *Mahumetan* Princes, of whom he receives Magnificent Presents in requital. This Curtain, which is set up on the out-side of the Tent, quite round it, to hinder the people from seeing those that are under it, consists of several pieces, six foot high, and of a great length: and the *Sheck* endeavours to perswade those Princes, That if they fasten one of those pieces to their Tents, when they are going to engage in a War, against those whom they account Infidels, good fortune will be sure to attend them, and it will not be long e're they gain the Victory. But if he sends either the whole Curtain, or the Tent, or Carpet entire, it must be to a great Monarch indeed, such as the great *Cham* of *Tartary*, or the Great *Mogul*: and that he does, once in ten, or twelve years; one while to the one, and another, to the other. *The Present sent from Mecha to the Great Mogul.*

Of this we have a late instance, in *Aureng-zeb*, who at the present is King of the *Indies*, and whom we otherwise call the *Great Mogul*. For upon his establishment in his Throne, the *Sheck* sent him the whole Courtain belonging to the Tent; and great joy there was at his Court, that the King had receiv'd so Magnificent a Present, from the *Holy Place*, as they call it. The *Sheck* was soon after made sensible of the Royal Liberality of that Great Monarch, one of the Richest and most Powerful of the Universe; and thus does that Spiritual Head of the *Mahumetan* Religion, who has a kind of Superintendency over all the Members, know how to make his advantage of them, and has found out the way, to enrich himself, at the cost of all the Princes and Nations, who submit themselves to the *Mahumetan* Law.

I queſtion not, but that they who have writ of the Religion of the *Turks*, have given ſome account of the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*, which is one of the moſt eſſential parts thereof; and therefore, as well for that reaſon, as alſo for that I ſhould digreſs too much from my ſubject, I ought not to proſecute that matter any farther. I ſhall take occaſion here, to make three Remaks, which I have originally learnt of one of the moſt learned in the Rubricks of the *Mahumetan* Law.

The firſt is, that the *Turks*, by an ancient Tradition, believe, That *Mecha* is the place where God commanded *Abraham* to build him an houſe; and that while he was there, all Nations came thronging to viſit him: and that it is alſo the ſame place, where *Mahomet* receiv'd the Alcoran, from Heaven.

The ſecond relates to the Commandement impos'd upon all the *Mahometans*, to be, once in their lives, concern'd in the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*. For it is to be obſerv'd, That the obligation does not extend to the poorer ſort of people, who have hardly wherewithal to live upon, and would bring great miſery on their Families, by their abſence, as being not able to leave them what is requiſite for their ſuſtenance.

The third Remark is concerning the preference of the two Cities of *Mecha*, and *Medina*. The former is the place of *Mahomet*'s birth, which it was his deſign to honour, and make known, by that famous Pilgrimage, whereto he obliges all thoſe of his Law. The latter is the place of his Burial, of which there is abundance of fabulous relations. *Mahomet*, in his Alcoran, does only enjoyn their going to *Mecha*, where there are no other Relicks of that falſe Prophet, then one of his Sandalls: And the Doctors of the Law are alſo of opinion, that there is no obligation of going to *Medina*, and that without ſeeing that City, a man ſatisfies the Command of *Mahomet*. I ſhall treat at large of the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*, in the laſt Chapter of this Relation of my Travels, and of the different Roads by which the *Mahumetans* of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, are conducted to the Tomb of their Prophet.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Cup-Bearer's *Quarter*, and of divers other Appartments.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The Ancient Custom practis'd, when the Grand Seignor is presented with any thing to drink, between Meals. A way to quench thirst at Meals, wholly particular to the Levantines. *The composition of* Treacle. *A stately service of Gold-Plate. Beds according to the* Turkish *mode. Ways to satisfie the Necessities of Nature different from ours. The Causes of the abominable Sin committed by the* Turks, *who are confin'd within the Seraglio.*

I Have discover'd many things particularly observable, concerning the Treasury of the *Ottoman* Monarchs, and there are yet some very Remarkable passages to be communicated, relating to the other Quarters of the inner part of the Seraglio.

Between the Treasury, and an obscure Vaulted Gallery, in length between Fifteen and Twenty paces, which conducts you to an Iron-Door, by which there is a passage into the Gardens, you find, on the left hand, the Appartment of the pages of the *Kilar*, or the Cup-Bearer's Office. That is the place where they prepare the Sherbets, and other Liquors, for the Grand Seignor's own drinking, and where they keep the Wine, if it happens, that he drinks any, as Sultan *Amurath* did, of whom I have often had occasion to speak. 'Tis an ancient Custome, That when the Grand Seignor calls for Water to drink between meals, every time he so calls, costs him ten *Sequins*, or *Chequins*. The Ceremony observ'd therein is this: In the Chamber call'd the *Haz-Oda*, which is the Appartment of the Forty pages, who are alwayes near the Grand Seignor's person, there is perpetually one of them standing Sentinel at the Entrance, which leads to the Cup-Bearer's Office, where two pages of the same Quarter are in like manner upon the Scentry. When the Grand Seignor is thirsty, and calls for water, the Page of the *Haz-Oda*, immediately makes a sign to the two Pages of the *Kilar*, of whom one advances up to the *Kilar-bachi*, or Cup-Bearer himself, crying out *Son*, which signifies *Water*, to advertise him, that the Prince would drink; and the other runs to the door of the *Haz-Oda*, where the most ancient of the Forty Pages gives him Ten *Sequins*. That Page is the Treasurer of the said Chamber, and he pays the small Sums which the Grand Seignor gives Order for, an Office which might be call'd in *English*, The *Treasurer of the forty Enjoyments*. The Water is sometimes brought in a Cup of Gold, sometimes in a Vessel of Pourcelain, placed upon a large Server of Gold, about two

The Ancient Custome practis'd when the Grand Seignor drinks between Meals.

two foot diameter, and enrich'd with Precious Stones within and without. That is look'd on, as one of the richeſt pieces of Plate belonging to the Seraglio. The principal Cup-Bearer, who is a white Eunuch, carries it with great Ceremony, attended by a hundred Pages of the *Kilar*, whom he ordinarily has under his Charge, and upheld under the Arms by two of them, who walk on both ſides of him. For it is requir'd, That he ſhould carry it lifted up above his head, and ſo he cannot ſee his way but by looking under it. When he is come to the Door of the *Haz Oda*, the Pages of the *Kilar*, who have accompany'd him ſo far, paſs no further, ſave only the two who uphold his Arms, and the Pages of the Chamber go along with him quite into the Grand Seignor's Preſence. But when they come to the door of the Chamber, two of the more ancient among them, take the places of the two Pages of the *Kilar*, and compleat the conducting of the *Kilargi-Bachi*, under the Arms, to offer the Cup to the Prince. When he has not any thing to ſay to him, he carries it back again into the *Kilar*; but if he will take his opportunity to entertain him with ſome Affair, he delivers the Cup and the Server into the hands of one of the Pages, who led him under the Arms, and he delivers it to thoſe, who, belonging to the Cup-Bearer's Office, waited there in expectation of his return.

A way to quench thirſt at meals, wholly particular to the Levantines.

'Tis in the ſame place, to wit, that under the over-ſight of the Cup-bearer, they keep all ſorts of refreſhing and cooling Waters, as that of Peaches, Cherries, Raſpices, and ſuch other fruits. The *Turks* do not drink during their refection, that is, not till they have given over eating; and becauſe it is poſſible they may be dry, whilſt they eat; take here the manner how they quench that thirſt. They are ſerv'd at Table with theſe Waters, in great Cups of *Pourcelaine*, which hold about two Quarts, and the better to diſtinguiſh them, they put into every one of thoſe Cups, ſome of the ſame fruit, from which the Water that is therein had been extracted, and which they had preſerv'd for that purpoſe. Every one has lying by him a Wooden ſpoon, which holds three or four times as much as any of our ordinary ones, and whereof the handle is of a length proportionable: for as to Gold and Silver ſpoons, it is not their cuſtome to uſe any. With thoſe ſpoons, they can take out what is in the Cups, according to the Water which they moſt fancy, and ſo they ſuſpend thirſt, taking ever and anon ſome ſpoonfuls of it.

The Compoſition of Treacle.

It is alſo in the Cup-bearers Appartment that the *Treacle* is made, which the *Turks* call *Tiriak-Farik*, and there is a great quantity of it made, becauſe they uſe it as an Univerſal remedy, and charitably beſtow it on all ſorts of people, as well in City as Country, who are deſirous of it. The Vipers which are us'd in this compoſition are brought out of *Egypt*, and they make no account of thoſe which other Countries afford, or they are of opinion at leaſt, that the former are much the better for that purpoſe.

A ſtately ſervice of Gold Plate.

Before the Appartment of the *Kilar*, there is a Gallery whereof the floor is pav'd with ſquare pieces of Black and White Marble, and ſuſtain'd by eight fair Pillars of White Marble, and at the end of it is a little Quarter, where the principal Cup-bearer has his reſidence. There alſo are the Lodgings of his Subſtitute, the *Kilarjuet-boudaſi*, who is not an Eunuch, as the *Kilargi-bachi* is, and who, at his removal out of the Seraglio, is ordinarily advanc'd to the charge of a *Baſſa*. The *Kilargi-bachi* has in his cuſtody all the Gold and Silver-plate, the Baſins, the Ewers the Bowls, the Cups, the Servers, and the Candleſticks, the greateſt part of that ſervice being garniſh'd with Diamonds, Rubies and Emeralds, and other precious Stones of value. As for golden Diſhes and Candleſticks, without any additional embelliſhments of precious Stones, there are ſome ſo large, and ſo maſſy, that there muſt be two men to carry one of them. Theſe Candleſticks are made after a faſhion quite different from ours. They are ordinarily two or three Foot high, upon a Baſe of above twelve inches Diameter, and the upper part thereof is as 'twere a Box or kind of Lamp, with its beak, and it may contain above a pound of ſuet. 'Tis to prevent the fall of any thing upon the Carpet, that they make the foot of the Candleſtick ſo large as I told you; and beſides, it is requiſite, that it ſhould bear ſome proportion to the height. The match, or wicke, which they put into the Suet, beaten into ſmall bits, is about the bigneſs of a Man's thumb, and conſequently muſt needs make a great light in the Room. As to the *Kilarjuet-boudaſi* he

he is the Superiour over the *Halvagis*, and *Akrgis*, who are the Cooks and the Confectioners, of whom not one can enter into service, but by his Orders.

In my discourse of the Treasury I made no mention of the Quarter of those Officers, who serve there, because my design was to follow the order of the Structures of the Seraglio, and to conduct the Reader, by little and little, out of one Court into another, and out of one Quarter into another. That of the Pages of the Treasury, is hard by the *Kilar*, and begins with a Gallery, pav'd with square pieces of Marble, of different colours, sustain'd by eight Pillars, of the same material, and whereof the sides and the roof are painted with all sorts of flowers, in Gold and Azure. That Gallery is open on the one side, and on the other you find in the midst of it, the Door leading into the Appartment of the Pages, with three great Windows on the right hand, and as many on the left: And 'tis there that the six most elderly Pages of the Treasury have residence night and day. From that door, along a walk pav'd with white Marble stones, very large ones, about fifteen paces in length, and five in bredth, you come to another Portal, of the same material, sustain'd by two Pillars of black Marble; over the said Portal, there may be read these words, which are ordinarily enough in the mouths of the *Turks*, and which I have explicated elsewhere;

La Illahe Illa Alla, Muhammed Resoul Alla.

Beds according to the Turkish *mode.*

It gives entrance into a long Hall, where there may be seen on both sides a kind of Seat, or Scaffold, a foot and a half in height, and between seven or eight in breadth. Every Page has but four foot in breadth for his reposing place, as well by day, as by night: And for their Beds, they are permitted to have under them, only a Woollen Coverlet, four times doubled, which serves them for a Quilt, and over that they ordinarily have one of Gold or Silver-Brockado, or some other sumptuous Silk-stuff; and in the Winter time, they are permitted to have three of them. They are not to have their Coverlets all of Wooll, which would be so much the warmer, because it would not be a decent sight for the Grand Seignor, when he comes ever and anon, in the night time, pretending indeed as if he would surprize them, and see how they demean themselves, but in effect, sometimes to cover lewd designs. 'Tis between those Coverlets that the Pages take their repose, having their Vast-coat and Drawers on; for there is no talk of any other kind of Linnen, either in *Turky*, or any part of the East; and whether it be Winter or Summer, they always lay themselves down to sleep, half clad, without any great Ceremony.

Ways to satisfie the necessities of nature different from ours.

Over the Beds of the Pages, there is a Gallery, which goes quite round the Hall, and is sustain'd by Pillars of Wood, painted all over with red varnish, and there they have their Coffers, wherein their Cloaths are kept. Every one has a Coffer to himself, but the twelve Senior Pages have each of them two Coffers, and one of those twelve has the Key of the Gallery in his custody. It is ordinarily open'd but one day in the Week, which is answerable to our *Wednesday*, and then, every Page goes, and takes out of his Coffer, what he stands in need of. If any one of them must of necessity look for some thing there upon any other day, he gets five or six Pages together, and they all go to the principal Officer of the Treasury, and he commands the *Rasgi*, who has the Key of the Gallery in his custody, to open it for them, and to have a care that they meddle not with the Coffers of their Companions.

At one of the ends of the Hall, there is a Door, which conducts you to the Fountains, where those that have their dependence on the Treasury go and wash, when they are call'd to their Devotions. There are seven Copper Cocks for that conveniency, and as well the pavement as the Walls, of that place are of white Marble.

The places appointed for the easing of Nature are on the right hand, divided into four little Rooms, which are alwas kept very clean, and pav'd with square pieces of white Marble; as the Room of the Fountain is. The *Turks* do not sit down, as we do, when they are in those places, but they squat down over the hole, which

which is not half a foot, or little more above the ground. That hole is cover'd with an Iron plate, which rises and falls by a Spring, and turning one way or other, at the falling of the least weight upon it, it comes to the station it was in before, assoon as the ordure is fallen from it. I have observ'd elsewhere, that the *Turks*, and generally all the *Mahometans*, do not use paper in such cases, or upon any undecent occasion, and when they go to those kinds of places, they carry along with them a Pot of water, to wash themselves withal, and the Iron-plate is also made clean at the same time. And so the hole being always cover'd, and the Iron-plate always kept clean there can be no ill smell in the place, and that the rather, for that a small current of water, which passes under that place, carries away all the Ordure.

The Causes of the abominable Sin committed by the Turks who are confin'd within the Seraglio.

But it were to be wish'd, that they would not so much concern themselves in keeping those places so clean, provided they could forbear polluting them with those detestable impurities, which I should gladly have left unmention'd, did I not fear the reproach might be made to me, of my having been defective in point of exactness. I have already said something of it, in the Second Chapter of this Relation, and it is a subject, which is to be slightely past over, that so there may be but imperfect *Idea's* left of it. It is therefore in those places, that the Pages make their nocturnal assignations, in order to the committing of the worst of all crimes, which yet they find it very difficult to put in execution, because they are so narrowly watch'd; and if they are taken in the very act, they are punished with so great severity, that sometimes they are even drubb'd to death; of which chastisement, I have elsewhere given an account. In like manner, to prevent the committing of that infamous act, in the places where they take their repose, there are two Torches lighted, which last all the Night, and three Eunuchs are ever and anon going their Rounds, by which means the Pages are depriv'd of the oportunities, which otherwise they might have, to offend.

But we need not go far, to find out the Source of this Evil: the strictness of the restraint they are in, and their being depriv'd of the sight of Women, induce those Young Men to practise such defilements, and hurry the *Turks* into a Gulph, to which they, by an execrable passion, are, naturally but too much inclinable. The *Ichoglans*, who are brought very young into the Seraglio, know not what a Woman is, but by the instinct of Nature; and there are some of them, who, for one day's sight and enjoyment of a Woman, would be content to dye the next. All those Nations generally have so great a bent to lubricity, that it seems impossible they should quit it, but with their lives: what they cannot do one way, they endeavour to do another; and they of the *Seraglio* do all they can to elude the inspection of their Overseers. The *Reader* may call to mind the Action of the two *Pages*, who hid themselves in the *Mosquey*, and that single Example is enough, to shew, how they seek out all the ways imaginable, to satisfie their brutish passion.

The Quarter of the *Kasnadar-bachi*, as also that of his Companion, or Substitute, is adjoyning to that of the *Pages* of the Treasury, and from their Chambers, they have a Prospect into a little Flower-Garden, which belongs to them. We have yet some other Chambers to view, before we come to that, which they call the *Haz-Oda*, which is the Appartment of the Forty *Pages* of the Chamber, and the entrance to that of the Grand Seignor.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the *Quarter* of the *Dogangi-bachi*, or Grand Faulconer, and of ſome other Officers.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

Magnificent Chambers. The ordinary Revenues of the Grand Faulconers. The Magnificence of the Ottoman *Princes, in what relates to Hunting. Birds ſupplying the places of Dogs, in running down a Deer, or a Hare. The delicate Chamber of the* Selidgar-Agi, *who carries the Grand Seignor's Sword. The excellent Order obſerv'd in the Seraglio.*

THE *Dogangi-bachi*, or Grand Faulconer, and the Pages, whom he has under his Charge, have their Quarter between that of the Pages of the Treaſury, and that of the Pages of the Chamber. The place appointed for the Pages of the Falconry, has nothing in it extraordinary, and a man cannot make a diſcovery of any thing of beauty therein: but on the other ſide, the two Chambers, where the Grand Falconer Lodges, have ſomething that's Magnificent and are as ſumptuouſly furniſh'd, as any other Rom of the Seraglio. The firſt, which ſerves for an Anti-Chamber, is leſſer, and they are both of them pav'd with a Checquer-work of black and white Marble, having the Roof beautify'd with Flowers, painted, and guilt. But that of the ſecond Chamber is the more ſumptuous by much, as having large Flowers, in emboſs'd Work, every Flower in its ſquare piece, and the Junctures all cover'd with Gold. The Walls are excellently wainſcoted, wherein alſo they have not ſpar'd for Gold, and on both ſides, there are croſs-barr'd Windows, whereby the Chamber receives much light. The Marble Chequer-work of the Floor is not ſeen, as being cover'd with a ſilken Carpet, upon which there are laid, in ſeveral parts of the Chamber, a certain number of Quilts, two or three Foot in breadth, and about four Inches thick. Some of them are cover'd with Velvet, or Satin, of different Colours; others with Gold-Brockadoes, and every one has its Cuſhion of the ſame Stuff, between three and four foot in length, and about two foot in heighth. Theſe Cuſhions are laid behind their backs, when they are ſitting, after their Mode croſs-legg'd, and thoſe lettle Quilts are to them, inſtead of Chairs, and Couches, in a Chamber *Magnificent Chambers.*

If the Grand Falconer be remov'd out of the Seraglio, it is upon his advancement to the Charge of one of the principal *Baſſa's*, and to one of the greater Governments, as that of *Cairo*, or *Babylon*; and while he continues in the Seraglio beſides his Table, which is all at the Prince's charge, he is allow'd an annual Revenue, of ten or twelve thouſand Crowns. The Pages of the Falconry, carry Hawks on their Fiſts, and feed them: they have the liberty to go and exerciſe them in the Gardens, and they all attend the Grand Seiguor, when he goes a Hawking, or Hunting. They wear the ſame Stuffes, as the Pages *The ordinary Revenues of Grand Falconer.*

of the Treasury, and may also put on Vests of Cloth, but made after such a fashion, as makes them easily distinguishable from the *Ichoglans*, of the first and second Chamber, who are always clad in woollen-cloth. For the Pages of the Falconry have their Sleeves made narrower, and narrower, from the Shoulder to the wrist, and they are there fasten'd close with Buttons; but the Sleeves of the Pages of the Treasury, are as wide below, as they are above, and that makes the difference between them. The twelve Senior Pages of the Falconry have the same slaveries and advantages, as the Pages of the Treasury, and are their Fellow-Commoners; but the other Companions of the former, are treated after the same rate as the Pages of the *Seferlis*, who wash the Grand Seignor's Linnen, and they all common at the same Table.

The Magnificence of the Ottoman Princes in relation to Hunting and Hawking.

Besides the fore-mentioned Pages, the Grand Faulconer has under his command near eight hundred other persons, as well in *Constantinople* as the parts adjacent thereto, perpetually employ'd in the ordering and training up of all sorts of Birds for the Game, and there come none into the Seraglio, but what are so order'd, and taught. Though there may be a very great number of such, yet does not the Grand Seignor make use of any, but what have some stone of value about the neck, nay sometimes such as may be valued at ten thousand Crowns. All the *Mahumetan* Princes are very sumptuous, in all things relating to their Game, and particulary the King of *Persia*. Nothing can be imagin'd more Glorious, or Magnificent, than the long Train of the Grandees of his Court, when they return from their Sports. They all march in an excellent order, every one with a Hawke on his Fist, and every Hawke having about the neck, either a Diamond, or some other precious stone, of great value, with the hood all embroider'd with Pearles; which must needs make a most delightful show.

Birds supplying the place of Dogs, in running down a Deer or Hare.

The *Turks*, and other inhabitants of the *Levant*, breed up, in order to their divertisements, several sorts of Birds, which the *Europeans* make no use of at all, and they are of a larger size, and stronger, than ours. With those, instead of Dogs, will they run down a Hare, or a Stagge; and they have also the diversion of hunting the Wild Boar, and other savage Beasts. But what makes that Sport the more delightful is this, that in *Persia* the Countrey is all open and champion, and there are no Woods, into which the Hawke, or other Bird, might get out of their sight. He discovers the Beast at a great distance, fastens of a suddain upon it, so as that it cannot get loose from him, and sticking close to the Head, picks out the Eyes of it, vexes, and torments it, and retards the swiftness of its course, by which means, the Huntsman come up the sooner to it, and dispatch it. But they do not give the fatal blow, till the Prince has order'd them to do it, or till he has shot off an Arrow, or discharg'd his Fire-lock: upon which signall, they who are about him are permitted to exercise their courage and dexterity.

Next adjoyning to the Appartment of the Pages belonging to the Falconry, there is a long Gallery, which is open but of one side, and in the floor of it, there is a little ascent. It is sustain'd by ten Pillars of Marble, of several colours, and pav'd with a square-piec'd work of the same material; with a Wainscotage, wherein there are some flowers painted, but very meanly.

The Seligdar-Aga's chamber, who carries the Grand Seignor's Sword.

From the end of the foresaid Gallery, turning on the right hand you come to the Chamber of the *Selidgar-Aga*, who carries the Sword before the Grand Seignor. Some part of that Chamber is cover'd with Carpets, the other has a Seat or Scaffold, rais'd three foot high, but of a considerable breadth, to which they ascend by so many steps of white Marble, of four foot in length, the remainder of which Seat, being divided from the Chamber by a Ballister'd work, partly gilt with Gold, and partly Green. All within that enclosure of Ballisters is cover'd with rich silken Carpets, and all about, as well to the Wall side, as to that of the Ballisters, there are sumptuous Cushions of all sorts, of Gold and Silver-Brokadoes. The Walls of the Chamber are all gilt, and at equal distances, there are flower-pots painted, rarely well diversify'd, and affording a most delightful prospect. The place where the *Selidgar-Aga* sits, is at the corner of that part of the Chamber which is enclos'd with the Ballisters, on the right hand, and over his Head hang the Swords and Sabres, which he carries before the Grand Seignor, whithin the Seraglio; and after him, when his Highness goes out of the Seraglio.

Assoon

Aſſoon as a Prince is come to the Crown, whatever he ordinarly wears, is never return'd into the Treaſury, till after his death: And the *Chaſnader-bachi*, who is the Overſeer of it, finds by his Regiſtries, whether all the things that were taken out of the Treaſury, during the Grand Seignor's life, are brought into it again at his death. Whenever any piece is taken out, the *Seligdar-Aga*, to whom it is deliver'd, gives the Principal Officer of the Treaſury an acknowledgment, under his hand, of his having receiv'd it; and by that means nothing can be embezill'd, good order being ſtrictly obſerv'd in all things, relating to the Seraglio. In ſome other parts of the Chamber you find hanging up Ponyards and Knives, all rich Pieces, and beſet with precious ſtones, which as all the reſt, are exactly Regiſtred in the Books of the Treaſury. On each ſide of the ſaid Chamber, there are two little Rooms, for four Pages of the *Seferlis*, who wait on the *Seligdar-Aga*, and are always about his perſon. 'Tis now time that we paſs into the Grand Seignor's Quarter. *The excellent order obſerv'd in the Seraglio.*

CHAP. XV.

Of the Grand Seignor's Appartment.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The Chamber of the Forty Pages. A noble Monument of the Valour of Amurath. *The ſituation of the Moſqueys in* Turkey. *The Ceremonies of their Devotions. A Magnificent Winter-Chamber. The myſterious Seal of* Mahomet. *The great Superſtitions of the* Turks. *A fantaſtick, and covetous knack of Devotion. The Relicks of* Omar. *A ridiculous Sect. The* Grand Seignor's Quarter. *The Emperour* Amurath's *Belvedere, or place of Proſpect. The Excellent Wines of the Iſle of* Tenedos. *A perfidious Act juſtly puniſh'd. The Fortune of a beautiful* Sicilian *Virgin. The* Grand Seignor's *Bed-Chamber. The ancient veneration of the* Turks *for* Mahomet's *Banner. A word farther of the Prince's Appartment.*

THough the inner part of the Seraglio ought properly to be divided into but two great Quarters, which are the *Grand Seignor*'s own Quarter, and the Quarter of the *Sultaneſſes*; yet have I thought it more convenient, for the Reader's better remembrance of things, to diſtinguiſh to him the different parts, of which the former conſiſts anſwerably to its ſeveral uſes: and after a large account, given of the Baths, the Treaſury, the Cup-Bearer's Office, and the Falconry, I come now to the particular Appartment of the *Grand Seignor's* Perſon.

The *Haz Oſa* is the firſt ſtructure that offers it ſelf to your view, and 'tis by that name the *Turks* call the fourth and higheſt Claſſe of the *Ichoglans*, which is the Chamber of the *Forty Pages*, who are hourly employ'd in the *Grand Seignor's* Service. This Chamber is of the ſame largneſs, as that of the Pages of the Treaſury, and *The Chamber of the Forty Pages.*

furnish'd much after the same rate; but it is not near so lightsome, or rather, it wants light. As there is not so great a number of them, so have they accordingly more place to sit, or lye down; and in the midst of the Chamber, you find a little square place, rais'd up somewhat higher than the Beds of the Pages, whence the *Haz-Oda-bachi*, their Governour, may observe all their actions, and see how they demean themselves. He has order to give the *Grand Seignor* notice of it, Rewards being the consequences of good actions, as chastisements are, of bad ones; and it is also incumbent upon him, to make speedy provision of all the things they stand in need of. Over the Door of that Chamber, these words, *La Illa He Illa*, &c. whereof I have often made mention, are engrav'd in large golden Letters; and at the four corners, are the Names of *Mahomet*'s four Companions, *Ebou-beker*, *Omar*, *Osman*, and *Ali*, engrav'd in like manner in black Marble. When the Grand Seignor has made a *Bassa*, and that he is to take his leave of his Highness, to go to his Government, he comes out at that Door, where all those names are engrav'd, and as soon as he is come out, he turns his face again to the Door, and kisses the Threshold of it, with great humility.

As soon as you are come into the Chamber, you find on the right hand several words of the Law, written, and enchac'd, in guilt squares, and one of these Writings is, of Sultan *Achmet's*, the Father of *Amurath*. On the left hand, you find, fasten'd to the Wall, a Coat of Mail, a Head-piece, and a great Buckler; it is one of the Monuments of *Amurath*'s Valour. During the Siege of *Bagdet*, or *Babylon*, a *Persian* coming out of the City, and challenging any one of the Besiegers to meet him, that Prince, one of the most courageous and strongest men of his age, would needs receive him himself, without any other Arms, than a Sabre in his hand, though the *Persian* was arm'd from head to foot. *Amurath* who was not only a prodigious Person as to strength, and valour, but also well skill'd in the use of a Weapon, afforded him not the time to consider whom he had to deal withal, but immediately gave him such a furious blow with the Sabre, over the right shoulder, that he cut his coat of Mail quite to the Middle of his Body, and left him dead upon the place.

A noble Monument of Amurath's Valour.

Opposite to the *Haz-Oda*, or the Chamber of the forty Pages, there is a Gallery of a considerable length, and particularly remarkable for its Structure. It is open on both sides, and has, of each, a row of white Marble-Pillars; but it is built after the Serpentine fashion, and they who walk in it are, every six paces, out of sight one of the other. There are, under this Gallery four great Presses, to put up the accoutrements of the four Officers, who are always about the Grand Seignor's Person, to wit, the *Seligdar-Aga*, the *Chokadar-Aga*, the *Requabdar-Aga*, and the *Hazodabachi*, of whom I have spoken at the beginning of this Relation, when I gave a List of the Grandees of the Port.

The situation of the Mosques in Turkey.

This Gallery, of so fantastick and so extraordinary a Structure, is not far from that other, which is a continu'd ascent, and whereof I made mention in the precedent Chapter. Opposite to this last, there is a Mosquey of the middle sort, as to the largeness, the length of it somewhat exceeding its breadth, and it stands North and South, a situation the *Turks* observe in all their Mosqueys, which are always turn'd towards *Mecha*, which place is Meridional to all the provinces of the Empire. There is in the Wall, opposite to the South, a kind of Neech, which they call *Mihrab*, into which the *Iman*, who is their Priest, gets up, to say Prayers at the accustomed hours, and the Grand Seignor is present thereat, with the forty Pages of the *Haz-Oda*, in a little Room, the Window whereof is opposite to the Neech. On both sides of the said Neech, there is a Gallery sustain'd by five Pillars, some whereof are of green Marble, and the rest of Prophyry. And in the Mosquey, and in the Chamber, or Room, into which the Grand Seignor comes to do his Devotions, and in the two Galleries, there's no going but upon rich Carpets. You are not to look for ought of Painting there; nor have the Walls any other Ornament, then that of the whiteness of the Marble, whereof they are built. But there are a great many Writings, in large *Arabick* Characters, enchac'd in gilt Borders, hanging up in several places, and those Writings contain only things taken out of the Law of *Mahomet*.

The Window of the Chamber into which the Grand Seignor comes to do his Devotions, is six foot in length, and three foot high, and has a Lattice with

a Curtain behind it, as it is in several Chappels, which our Christian Princes have in their Palaces. There is also opposite to the same Neech, before-mention'd, such another Window, and such another Chamber, for the Sultanesses, and when the *Muezim*, whose station is of one side of the *Iman*, and who is as it were his Clerk, hears the drawing of the Curtains, he immediately rings a small Bell which is the signal, that the Grand Seignor and the Sultanesses are come into their several Rooms.

The Ceremonies of their Devotions.

Upon their arrival, the foresaid *Muezim* begins to sing these two words, *Allahu Ekber*, which signifies, *God is Great*, repeating them four times: and afterwards, having added thereto some words, speaking as 'twere to himself, the *Iman* in his turn, sings these following; *Elhamdu lillahi Rabbil alemin*, that is to say, *The Grace of God is the Master of all things*. He thus continues the Prayer, prostrating himself several times to the ground, and all the people present do also prostrate themselves as he does,

In the midst of the Domo of the Mosquey, there is a Hoop of Iron, all about which there hangs a great number of Lamps, of *Venice*-Crystal, and there are also some dispos'd along the Galleries, of the same Metal, they being not permitted to have in ther Mosqueys, either Gold or Silver. They do not light those Lamps, but only for the Prayers at night, and the fire casting a reflection one those Crystals, creates a most delightful Object to the sight.

The Chamber of the *Sarai-Agasi*, one of the four Principal Eunuchs, is adjoyning to that Mosquey, and the least of all the Chambers, of the Officers, belonging to the Innet-part of the Seraglio. He has but little place more than is requisite for him to sleep in, and he is waited on by two Pages of the *Couchouk-Oda*, or the little Chamber

Adjoyning to the Door of the *Haz-Oda*, there is a Hall pav'd with a Checquer-work of black and white Marble, in the midst whereof there is a Basin of the same material, but of several Colours, out of which there is an ascent of water four or five foot high. That water is receiv'd into a second Basin, made in the form of a Scallop-shell, out of which it falls again into a third, much larger than the two precedent ones. The upper part of the Hall is built Domo-wise, having therein some Windows, which give it light, and a certain piece of dull Painting is all the Ornament of its Walls. At your entrance into this Hall, you see two Doors, one on the right hand, the other on the left. That on the left hand conducts to a Flower-Garden? and the other is the door of a Chamber, into which the Grand Seignor comes sometimes in the Winter-Season.

A magnificent Winter Chamber.

This Chamber is one of the most sumptuous of any in the Seraglio. It's Arched Roof is divided into a great number of little Cells, Triangle-wise, distinguish'd by two little filets of Gold with a green streak in the midst, and out of every Angle, there juts somewhat like the bottom of Lamp, excellently well gilt. Though the Walls are of a curious white Marble, yet is there a delicate piece of Wainscotage, of about the height of a man's waste, carried quite round the Room, and the rich Carpets, upon which you walk, deprive your sight of the large squares of Marble, of several colours, wherewith the Floor is embellish'd. Of a great number of Cushions, which are placed along the Walls, some are embroider'd with Pearls, and precious Stones, and set there only for ostentation; the others, which are for service, are cover'd with Gold, or Silver-Brokadoes, and other costly Stuffs. At one of the corners of the Chamber, there is a little Field-bed, about two foot in heighth, embroider'd all over, the Counterpane, the Cushions, and the Quilt; and that Embroidery is all of Pearles, Rubies, and Emeralds. But when the Grand Seignor is to come into that Chamber, they take away the Counterpane and Cushions, which are less fit for Service than for Ornament, and they bring in others of quilted or tufted Velvet, or Satin, upon which the Grand Seignor may more conveniently repose himself.

Mahomet's Mysterious Seal.

Towards the feet of the said Bed, there is a kind of Neech made within the very Wall, in which there is a little Ebony Box, about half a foot square, and in that is lock'd up *Mahomet's* Seal. It is enchac'd in a Crystal, with a Bordure of Ivory, and taking all together, it may be four inches in length, and three in breadth. I have seen the Impression of it upon a piece of Paper

but

but he who shew'd it me, would not suffer me to touch it, only upon this score, that he look'd on it as a great Relick. Once in three months this Chamber is made clean, and the Carpets are chang'd, the Pages of the Treasury being employ'd in that Office. And then it is, that the *Chasnader-bachi* opens the Box, and having in his hands an embroider'd Hand-kerchief, he takes out the Seal, with great respect and reverence, whilst the Seignor of the Pages holds a golden Cup, garnish'd with Diamonds and blue Saphris, on the top of which there is a kind of Perfuming-Pot, out of which there comes an exhalation of all sorts of sweet Scents, whereby the whole Room is in a maner embalm'd. The Page holds that in both his hands joyn'd together, and lifting it up higher than his Head, all those that are present immediately prostrate themselves to the ground, as an acknowledgment of their veneration. As soon as they are up again, the Page brings down the Cup, lower than his chin, and the principal Officer of the Treasury, holding the Seal over the smoake, all those who are in the Room, come and kiss the Chrystal which covers one of the most precious Relicks, that they have of their Prophet. I have us'd all the endeavours I could, to get out of my two Officers of the Treasury, who had often kiss'd that Chrystal, what Observations they might have made, as to the material whereof the Seal was made and what Letters were engrav'd upon it; but they told me, that by the reason of the smoke, and the Chrystal, which covers the Seal, not to insist on the small time they have to observe it, during the act of kissing it, it is not possible that any one can give a certain judgment of either the Stuff, or the Engraving of it.

Upon the fourteenth day of the *Ramazan*, that is to say, the Lent of the *Turks*, the Grand Seignor comes in person into that Chamber, accompany'd only by the *Seigdar-Aga*, and taking off the Chrystal, which lies over the Seal, he delivers it into his hands, ordering him to make the Impression of it upon fifty little bits of Paper, which are not much bigger than the Seal it self. This Impression is taken off with a certain gummy Ink, which is prepar'd in a Pourcelain Dish, whereinto he thrusts his finger, and rubs the Seal with it, and keeps all those Printed Papers, for the use, to which his Highness designs them, as we shall see, e're we come to the end of this Chapter.

The great Superstition of the Turks.

Within the same Chamber, and adjoyning to the place, where the Seal is kept, there is another Box or Coffer, of a larger size, cover'd with a Carpet of green Velvet, with a great fringe of Gold and Silver, wherein is kept, *Mahomet's Hirka*. It is a Garment with large sleves of a white Camlet, made of Goat's hair, which the *Turks* do also look upon as a great Relick. The Grand Seignor having taken it out of the Coffer, kisses it with much respect, and puts it into the hands of the *Capi-Aga*, who is come into the Room by his Order, after they had taken the Impression of the Seal. The Officer sends to the Overseer of the Treasury, for a large golden Cauldron, which is brought in thither by some of the Seignor-Pages. It is so capacious, according to the description which they gave me of it, as to contain the sixth part of a Tun, and the out-side of it is garnish'd, in some places, with Emeralds, and Turquezes. This Vessel is fill'd with water within six fingers breadth of the brink, and the *Capi-Aga*, having put *Mahomet's* Garment into it, and left it to soak a little while, takes it out again, and wrings it hard, to get out the water it had imbib'd, which falls into the Cauldron, taking great care, that there falls not any of it to the ground. That done, with the said water he fills a great number of *Venice*-Chrystal Bottles, containing about half a pint, and when he has stopp'd them, he Seals them with the Grand Seignor's Seal. They afterwards set the Garment a drying, till the twentieth day of the *Ramazan*, and then his Highness comes to see them put up again in the Coffer.

A ridiculous and reverend knack of Devotion.

The next day after that Ceremoney, which is the fifteenth after their grand Fast, the Sultan sends to the *Sultanesses*, and the Grandees of *Constantinople* as also to most of the considerable *Bassa's* of the Empire, to each of them, an Impression of the Seal, in a little scrip of Paper roll'd up, and well fasten'd with

with Silk, and with that, one of those Bottles full of water, which is look'd upon as a great favour. But it proves a very dear favour to those who receive it, and for a scrip of Paper, and a Glass of water, they must send back again to the Grand Seignor a very considerable Present, not accounting what they bestow one those persons, who bring from him, those testimonies and marks of his Affection.

It is to be observ'd also, That the *Capi-Aga* is allow'd to multiply the said Water, as far as he thinks requisite, and answerably to his desire of multiplying the Presents. All he has to do, is only to fill up the Cauldron, as it is emptied, and that additional water is as good as 'twas before, since it is intermix'd with that wherein *Mahomet's* Garment had been soak'd. For there are many persons, to whome he sends those Bottles, without the impression of the Seal, upon the little piece of paper, and he has a snack out of all that is bestow'd on the Bearers of those Presents. But he is not permitted to make that multiplication of the Water, any longer than for the space of three days; that is to say, till the Seventeenth of the *Ramazan*, after which time, the additional intermixture of it would not have the Vertue, which they imagine it has,

As soon as this Present is receiv'd by those to whom it is sent, they take the paper, which has the impression of *Mahomet's* Seal, and after they have left it to soake a little while in the Water of the little Chrystal bottle, they take off the water and the paper, swallowing down both together with great devotion. But it is to be noted, That no body must be so presumptious as to open that paper; for they swallow it down as it is brought to them, after a little soaking in the water, they being not permitted to see the impression of the sacred Seal: And they who receive only the little bottle, without the paper, tend for one of their *Imans*, who are as 'twere, their Priests, and get him to write down these words in another piece of paper, *La he Illa, Alla hull, vahidul gebber*, That is to say *There is no other God then God, the punisher of Crimes.* There are others, who order these words to be writ down; *La Illa he-Illa, Allahul meliqued vehhab*; which signifies, *There is no other God then God alone, the Liberal Emperour, and Pardoner of Offences.* The paper having those words written upon it, is put into the water of the little Bottle, and so they swallow down both together, with a strong perswasion, that those words have the same verue, as the impression of the Seal.

There is also to be seen, in the same Chamber, a very homely kind of Cuttelas, hanging by the Wall, near the place where the Prophet's Seal and Garment are kept. The Scabbard is cover'd with Green cloth, and they have it by Tadition, that it had been the Cuttelas of *Omar*, one of *Mahomet's* four Companions, who govern'd after him, though *Ebou-Bequer* was the elder of the two, and Father-in-law to *Mahomet*. The *Arabians* affirm, That *Ebou-Bequer* was a *Jew*, by extraction, and one of the most learned of his time; and that, having renounc'd the *Mosaick* Law he taught at *Mecha*, in the Schools, after which he betet himself to compose some part of the Alcoran. *The Relicks of Omar.*

Near the Cuttelas, there is also to be seen a kind of short Sword, for which they have, in like manner, a great veneration, upon a perswasion, that it some time was the Sword of a certain person named *Ebou-Nissum*, with which he cut to pieces, those, who had spread a Heresie in the Law of *Mahomet*. He came not into the World till Four hundred years after the death of the Prophet, and at length destroy'd that Sect, which during the space of two Ages before, had given much trouble to the true *Mahometans*, and gain'd several Battles against them.

The said Sect was grown very powerful under the denomination of *Mubagrigni*, and I have met with some remainders of it in the Mountains of *Chardvan*, which is the ancient *Chaldea*. Those people are very remarkable for their superstition, and much more for their ignorance; and a man must have a great care of striking a black Dog, in their presence, or cutting an Onion with a Knife; for their way, when they are to eat an Onion, is to crush it between two stones. The cause of that gross ignorance, is their not having *A ridiculous Sect.*

having any Person among them, to instruct them; and a man may Travel five or six days Journey in their Countrey, and not meet with either a *Mollah*, or a *Mosquey*. The same reason may also be given for their being, for the most part, uncircumcis'd, and that they who have receiv'd Circumcision, had it not till they were Twelve or Fifteen Years of Age, and that accidentally by going to some place at a great distance, to find out a *Mollah*, and defraying the Charges of their Friends and Relations, who must accompany them to that Ceremony.

The Grand Seignor's *Quarter.*

Between the Chamber, where these noble Relicks are to be seen, and that of the Forty Pages, of which I have given an Account at the beginning of this Chapter, you have the Prospect of a treble Portal of *Porphyry*, that is, three doors at a small distance one from the other, whereof that in the middle gives entrance into the Grand Seignor's Appartment. The two others lead to the Lodgings of the *Chokadar-Aga*, and the *Kiquab'lar-Aga*, and those lodgings are very dark, because they are not in a place where light can be brought into them, and that at the first building thereof, they could afford each of them but one little Window. But abating that inconvenience, they are well enough furnish'd, according to the mode of the Country, you tread upon nothing but silken Carpets; there's no want of Brokado-Cushins and emboyder'd ones, and the Walls, which are all of white Marble, entertain the Eye with pots of Flowers plainly painted, at certain equal distances, about which there has been an ingenious application of Gold and Azure. The Grand Seignor's Quarter begins with a Hall, which is spacious enough, and the embellishments of the inside of it are correspondent to those of the outside. It is an incrustation of Marble, of several colours, and the Floor of it is cover'd only with the large Woollen Carpets, which are brought out of *Persia*, but such as are more sumptuous, and much more highly esteem'd, than those which are made of Silk. All about the Hall, for the space of Five foot, there are spread Coverlets of Silk, of a light colour, some Tufted, some Embroyder'd, and upon the Coverlets, there are several sorts of Rich Cushions, four foot in length, and between two and three in breadth.

Amurath's *Belvedere.*

Of the two Doors, which are within the Hall, one goes to the Appartment of the *Pages*, the other to the Quarter of the *Sultanesses*, and as you go out by this last mentioned, you enter into a Flower-Garden, in the midst whereof there is a Basin with its water-work. From one of the ends of the Garden you pass to the *Revan Kiouchi*, that is to say, a Chamber supported by Pillars. It is a *Belvedere*, or spacious Room, having a delightful Prospect of all sides, which the Sultan *Amurath* caus'd to be built, at his return from the *Persian* War, after he had taken the City of *Babylon* from *Sach-Sefi*, the King of that Kingdom, ruin'd the Province of *Tauris*, and added that of *Erivan* to his Conquests, by the perfidiousness of the Governour. I shall give you an account anon, how he was justly punish'd, for that act of Treachery, and I reserve the Compleat history of his baseness, for the Relations of my Travels.

This Room or Arbour, which we call the *Blvedere*, from the delightfulness of its Prospect, is built in an Eminent place, upon a steepy Rock. It is a noble Arched Roof, and the Walls, which are rais'd no higher than that a Man may rest his Elbow on them, are all of White Marble, with some *Arabian* Verses thereon, cut and gilt. It is open on all sides, and the Lattices all about it, hinder those that are within it from being seen by such as are on the outside, and afford them withal one of the most delightful Prospects in the World. For, from that Room, they have the sight of all *Galata* and *Pera*, all that pleasant Landskip of *Asia*, about *Scutaret* and *Chalcedon*, the Port of *Constantinople*, one of the noblest of all *Europe*, and the Channel of the *Black Sea*, which at the point of the Seraglio, is intermixt with the Waters of the *Mediterranan*, where there is observable in the midst, as it were, a white foamy streak, which seems naturally to denote the Confines of *Europe* and *Asia*.

The Excellent Wines of Tenedos.

'Twas in this pleasant Arbour, that *Amurath* was often wont to divert himself, with that Governour of *Erivan*, who had taught him to drink Wine, whereto he had so easily accustom'd himself, that many times, he spent three days together, in a continu'd debauch. The only Wine he drunk was of the Islands of *Tenedos*, the most excellent of any of the Islands of the *Archipelago*, and the least intoxicating; and he soon became as good a proficient in the drinking of it, as the Master, who had

had taught him to do it. This *Persian* Governour was a man extreamly enclin'd to Debauchery, insomuch that before his perfidious delivery of the Place to *Amurath*, as I passed through *Erivan*, in one of my Voyages to *Persia*, he intreated me to make my Abode there for the space of fifteen days, and to humor him, there was a necessity of spending whole Nights in Drinking, so that I saw him not all the Day long, which I question not but he employ'd in the management of his Affairs, and taking his repose.

Perfidiousness punish'd.

But, at the long run, lewd actions meet with the Punishment they justly deserve. *Shach-Sefi*, King of *Persia*, would not entertain any proposition of Peace, no nor so much as give audience to an Ambassador from the Grand Seignor, whom I saw sent back from *Ispahan*, where I then was, unless *Amurath* would de-deliver up the Traytor, in order, to his punishment. Whereupon, they being both one day at their ordinary debauch, in the *Belvedere*, the Grand Seignor, without any formality, order'd him to be Strangled, in his presence.

The fortune of a beautiful Sicilian *Lady.*

It was sometimes also *Amurath*'s custome, to bring into that pleasant place, the Principal *Sultanesses*, as, his Mothers, his Sisters, and such others as he had the greatest kindness for. But his most frequent assignations there, was with a *Sicilian* Lady, for whom he had a great affection, and who being extreamly handsome and of a mild disposition, obtain'd of him whatere he desir'd. She was taken at Sea, by the Pyrates of *Barbary*, as she was upon her Voyage into *Spain* in order to her intermarriage with one of the Grandees of that Countrey: And the *Bassa* of *Algiers* sent her a Present, to the Grand Seignor, who took a particular fancy for her, and made her as happy, as a Woman can be, who must endure the restraint of the Seraglio.

The Grand Seignor's Bed-Chamber.

From that door of the Hall, which gives entrance into the Flower-garden, you pass, on the right hand, into a kind of Gallery, about fifty paces in length, and twelve in breadth, the pavement whereof is a Chequer-work of Black and White Marble, at the end of it there is a great Structure, which is wholly of Marble, and what first entertains the Eye is a pretty lage Door, over which there is a kind of a flat arched Roof. And both the Roof, and the Door, are adorn'd with flowers in emboss'd work; and amongst those flowers, there are certain impresses cut in the Marble, and all curiously Gilt.

About five or six paces from that Door, you come to another not inferiour to it, as to beauty, which is that of the Grand Seignor's own Chamber. Its Cieling, or arched Roof, is according to the model of the Winter-room, whereof I have given you a Description at the beginning of this Chapter. The only difference between 'em is, in what issues out of the Angles of the little Arches; and whereas in the other Room they represent the bottoms of Lamps, gilt with Gold; in this, they are balls of Rock-Crystal, cut Facet-wise, with an inter-mixture of precious stones, of different Colours, which must needs give a very divertive entertainment to the Eye. The Floor of it is cover'd with Carpets, which, as to Beauty and Excellency of Workmanship, exceed those of the other Chambers; and the same thing is to be said, as to the Quilts, the Counterpanes, and the Cushions; the most part of this Furniture being adorn'd with an Embroidery of Pearls, and the whole Room which is very spacious, having in all parts, several other sumptuous embellishments. And whereas this Room was Originally design'd for the Grand Seignor's Summer-Divertisement, it is accordingly the more lightsome, and has large Windows on three sides of it. As to the *Sultan*'s Lodging, he complies with the custome of the Countrey, or rather that of all the Eastern parts. There is no Bed-stead set up, but towards the Evening the Pages spread three Quilts one upon the other, at one of the corners of the Chamber, and place over it a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, garnish'd with an embroidery of Pearls.

The Ancient Veneration for Mahomet's *Standard.*

On the right hand, as you come into this Room, there is a Cub-board, or Press, wrought within the very Wall, where they keep the *Bajarae*, that is to say, the Standard of *Mahomet*, which has these words for its Impress, or Motto, *Nasrum min Allah*, that is, in our Language, *The Assistance is from God.* This Standard was heretofore in so great veneration among the *Turks*, that when there happen'd any Sedition, either at *Constantinople*, or in the Armies, there was no safer or more expeditious remedy to appease it, than to expose that Standard to the sight of the Rebels. And that very Expedient has many times prov'd very fortunate to the

Ottoman Princes, when they have been reduc'd to their great Extremities, by the secret Combinations of some Factious Persons. Then does the Grand Seignor send some of the *Mollahs*, who are in the nature of Priests, amongst the *Turks*, with the Standard, and being come up to the first Ranks of the Rebellious Forces, they speak to them, in their Language, to this effect: *This Banner is the Standard of the Prophet; all they who are Faithful, and Obedient, ought to come and submit themselves at the Foot of this Standard; and they who will not come to it, are Unbelievers, and they ought to be destroyed.* But some years since, the *Turks* made it appear, that they made but little account of that Standard; for *Hassan*, one of the Bassa's, who gave the Grand Seignor so much Trouble in the Year 1658. turn'd his back on *Mahomet's* Banner, and, follow'd by his own Party, compass'd the Design he was engag'd in.

A word further of the Prince's Appartment.

Out of the Grand Seignor's Chamber, there is a passage into a great Hall, the place appointed for the Reception of the Pages who approach his Person; and there is adjoyning to it a Bath, which is fill'd by three Cocks, where they wash themselves, when they go to their Devotions. Out of the same Hall, there is an ascent of some steps, which brings you to a small Closet, only Wainscoted about, but well Painted, and well Gilt. That Stair-Case is always cover'd with a red Cloth, the Room is open on all sides, having fair Windows, wherein Talc is us'd, instead of Glass; and from thence you have, in a manner, the same Prospect as from the *Belvedere*, built by the Emperour *Amurath*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the ordinary Employments of the Grand Seignor; The particular inclinations of the Emperour-Regent, *Mahomet* IV. And the preſent State of the *Ottoman* Family.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

Some inclinations common to all the Monarchs of the Eaſtern-parts. The Life of the Seraglio, delicious to one ſingle Perſon, and incommodious to many. The Mahumetans *zealous obſervers of their Law. The regulated times of their publick Devotions. The ordinary Employments of the Grand Seignor. How his Table is ſerv'd. The* Sultan, *when oblig'd to go, in Ceremony, to the Moſquey. The wicked contrivances of the* Moufti *to get Money. The preſent State of the* Ottoman *Family. An extraordinary Example of a Father and a Son, who were ſucceſſively* Grand Viziers. *The pourtraiture of the Sultan-Regent,* Mahomet. *The Ancient Cuſtom of the* Turkiſh *Emperors, to live by their Labour. The Grand Seignor's ſubtilty, in revenging himſelf of the* Moufti

Inclinations common to the Eaſtern Monarchs.

THE *Ottoman* Monarchs, and generally all the Princes of *Aſia*, what Reputation ſoever they may have gain'd, for their Valour, have always been guilty of a bent to Voluptuouſneſs, and Effeminacy, and found great Charms in a ſlothful kind of Life. They come out of their Seraglio's as ſeldome as they can, and that only, when an indiſpenſable neceſſity forces them to ſhew themſelves in publick, whether it be at the head of their Armies, or in thoſe Ceremonies, wherein the Law, or common Civilities, require their Preſence. True it is, that ſome of them were not ſo great Lovers of Retirement as others, and preferr'd the hardſhips of War, the Divertiſements of Hunting, before the blandiſhments of Eaſe, and the converſation of Women: But thoſe may be reduced into a very ſmall number, and the greateſt part of them being more addicted to mind their quiet, and to lead a Life void of diſturbance, have tranſferr'd all their concerns, Civil and Military, to the management of the principal Miniſter of State, thinking it enough to content themſelves with the account he was pleas'd to give him thereof.

The Seraglio a place delicious to one ſingle perſon, and incommodious to many.

It may be ſaid of the Seraglio, That it is a delicate, but withal a ſolitary place of abode: but as to the Obſervations *I* have made of things, it is delicious only to a ſingle perſon, and ſolitary to all the reſt. Of the many Thouſands, of the Male Sex, who are there as 'twere in Priſon, and have a dependence, one upon the other, none but the Prince himſelf has the ſight of Women; for the Negro-Eunuchs, whom their deformity of Body and Countenance has, in a manner, transform'd into Monſters, are not to be admitted into the number of Men.

The Mahumetans *zealous obſervers of the Law.*

But though the *Ottoman* Monarchs, and generally all that may be comprehended under the denomination of *Turciſm*, are involv'd in Voluptuouſneſs, as not having any tincture of ought relating to polite Literature, yet this is particularly

recommendable in them, that their great pursuance of pleasures does not ever make them neglect the Divine Worship, and that, setting all things aside, they are careful to perform what the Law requires of them, upon that acccount. They are exact and punctual, even to superstition, in all their exercises of Piety, in their ways of washing themselves, in their Prayers, in their Fasts, in their Alms, and in their Pilgrimages; which are the Five principal Articles of the *Mahumetan* Religion.

The regulated times of their Devotions.

It is a thing sufficiently well known to all people, that the *Turks* go to their Prayers, or Devotions, five times a day, that is, in the space of a natural Day, which amounts to four and twenty hours. For the performance of this work, there are no certain hours appointed, and it is according to the Sun's being above the Horizon. Upon which account, there is a greater interval between their several Offices, in the Summer-time, than there is in the Winter, and they place the principal part of their Devotion upon observations of that nature. The first exercise is to be perform'd at the break of day, before Sun-rising; the second at Noon; the third, between that time and Sun-set; the fourth, immediately after his setting; and the last, about an hour and an half after Night: in all which, unless sickness intervene, they are very punctual, so that nothing of business, how important soever, shall divert them.

Their fervour in Acts of Devotion.

Nay, on the contrary, some are so zealous, and their fervour is so remarkable, that being once fixt in their Prayers, they could not be put out of them, though 'twere to force back an Enemy, who were entering into the City, or that word should be brought them, that the house wherein they are, was on fire. They are moreover of a perswasion, that it is a great sin, for them to put their hand to any part of the body, to scratch themselves, if there should be occasion; and they would have the external part to be answerable to the internal, and correspondent to that abjection, which ought to be the state of the Soul, in the presence of God, during their Exercises of Devotion.

The Grand Seignors ordinary Employments.

Nor does the Grand Seignor himself desire to be dispens'd from the obligation of performing these acts of Devotion, any more than the meanest of his Subjects; but, on the contrary, he is very religious in that observance of their Law, and he always begins the day with the Offices appointed for that part of it. We need say no more, than that he rises at the break of day, nay sometimes he is up before, and goes into the Bath to wash himself, especially when he has lain with one of his Wives, or Concubines. Having finish'd his Prayers, he diverts himself in shooting with the Bowe, or more commonly in looking after his Horses, and riding some of them: and sometimes he sets himself in a Gallery, where he cannot be seen by any, and contents himself with the diversion of seeing some exercises perform'd by his Pages. If an one of them does something that he is much pleas'd withal, he sends him a Vest, or some other thing of value, as an encouragement for his doing better another time, and to raise an emulation in his Companions. Upon Council-days, he comes through the close Gallery, to the Window, which looks into the *Divan* Hall, to see what they are doing there: and upon the rising of the Council, he returns to his own Quarter, where his Dinner is brought up to him.

The Services of his Table.

In the services of his Table, there is not any great varitey, or delicacy, the Dishes that are serv'd up, being answerable to the Bill of fare, wich I have given you in the Chapter, where I treat of the Kitchins. He takes his refection, sitting, cross-leg'd, as Taylors do amongst us, being surrounded with sumptuous Brocado-cushions, which keep from him the dampness of the Walls, and upon the Carpets which cover the Scaffold, or Balcony, where he is seated, they spread others of *Spanish*-Leather, lest the former should be prejudic'd by any thing of greasiness, which might fall on the Table-cloath, and soak through it. This Cloath, which is laid over the *Spanish*-Leather-Carpet, is of those sumptuous painted Cloaths, which are made in the *Indies*, and embroider'd all about: and as for Napkins, there are not any used amongst the *Turks*, who are neat, and cleanly at their Meals, and if sometimes there be any occasion of wiping, 'tis done with a little handkerchief. At their refections, they use the right hand only, and when they have done, there is a Basin of warm water and soap brought up, for them to wash, and every one takes out his Handkerchief from under his Sasch, or Girdle, to wipe his hands and mouth. Nor must you expect in *Turkey* to find Knives and Forks

Forks laid on the Table, but every one has his Knife lodg'd in his Satch, and makes use of, when occasion requires: but they have no great use for them, inasmuch as their Bread being made thin, as 'twere into Cakes, and eaten in a manner as soon as 'tis out of the Oven they break it with their fingers, and all the meat, which is serv'd up to them, is cut into small pieces, which is also the custome in *Persia*. But the Spoons they use, in taking their Pottages, and whatever is liquid upon the Table, are much larger than ours; and they are wooden ones. The Pages of the *Kilar*, that is the Cup-bearers Office bring up the Bread, and the Sherbets, and the Pages of the Chamber go and take the meat, at the Prince's Appartment, out of the hands of the Officers belonging to the Kitchin, who bring it in Dishes cover'd with Pourcelain, the Grand Seignor not using any Gold Vessels at his own Table.

After Dinner, the Grand Seignor says his Noon-Prayer, and sometimes, on *Sundays* and *Tuesdays*, which are the principal Council-days he comes into the Hall of Audience, to discourse with his Ministers of State, concerning his Affairs. On the other days, he walks in the Gardens of the Seraglio, sometimes with his *Eunuchs*, sometimes with the *Sultanesses*, or with the *Dwarfs* and *Mutes*, who shew a thousand apish tricks, to divert him: and sometimes he goes a hunting, or fishing, according to his inclination. But neither his Affairs, nor his Recreations do ever divert him from performing the five Exercises of Devotion, at the times appointed by the *Alcoran*; and it is the general Perswasion of all the *Turks*, that if they neglect them, they bring down God's curse upon themselves, and that they cannot avoid the ill consequences thereof.

The Sultan, when obliged to go, in Ceremony, to the Mosquey.

I have said elsewhere, that *Friday* is to the *Mahumetans*, what the *Saturday* is to the *Jews*, and the *Sunday* to the *Christians*, in regard it was upon the said day, that *Mahomet* took his flight from *Mecha*; and I have also given this further intimation, that the *Turks* count their Months only by the number of the Moons. There is an ancient Custome, whereby the Grand Seignor is obliged upon all the first *Frydays* of the several Moons, to go to the new Mosquey, in regard that S. *Sophia* is too near the Seraglio, and besides that there is not, between those places, room enough for so great a Train, as that of the Sultan, the people of *Constantinople* would not have the satisfaction of seeing him.

His Devotion is so great, that he seldom misses that Ceremony, and when there passes a first *Fryday* of the month, without his appearance in it, the people is presently of opinion, that he is sick and thereupon turbulunt spirits are mutining their factious designs. On those dayes do they, who have any complaints to make, of some injustice that has been done them, take their opportunity and plant themselves in the way through which he is to pass, with Petitions in their hands, which upon a sign made by the Sultan, are receiv'd by Eunuchs. If the injustice be very great and the person who presents the Petition be extreamly oppress'd and injur'd, he holds a lighted Torch over his head, which is ordinarily practis'd in *Turkey* upon the like occasions, and by that mysterious comportment, intimates to the Prince; That if he does not do him justice, his Soul shall burn in the other World, as that Torch does in this.

Upon the Emperour's going out of the Seraglio, the principal *Sultanesses*, his Mother, his dearest Consort, or his Sisters, are in a Room over the great Gate of that Palace, with Bags full of *Aspers*, which they fling among the people, that they may pray, That God would graciously hearken to the Devotions, which the Grand Seignor is going to perform. His March is after the same Order, and with an observance of the Pomp, as that of the ancient *Greek* Emperours, and I question not, but that those Authors, who have written of the *Ottoman* Empire in general, or particularly of the City of *Constantinople*, have made sufficient descriptions, of that Ceremony, and therefore I shall think my self dispens'd from the obligations of giving a new one of it. I shall only say this of it, That it is very Magnificent, and that there is not any Monarch in the World, who makes so great an exposal of Gold and precious Stones together, wherewith the Harnesses and Trappings of most of the Horses, as well of the *Grand Seignor*, as those of the *Bassa's* are all cover'd.

At

The wicked contrivances of the Mouftı, to get Money.

At their return from the Moſquey, the *Mouftı*, on Horſe-back, and at the head of a wretched Crew of *Greek Chriſtians*, of the meaneſt ſort of people (for there are very few *Armenians* among them) expect the Grand Seignor, at the Gates of the Seraglio, and telling his Highneſs, That thoſe people were Mis-believers, who had embrac'd the good Law, intreat him to relieve them, and to make ſome proviſion for their Livelihood. Upon this Exhortation, the Sultan orders twenty or thirty Purſes to be diſtributed amongſt them; nay ſometimes his Charity is ſo great, as to amount to twenty thouſand Crowns, which are receiv'd by the *Mouftı*, and the diſtribution thereof is made, as he pleaſes. But the greater part of it he converts to his own uſe, and holds an infamous Correſpondence with moſt of that wretched Crew, who though they often preſent themſelves for that Benevolence, he pretends not to have any knowledge of at all. By this Impoſture, which is ſo palpable, and ſuits well enough with the followers of *Mahomet*, does that High-Prieſt of the *Mahumetan* Law, put yearly into his Purſe, a conſiderable Sum of Money, which is no ſmall augmentation to his Revenue. But the Caſe is the ſame with him, as with the Baſſa's: that is, he is not exempted from refunding, and we ſhall, by and by produce a very late Example of it.

And this may ſerve for a general Account of the ordinary Lives of the *Ottoman* Monarchs while they are within the Seraglio. In their Armies, they have other Employments, eſpecially they, who have Military Souls, as there have been ſome among them, of whom Hiſtories have given us a very noble Character.

The preſent State of the Ottoman *Family.*

I come now to the preſent ſtate of the *Ottoman* Family, and to the particular inclinations of the Grand Seignor, who now Reigns. *Mahomet*, the Fourth of that Name, the Son of *Ibrahim*, and a *Circaſſian* Lady, was Born in the Year 1643. and he is, by that account, got into the Thirty fourth Year of his Age, and the Twenty fourth of his Reign. He has two Brothers, *Bajazet*, and *Orchan*, but they are by another Mother, who is ſtill living, and is perpetually ſtudying how to preſerve them. He has alſo a third Brother, named *Solyman*, who is the ſecond of the Sons of *Ibrahim*, according to the order of their Nativities. But the Mother of the laſt mentioned Son is dead; and thence it comes, that the Souldiery, who conceive greater hopes of that Prince, than of either *Bajazet*, or *Orchan*, his Brethren, pity him the more, and have the greater Affection for him, upon that very ſcore of his having loſt the ſupport, which he might have expected from a Mother.

Ever ſince the time of *Bajazet* the Second, who firſt introduc'd that inhumane and cruel Cuſtome, of ſecuring the Throne of the Sultan-Regent, by the death of his Brethren, few of thoſe unfortunate Princes have eſcap'd the Barbariſm of their Elder-Brother, and they, amongſt them, who have been treated with ſomewhat leſs of inhumanity, have pin'd away their Lives in a ſtrict and doleful Impriſonment, being not permitted to ſee any body. This was the Treatment of *Ibrahim*, the Father of *Mahomet*, during the Reign of *Amurath*, his Brother, the Son of *Achmet*, by *Kioſem*, a Woman of Excellent Parts, and well vers'd in the Management of Affairs. *Mahomet*'s Brothers are now treated after the ſame rate, and the Mother of *Bajazet*, and *Orchan*, uſes all the endeavours ſhe can, to ſecure to them the Affections of the great Officers of the Port, and the *Janizaries*, who are ſomewhat diſguſted with the capricious humour, and extraordinary Covetouſneſs of *Mahomet*. This Prince was advanc'd to the Throne in the Year 1650. after the Death of *Ibrahim*, his Father, who was ſtrangled by the *Janizaries* in a Sedition. He being then but Seven Years of Age, the Regency was beſtowed, during his Minority, on the Old Sultaneſs, Mother to *Ibrahim*, who ſoon after abus'd her Authority, and raiſed a dangerous Faction againſt her Grand-Child *Mahomet*, wherein ſhe loſt her Life.

An extraordinary Example of a Father and Son ſucceſſively Grand Viziers.

The preſent Grand Seignor, who is a Perſon much addicted to his Pleaſures, and takes a particular diverſion in Hunting, leaves the management of Affairs to his Grand Vizir *Achmet*, who has ſucceeded *Coprogli*, his own Father, in that principal Charge of the Empire. 'Tis a thing which may well paſs for a Prodigy, amongſt the *Turks*, and ſuch as that there has not yet been any Example of it ſeen, as perhaps there will not be any other hereafter. I have ſhewn, that it is a thing abſolutely contrary to their Politicks; and therefore had it not been for the great and particular obligations, which the Empire had to *Coprogli*, who on the other ſide, cunningly repreſented to the Grand Seignor, that he never durſt truſt any

but

but his own Son, with the Secret of Affairs, whereof he only had the Key, this very *Achmet*, who next to the Sultan, is the principal Person of the Empire, would have been, at present, but a simple Boy, or Captain of a Galley.

The Pourtraicture of Mahomet IV. the present Prince.

The Grand Seignor *Mahomet* is handsome enough as to his Person, his Stature somewhat exceeding that of the middle sort of persons; he has not too much corpulency, and his health is in an uncertain state. He is very much troubled with a Fall, which he receiv'd in the violence of his Game, some years since, by leaping his Horse over a broad Ditch: And whereas that passion is still predominant in him, this inconvenience attends it, That, when he is not somewhat favourable and indulgent to himself, in that violent Exercise, he is sometimes taken off his Horse in a miserable condition, the Remedies which might be apply'd to that indisposition, taking no effect, by reason of the little care he takes to preserve himself. He is a person of an unconstant and unquiet disposition, which creates the greater trouble to those who wait on him; and though they study his humours, yet is it a hard matter to satisfie him. He has a Son, who has been Circumcis'd with great Solemnity, at the Age, wherein that Ceremony is to be perform'd. The Sultaness, his Mother, a Woman of a Magnificent humour, to augment the Pomp and Splendour of that Action, to the Eyes as well of the *Turks* as Forreiners, would have the Garment, which the Young Prince wore that day, to be all cover'd with Diamonds, and, to that end, caus'd several Rich Pieces of the Treasury to be broken; but after the Solemnity, all the Precious Stones were carried back into it again.

I said erewhile, that the present Sultan-*Mahomet* is extreamly addicted to Hunting, and makes it so much his Darling Divertisement, that he makes less account of the Lives of Men, than he does of his Dogs; and withal, that he is of a very Covetous Humour. *I* shall, in one single Example make a sufficient discovery of both those inclinations in him, and that will also further make it appear, how well he was skill'd, in that Knack of exercising great Liberalities, without any deduction out of his Revenues.

When the Grand Seignor goes a Hunting, there are Orders sent to a great number of People, for the space of four or five Leagues about the place where he intends to Hunt, in order to the surrounding of a certain quantity of Ground, and for the enclosing of it so well, as that nothing can escape thence. 'Tis not to be imagin'd, this can be done, without great destruction to the Countrey, and much inconvenience to the poor People, who are forc'd to leave their Work, to carry on an Exercise which is much more toilsome than it, in which they many times come off with the Loss of Limb, or Life, or some other disastrous Accident. These continual impositions of trouble and toil, put many People into the repining humour, insomuch that an Eunuch, who was in favour, having one day, taken the freedom to represent to the Grand Seignor the prejudice his Subjects underwent, by those courses which occasion'd the spoyling of their Grounds, and the loss of their Lives, he grew very Angry, and after some days Imprisonment, he gave him a shameful Ejection out of the Seraglio.

But, in process of Time, the mischievous Inconveniences occasion'd by this insatiable pursuance of his Pleasures in Hunting, increasing more and more, the Grand Vizir, and the other Bassa's, resolv'd to intreat the *Mufti*, to make a Remonstrance to him, of the ill consequence thereof, he being the only Person who might presume to speak any more of it to the Grand Seignor. The *Mufti* would by no means hearken to it at first, imagining, as he might well, that his Harangue would not be pleasing to the Sultan: But, at last, being over-perswaded to do that good office to the Publick, he took Courage, and his opportunity, to speak to him, with all the insinuation he could.

The Ancient Custom of the Greek Emperours, to live by their handy-work.

He could not bethink himself of a better Expedient, to remove that predominant passion out of his mind, than to represent to him, the Custom of his Predecessors, who took their diversion in some handy-work, when the War, or the Concerns of State gave them any remission: That, according to their Example, their Subjects apply'd themselves to things that were beneficial, and made all Arts and Professions to flourish in the Empire, to the great Advantage of the Publick: That Sultan *Amurath* his Uncle, delighted in making those Horn-Rings, which are us'd in shooting with the Long-Bowe: That *Ibrahim* his Father, was an Excellent Artist,

Artiſt, in the making of Tooth-picks, and other ſmall Inſtruments of Tortoiſe-ſhell: And that it were requiſite that ſo Laudable a Cuſtom ſhould not be loſt, ſince it gave the People occaſion to do the like, and ſo to avoid Idleneſs.

He further Remonſtrated to his Highneſs, That it was much more commendable in the ſight of men, and more acceptable to God, for him to live by the Labour of his hands, than by the ſweat of the People, and the Money ariſing by Impoſitions, which were forbidden by the Law: and that what was allotted for the peculiar Diet of his Predeceſſors, was the product of their own handy-work: That true it was indeed, they were not oblig'd to any aſſiduity in the Employments they had fancied, but that what they did was as much for their own diverſion, as to ſatisfie the Precept of the Law; and when they had finiſh'd ſome piece of Work, they ſent it to ſome Baſſa, for whom they had a particular kindneſs, and he receiv'd it with extraordinary reſpect, and abundance of joy: That he, who was the Bearer of it, when he came to preſent it, ſaid, That Piece of Work, was made by the Grand Seignor himſelf, who had ſent him to Sell it, in order to his own ſuſtenance: And that the Baſſa, or other Perſon, to whom it was directed, to expreſs how highly he was pleas'd therewith, gave him a certain number of Purſes for it; not accounting the Preſent which was to be made to the Bearer: That what Money came in that way, was deſign'd to bear the Charges of the Prince's own Table, and by that means, he could not be charg'd with living by the Labour of his Subjects.

To this effect was the *Mouſti's* harangue; and I ſhall tell you by the way, That the Kings of *Perſia* have the ſame Cuſtome, or rather the ſame Superſtition. In the Reign of *Shach-Abas*, there were built, at *Iſpahan*, certain Places called *Caravanſeras*, which are publick houſes, where the Merchants are lodg'd, the Rents whereof are ſet aſide for the maintenance of the King's own Table; the Money which is rais'd by the Cuſtoms, and other Impoſitions, being accounted as to that ſcore, for *Haram*, that is to ſay, for *unjuſt* and *forbidden*, and reſerv'd to be employed in the Exigencies of State, and not for the Suſtenance of the Prince.

The Sultan *is cunningly revenged of the* Mouſti.

The Grand Seignor diſſembling and ſmothering the vexation, into which the *Mouſti's* Remonſtrance had put him, pretended to take his Advertiſements very kindly, and diſpos'd himſelf to ſatisfie him, in a ſhort time, how well he could make his advantage of the Lecture he had read him. He acknowledg'd, that he had often thought of what he had repreſented to him, and that he had a way of Livelihood in his head, which he hop'd would take very well. Some days paſs'd away, ere the Grand Seignor made the leaſt mention of Hunting; but at laſt, he grows impatient, he leaves the Seraglio, and had the good fortune to kill a Hare with a Gun, the firſt he had ever deſtroy'd that way. He immediately ſends it to the *Mouſti*, with order to tell him, That he has follow'd his Advice, and that having learnt the Profeſſion of a Huntſman, he has commanded that firſt piece of his Game ſhould be brought to him, which he was willing to ſell, that he might ſubſiſt by the Money it ſhould produce: That he fail not to give twenty Purſes to him who brings it; and that as to his own Perſon, he knew well enough what he ought to ſend him.

The *Mouſti* conceal'd his ſurprizal as well as he could, and receiv'd the Hare with great teſtimonies of his reſentments and joy, of the honour, which his Highneſs had done him; and having beſtow'd, according to his own order, Twenty Purſes upon the Bearer of the Hare, ſends Sixty more to the Grand Seignor himſelf; learning, at his own Coſt, and that to the value of Fourſcore thouſand Crowns, that men ſhould not be over-forward to give their Sovereigns thoſe Advertiſements, which they deſire not of them.

To finiſh the Pourtraiture of Sultan-*Mahomet*, he is further chargeable with a defect of conſtancy, in his humour, and a roughneſs of deportment towards his People, who are therenpon apt to have the leſs Affection for him. And whereas he is indefatigable in his Hunting-Exerciſes, and ſpends whole daies therein, even in the ſevereſt part of the Winter-Seaſon, it happen'd, one day, as he was returning home, from the Sport of running down a Stag, that his Grand Faulconer took the boldneſs to repreſent to him the inconvenience of expoſing his Slaves ſo much in the Ice and Snow, by which means there had dy'd about Thirty of them the Night

before, and the reſt were in a fair way to follow them. The Prince, not at all with that Remonſtrance, made this Reply to the Grand Faulconer, if the Weather prov'd very hard, they ſhould have a care of his Dogs, allow them cloathing, and other accommodations, leſt the rigour of the Sea- might take off any one of them; making not the leaſt mention of, or pro- for the men, whom he ſacrificed to his Divertiſement. That rough Re- ee having been ſpread among the People, has begot ſuch animoſity in them againſt this Prince, that there's no queſtion made of his being ſenſible thereof, and that it is, in ſome meaſure, the cauſe of his keeping ſo much at a diſtance from the Metropolis of his Empire, where he does not think himſelf ſecure.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Womens Appartment.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The impoſſibility of having a full knowledge of the Womens Appartment, in the Seraglio. The Commerce between the Jeweſſes *and the* Sultaneſſes. *The doleful Story of Two Famous Wreſtlers. The great Severity of the Sultan-*Amurath. *How to diſtinguiſh between what is true, and what fabulous, in reference to the* Sultaneſſes. *A ſtrange Story of an Old Woman. Polygamy prejudicial to the propagation of Children. The great Secrecy of the Grand Seignor's Amours.*

The impoſſibility of having an exact account of the Womens Appartment.

I Make a Chapter by it ſelf of the Appartment of the Women, only to entertain the Reader, with the impoſſibility there is, of having a perfect knowledge of it, or getting any exact account, either what the accomodations of it are; or how the Perſons, who are confin'd therein, behave themſelves. There is not in all Chriſtendome any Monaſtery of Religious Virgins, how regular and auſtere ſoever it may be, the entrance whereof is more ſtrictly forbidden to men, than is that of this Appartment of the Women: inſomuch that my white Eunuch, who has ſupply'd me with ſo particular a deſcription of the inner part of the Seraglio, could give me no certain information of this Quarter of it, where the Women are lodg'd. All I could get out of him, was, That the Doors of it are kept by *Negro-Eunuchs*, and that, beſides the Grand Seignor himſelf, and ſometimes, the Phyſician, in caſe of great neceſſity, there never enters any man into it, no nor Woman, beſides thoſe who live in it, and they are never permittied to go out of it, unleſs it be in order to their confinement in the Old Seraglio. But we muſt except, out of that number, the *Sultaneſſes*, and their Maids, or Ladies of Honour, whom the Grand Seignor allows, when he pleaſes, to come into the Gardens of the Seraglio, and whom he ſometimes takes abroad with him, into the Country; yet ſo as that they cannot be ſeen by any perſon whatſoever. Four *Negro Eunuchs* carry a kind of Pavilion, under which is the *Sultaneſs*, and the Horſe upon which ſhe is mounted, all ſave only the head of the horſe, which is ſeen on the out-ſide of the Pavilion, the two fore-pieces of which taking him about the Neck, are cloſe faſten'd, above, and below.

And as to the Phyſician, he is never admitted, as I ſaid, but in caſe of extream neceſſity, into the Apartment of the Women, and with ſuch precautions, that he can neither ſee the perſon who is indiſpos'd, nor be ſeen by her, but to feel her Pulſe through a piece of Lawn, all the other Women having reir'd from her Bed-ſide, and the *Negro-Eunuchs* having taken their places. Thus you ſee what precautions they uſe, to deprive the Women of the Seraglio, of all means of having any acceſs to Men, or indeed ſo much as a ſight of them: and if it happen that ſome *Jewes* has entrance into their Quarter, to Trade with them, and to ſell them ſome little Rarities, they are ſtrictly ſearch'd by the *Negro-Eunuchs*, leſt there ſhould happen to thruſt in ſome Man, diſguis'd in Woman's Cloaths, in which caſe immediate death would enſue. And when the Curioſity of ſome *Chriſtian* Ladies has inclin'd them to ſee the *Sultaneſſes*, they ſeldome eſcap'd without the receiving of ſome affront; and I could produce ſome examples of it did I think it covenient.

The Commerce between the Jeweſſes and the Sultaneſſes.

It might be imagin'd, that, by the relation of the *Jeweſſes*, it were poſſible to have ſome account, of the embelliſhments of the Halls and Chambers of the Apartment of the government of that Female Republick. But it is to be noted, That theſe *Jeweſſes* are not permited to go far into it; for there is a Chamber appointed for the management of their Traffick, and the *Negro-Eunuchs* are the Brokers between them, and the *Sultaneſſes*. They take cognizance of all, and what the Princeſſes have a mind to buy, paſſing through their hands they make them pay double and treble what the things are worth, and ſo heap up Wealth, though they have but little occaſion or opportunity to make uſe of it.

The doleful Story of Two Famous Wreſtlers.

But I do not expect, any one ſhould wonder at that great exactneſs, of not permiting any man, no not even a White Eunuch, to approach the Appartment of the Women, after an Accident, which happen'd at *Adrianople*, in the Year of our Lord M. DC. XXXIX. and which I ſhall here inſert in few words. *Amurath*, at his return, after the taking of *Bagdet*, came and made his abode, for ſome time, at *Adrianople*. He had a Page, belonging to the Treaſury, who was a Native of *Tocat*, in *Natolia*, and, from the place of his birth, they gave him the name of *Tocatli*. He was a well-ſet Young man, robuſt, skillful in Wreſtling, and, upon that account, the Grand Seignor had made Chief of the Wreſtlers.

It happen'd, that one of the moſt Famous, for that Exerciſe, came about that time to *Adrianople*, out of the Confines of *Muſcovy*, and in all the Cities, through which he travell'd, he had alwaies been too hard for thoſe who had preſented themſelves to Wreſtle with him. His Reputation was ſpread all over the Empire, where he had not met with any Wreſtler, who acknowledg'd not himſelf inferiour to him; Which Report coming to the Page of the Treaſury, he conceiv'd ſo great an emulation at the Fame of that Man, whom all the World ſo higly celebrated, that he ſent one of the *Haivagis*, to carry him a Civil Challenge from him, and to acquaint him, That he was deſirous to have a Tryal of Skill with him, in the Grand Seignor's Preſence. He ſent him word withal, That, before his Highneſs had any notice of it, 'twere convenient, they made ſome tryal of their ſtrength; And that no body might know any thing of it, he would ſend him a *Beſtangi's* Garment and Cap, by which means he might come into the Seraglio.

When the Grand Seignor is not within the Seraglio, where-ever it be, the *Beſtangis* are permitted to come into, and to go out of it, by the Garden-Gate; and there being a great number of them, it is no hard matter to get a man in under their accoutrements. By this contrivance did the *Muſcovian* Wreſtler get into the Seraglio, the next day, upon the ſollicitation of the Page, who ſent him what was requiſite; the Grand Seignor being that day, gone a Hunting. They both put on Drawers of Leather well liquor'd with ſome fat or oyly ſtuff, all the reſt of the body being ſtark naked, and liquor'd in like manner: and after a long diſpute, the Page had the better, whether he got it fairly by his own ſtrength, and skill, or that the other yielded the victory, out of complaiſance.

This Action paſs'd in the midſt of the place which is before the Garden, in the preſence of the Mutes, and all the Pages of the Seraglio; and the Grand Seignor being return'd from Hunting, the Superintendent of the Treaſury told him, That there was come into the City, a *Pehlevan*, a *Muſcovite* by Country, robuſt, and of a good meen, of great ſtrength, and well experienced in Wreſtling, and that

if

if his Highneſs pleas'd he ſhould have the ſatisfaction to ſee him engag'd in that Exerciſe. The Grand Seignor commanded he ſhould be brought into the Seraglio, the next day, and that *Tocateli* ſhould have notice, to be ready to entertain him.

Being both come to the place, and in a condition ready to cloſe, the Grand Seignor came into a Gallery, attended by all the Grandees of the Seraglio, to be Spectators of that Tryal of Skill in Wreſtling. The Victory having ſtood as 'twere in the ballance a good while, and all Spectators, being ſomewhat impatient, to ſee which ſide it would turn to, a Mute expreſs'd himſelf by ſigns, to one of his Companions, to this effect, That he wondered the Page, who ſhould have deriv'd new ſtrength and courage, from the Grand Seignor's preſence, found it ſo difficult to get the better of the *Muſcovite*, whom he had ſo eaſily worſted the day before.

The language of the Mutes, by ſigns, is as intiligable in the Seraglio, as if they had the liberty of ſpeaking, and the Grand Seignor, who underſtands it as well as any of them, as having been accuſtom'd thereto from his Infancy, and commonly diſcourſing with them, was ſtrangly ſurpriz'd, to underſtand that the *Muſcovite* had been, the day before, in the ſame place. His indignation immediately fluſh'd into his face; he commanded the Wreſtlers to give over their Exerciſe, and, calling the Page to him, he ask'd him, how he had contriv'd that man's enterance into the Seraglio. The unfortunate *Tocateli*, who could not deny a thing, which ſo many others were ready to teſtifie, acquainted his Highneſs with what had paſs'd; whereupon, the *Sultan*, incens'd at the greatneſs of his confidence, prevented his making an end of the Story, by commanding the *Boſtangi-bachi* to be preſently ſent for, whom he order'd to ſeize on the *Muſcovian* Wreſtler, and ſee him receive Five hundred blows on the ſoles of the Feet, with a Wand or Cudgel; which no doubt was enough to make him uncapable of exerciſing himſelf, for a good while after. The Overſeer had Orders, to ſee the ſame puniſhment inflicted upon the Page *Tocateli*; which was immediately put in execution: the Grand Seignor having, in the mean time, retir'd into the Appartment of the Women.

It was the Opinion of moſt about the Seraglio, that thoſe two unfortunate wretches would have eſcap'd, with the puniſhment of Five hundred blowes, each of them, upon the ſoles of their feet. But the Grand Seignor, who was reſolv'd to have their lives, and had retir'd, purpoſely into the Lodgings of the Women, to prevent all mediation for their pardon, ſent away preſently a ſecond Order, to the *Boſtangi-Bachi*, whereby he was commanded to ſee the Page hang'd up, in the Evening, on a Tree, which is at the Corner of the place where they had Wreſtled, and the *Muſcovite* on another Tree, which is without the Gate of the Seraglio.

Some would be apt to think, that theſe two Executions were enough to appeaſe the Prince's indignation: but it prov'd otherwiſe. The next morning, the Sultan-*Amurath* ſent for the *Capi-Aga*, the chiefeſt amongſt the Eunuchs, and the Grand Maſter and Comptroller, of the Seraglio, and commanded, That the *Gellad*, who is the common Executioner, ſhould alſo give his attendance. Upon the paſſing of theſe Orders, all thoſe, that were preſent, caſt themſelves at his Highneſſe's feet, beſeeching him to conſider, That the *Capi-Aga* was innocent, that he had not the leaſt notice of the confidence of the Page, and that, if it had come to his knowledge, he would have ſeverely puniſh'd it. The Grand Seignor continuing ſtill extreamly incens'd, could not be appeas'd by all the intreaties and ſubmiſſions they made to him, and would have the *Capi-Aga*, as Grand Maſter of the Seraglio, to be anſwerable for all thoſe that come into it; when, for the good fortune of that principal Officer of the *Sultan*'s Palace, there came in the *Mufti*, and the *Seligdar*, Chief of the Pages of the Chamber, who with much ado made a ſhift to beg his pardon. Yet was not that ganted but in part; for all they could obtain, extended only to the ſaving of his life; and ſo the Grand Seignor order'd him to be immeditely thruſt out of the Seraglio, with a charge never to enter again into it, while he liv'd; and inſtead of the Dignity of *Baſſa*, whereto he ſhould have been advanc'd, to be reduc'd, to a ſmall Penſion of Three hundred *Aſpers* a day.

Amurath's great Severity.

I thought pertinent to my design, to bring in this Story of the Two wrestlers, in order to the greater confirmation of what I have affirm'd at the beginning of this Chapter, concerning the impossibility there is, for any person whatsoever, Man, or Woman, to get into the Appartment of the *Sultanesses*, when they punish, with so much severity, a Stranger, who without expres's order, presumes but to set his foot within any Court of the Seraglio.

How to distinguish what's true, and what fabulous, as to the Sultanesses.

Take it then for granted, that this is all that can be known, with certainty, of the Appartment of the Women, who are subservient to the pleasures of the *Ottoman* Monarchs; whatever is scatter'd abroad, beyond this Account thereof, being grounded only upon imaginations and conjectures, which haply are at a great distance from the truth. Certain it is, that this Quarter of the Seraglio, as to some part of it, has a fair Prospect upon that of the Grand Seignor, and that the Doors of it are kept night and day, by a certain number of *Negro-Eunuchs*, the most deformed, and the most dreadful to look upon, that can be found. It is certain also, that it is well furnish'd with abundance of most beautiful Women, of several Countries, who, by the chance of War, or otherwise, are fallen into the hands of the *Bassa's*, and Governours of Provinces, who send them up, as Presents to the Grand Seignor. It is known also, That, of that variety of Women, the Prince does not appropriate to himself above two or three, whom he has the greatest affection for; nay some of those Princes have confin'd themselves to the embraces of one only, after intermarriage. And this is affirm'd, at *Constantinople*, of *Solyman* the Great, after he had plighted his faith to *Roxulana*, contrary to the ordinary Policy of the *Turks*, after the affront, done by *Tamur-leng*, to the Wife of *Bajazet*. The white Eunuchs, who wait in the Grand Seignor's Lodgings, are able in some measure, to give an account of these things, in regard that the Woman, who is to participate of the Grand Seignor's Bed, is conducted into his own Chamber; and, if it be a new Amour, the noise of it is spread, the next day, all over the Seraglio.

It is also known, That the first of those Women, who is deliver'd of a Male-child, and by that means, becomes Mother to the presumptive Heir of the *Ottoman* Empire, is consider'd as the principal *Sultaness*, and treated according to her dignity: and the others, who afterwards have Sons or Daughters, have also the quality and denomination of *Sultanesses*; but the number of the Women, who are to wait on them, is much inferiour, to that of those who are to attend the principal *Sultaness*. It is known in fine, That those young Princes are brought up under the tutelage of their Mothers, till they are so many years of Age; and when they are strong enough to be put upon certain Exercises, they have Governours and Masters appointed over them, in a distinct Quarter by themselvs.

Besides these things, which may be positively known, concerning the Appartment of the Women, in the Seraglio, it may well be immagin'd, that the embellishments of their Lodgings are answerable to those of the Grand Seignor, since it is the Place, where he passes away the most divertive part of his time. It is also not to be question'd, but that it has its Infirmary, its Baths, and the other accommodations, and conveniences, that can be wish'd for. It may also be conjectur'd, that there is, in this Quarter, an observance of the same regulations, as there are in the Chambers of the *Icheglans*: That some of the more ancient Maids are Mistresses over the Younger ones, and are, night and day employ'd in observing their actions; and that their unvoluntary restraint forces them to the same unseemly Actions amongst themselves, as the brutish Passions of those Young Men engages them in, whenever they can find the opportunities to commit them. And this presumption has no doubt given occasion to the Fabulous Story, which is related of their being serv'd up with Cucumbers cut into pieces, and not intire, out of a ridiculous fear least they should put them to undecent uses: they who have forg'd the Story not knowing, that it is the custome in the *Levant*, to cut the Fruit a-cross, into great thick slices, as I shall make it appear in the Chapter, where I treat of Gardens. But it is not only in the Seraglio, that that abominable Vice reigns, but it is predominant also in the City *Constantinople*, and in all the Provinces of the Empire, and the wicked Example of the Men, who, slighting the natural use of Women-kind, are mutually inflam'd with a detestable love for one another, unfortunately enclines the Women to intimate them.

Of

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CHAP. XVIII.

The Entrance into *Constantinople* of the *Sultaness*, Mother to the Grand Seignor, whom they honour with the Title of *la Valide*, on the Second of *July*, 1668.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The order of the March. The Wealth of the Grand Seignors Favourite. The Sultanesses *Coaches. The prohibitions to look on her.*

ON the Second of *July*, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand, six Hundred, Sixty and Eight, the *Sultaness*, Mother to the Grand Seignor Regent, at her return from *Adrianople*, made her Entrance into *Constantinople*, where I then was, of which Entrance take the ensuing Description.

The Order of the March. About Six in the Morning, some numbers of *Janizaries*, not observing any order, took their way towards the Seraglio, sometimes ten, or more, sometimes twenty, in little detachments, which lasted for some time.

After them came two hundred men on Horse-back, belonging to the House of the *Cologlou*, that is to say, the Grand Seignor's Favourite, with short Guns resting on the Bowe of their Saddles, and all very meanly clad, as also the Officers of his Kitchin, who coming in the Rear of the others, were, in like manner, poorly habited, and ill mounted. After them appear'd in somewhat a better order, the menial Retinue of the *Caimacan*, his Officers, as well those belonging to the Chamber, as those of the Stables, were very handsomely mounted, and all in their yellow Garments.

The next appearance was that of the *Spahis*, who are the *Sultaness*-Mother's Life-Guard. Of those there were four hundred, which made a handsome Shew, being all well mounted, and well clad. They had all their Coats of Mail, with their Vests of red Taffeta, and had on the right side a Quiver of Crimson Velvet, embroider'd with Flowers of Gold; and on the left, a Bowe in a Cover of red Velvet, embroider'd as the other. They had all of them Helmets on their Heads, and over them white Turbants, and from the Helmets there hung small Chains of Mail, resembling Locks of Hair, which they use when occasion requires, to ward off a blow from the Neck and Face. Every one of them had also a Launce in his hand, and the Trappings of their Horses were of one of these three Colours, yellow, violet, and red, of a rich Stuff, with an embroidery of Silver.

The *Spahi-Bachi* came in the Rear of them, having a Plume of Heron-tops in his Turbant, three foot in height, which made him remarkable, and distinguish'd him from all the other *Spahis*. On the breast-piece of his Horse, were fastn'd a dozen little Scarffs, which hung down negligently, and he was attended by six Pages, who had Caps on, after the *Slavonian* Mode, red Vests tuck'd up about the waste, and yellow Hose, or Drawers.

After the *Spahis*, there pass'd several *Janizaries*, but not marching in any order, follow'd by two hundred men on Horse-back, and in the Rear of them, came the *Janizary-Aga*, a Person of a very goodly presence. He had for his immediate Attendants six gentle young Persons, who had each of them, hanging over his shoulder, a kind of Quiver, full of small Wands, which are a sort of Arrows, without any Iron-work at the ends.

After

Above-mentioned, there came up twelve men, who are as it were the Masters of the Ceremonies, in very ridiculous Accoutrements. They had Silver Wands on their Shoulders, their Vestments were garnish'd with small Bells, and they had Caps on, which had somewhat hanging down of each side, resembling Asses Ears.

The next appearance after that extravagant Party, was that of a hundred *Capigis*, all well mounted, every one with a Launce in his hand, with a Flag fasten'd thereto reaching from the top to the bottom, which made a very noble Shew. In the Rear of the Troop came the *Capichi bachi*, distinguish'd from the rest by a fresh and large Plume of Heron-tops, which added much to the gracefulness of his port, and Person.

After them, came a hundred *Chiaous's*, well clad, and well mounted, having their great Caps on their Heads; and in the Rear of them came the *Caimacan*, having a Cap of the same fashion, attended by twenty Pages, very neatly clad.

The next appearance was that of five or six hundred *Bostangis*, with their Caps like Sugar-loaves, their Habits of a red linnen Cloath, and Muskets on their Shoulders. The *Bostangi-bachi* came after them, sumptuously clad, and mounted, with a *Chiaous*-Cap upon his head, and a great number of People about him.

There appear'd next, two hundred *Cadis*, making a most noble Shew, all modestly clad, with their Busquins of black *Spanish*-Leather, and white Turbants, like great Balls of Wool, or Silk.

They were follow'd by the *Seberifs*, who affirm themselves to be of the kindred of *Mahomet*, and made up a Troop of sixty Persons. As they were the Relations of the Prophet, they wore green Turbants of an extraordinary bigness.

After the *Seberifs*, came the two principal Officers of the *Mufti* (for he never appears in Person in these sorts of Ceremonies) and they were clad in white, having a very demure and religious Countenance.

The *Cologlou*, or Grand Seignor's Favourite, appear'd next mounted on a gallant Horse, whose Harness and Trappings were of the richest. The Stirrups were of Gold, and the Housse was embellish'd with an embroydery of Gold and Pearls. His Vest was of a red Brokado, and his Cap like those of the *Chiaouxes*. Two men held the Reins of his Bridle, and his Horse curvetted all along, as if he had been sensible of the goodly presence of his Master, and how well it became him. He was a person of a good stature, and of a graceful Countenance, having withal a mild and sprightly look, and every one saluted him, as he advanc'd still towards the Seraglio. The Servants belonging to his Stables marched after him, and fifty Grooms led each of them a Horse in his hand, and those Horses were all high-priz'd, and their Harnesses as sumptuous as could be made. 'Tis commonly reported, That this Favourite, who is a person of very great merit, hath acquir'd vast Riches, and that his Train, whether as to the number of Servants, or as to that of Horses, surpasses that of many great Princes. *The wealth of the Favourite.*

There came up next a small Troop of *Negro-Eunuchs*, marching confusedly, before the Coaches of the *Sultaness*, Mother to the present Grand Seignor, all well mounted, and magnificently clad, in different colours. *The Sultanesses Coaches.*

There appear'd afterwards Six *Capigis*, about the first Coach, drawn by six Excellent Horses. They had each of them a Launce in his hand; and, in the Rear of them, there appear'd a Horse-tail-Banner, of a pale-red colour, whereby it was known, that some Bassa's were coming up, as indeed there were, and they were a Convoy to the second Coach, drawn by six white Horses, in which was the *Sultaness*-Mother, and another *Sultaness*. Two Black Eunuchs march'd on each side of it, the Boots, or Doors being latic'd, that the Princesses might see, and not be seen. Which hindred not, however, but that, as the Coach of the *Sultanes* came forwards, some were still crying out to the People, and commanding them to look the other way; which Command it concerns them exactly to obey, and that especially in *Persia*, where they must get away as far as they can, to avoid the hazard of receiving a good blow with a Sable.

After

After the aforesaid Coach, there pass'd by Twelve other Coaches with four Horses apiece, wherein were the Female-Slaves belonging to the *Sultanesses*, having two *Negro-Eunuchs*, at the Doors of each Coach, which were latic'd, as the former: After which there follow'd several Litters, and four great Waggons, full of Snow, for the use of the *Sultanesses* and their Retinue.

All this Cavalcade, consisting of between five and six thousand men, took up almost three hours in its passage, and having made its Procession through *Constantinople*, lodg'd it self in the Seraglio, according to the description I have given you of it.

Of the *French* Nation, there were several Persons of Quality, who had the Curiosity to see that Entrance; and among others, Monsieur *Ribier*, *de Ville-neuve*, a Councellor of the Parliament of *Paris*; Monsieur *Le Mairat*, a Counsellor of the Grand Council; The Abbot of *Champbuon*, *de la Saulsay*, all *Parisians*; and Monsieur *Aubert*, a Native of *New-France*, and, by Extraction, a *Norman*, Son to the Governour of *Guardalupe*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Gardens of the Seraglio.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

The Revenues of the Gardens employed for the Grand Seignor's Table. Cucumbers, a fruit of much delicacy amongst the Levantines, *and how they eat them. A noble Pyramid, resembling* Trajan's *Pillar. Fountains. The number of the Gardiners.*

The Revenues of the Gardens, how employed.

IT is an ancient Custom, or rather, a Law, establish'd by the *Ottoman* Princes, that the profits made out of their Gardens, should be contributary to the keeping of their own Tables, and they have several of them, in the Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, as well on the *European* side, as the *Asian*, all along the Sea-shore. But I shall give an Account only of the Gardens of the Seraglio, that so I may not exceed the limits I have prescrib'd to my self in this Relation.

There are in the Seraglio several Gardens, wherein there are only Flowers, in divers Appartments, and particularly in that of the Grand Seignor, and, no question but the same thing may be said of the Quarter of the *Sultanesses*. Yet is there not any thing extraordinary, which might oblige me to give this description thereof. The great Garden, whereof the *Bostangi-bachi* has the oversight, as he has also of all the others belonging to the Grand Seignor, takes up the greatest part of the Seraglio, and consists of a great number of Walks, planted of each side with Cypress. Those Walks are much neglected, so that in several places, they are not clear'd of Bryars and Thorns. When it is known, that the Grand Seignor is to come and take his divertisement there, a great number of *Bostangis* are immediately commanded out to make clean the Walks, which he uses to frequent, and the spaces between those Walks are so many Kitchin-Gardens, or Orchards, which are very well furnish'd with Fruit-Trees, of several excellent kinds. Of Strawberries and Raspices there is great store, and they have large beds of Melons, and Cucumbers; but most of these last, which are accounted a great delicacy amongst the *Levantines*.

Cucumbers a great delicacy amongst the Levantines.

As to the Cucumbers, they commonly eat them without taking off any thing of the rinde, after which they go and drink a glass of Water. In all *Asia*, it is the ordinary sustenance of the meaner sort of People, for the space of three or four months; the whole Family lives upon them, and when a Child asks for something

to

to eat, whereas in our *Europæan* Countries, they would give him bread; in the *Levant*, they bring him only a Cucumber, which he eats raw, as it comes out of the Garriſon. Laborious perſons, and ſuch as are in a manner tyr'd with working, ſuch as Camel-drivers, and thoſe who are entruſted with the care of the Horſes, and Mules, in the Caravans, make a kind of Salled of their Cucumbers, not much unlike the Maſh, which we would give our Horſes. When they are come to the Lodging place, where the Caravan is to make a ſtay, they take a large Baſin, which they almoſt, fill with water, and having put ſome ſowr milk into it, they cut a great number of Cucumbers, into great ſlices, and, ſo make a kind of maſh of them. 'Tis a pleaſant ſight to ſee them at the confounding of it. Amongſt ten, or twelve, who all ſtand round the ſaid Baſin, there is but one wooden Spoon, which every one takes his turn, till they have made a ſhift to empty the Baſin. That done, they fall a drinking of water, and thoſe who have wherewithall, go and take a diſh of Coffee, or ſmoke a Pipe of Tobacco.

But to do them all the right they deſerve, the Cucumbers, in the *Levant* are excellently good, and, though eaten raw, they never do a man any hurt. The Story of the Cucmbers which occaſion'd the cruel death of Seven Pages of the Grand Seignor's Chamber, is not, haply, known to all people; or at leaſt, all know not the reaſon, why the Pages of the Chamber are not now permitted to go into the Gardens.

Sultan *Mahomet*, the ſecond of that name, taking a turn in the Gardens of the Seraglio, attended by his Pages, was much ſurpriz'd to ſee a bed of Cucumbers, which look'd very fair to the eye, and were extreamly forward conſidering the Seaſon. Being a great lover of that fruit, he recommended them to the *Boſtangibachi*, who told them over every day, and, with ſome impatience, expected their maturity, that he might preſent them to the Grand Seignor. Some daies after, going to Viſit the bed, he found his number of Cucumbers ſhorter, than it ſhould have been, by three or four, and that they who had taken thoſe that were miſſing, had made choice of the ripeſt, and thereupon making a ſtrict enquiry, to find out who had been guilty of that preſumption, he found that the Pages of the Chamber were the only perſons who had been, that day, in the Gardens.

Upon that diſcovery, he went and gave an account of the whole matter to the Grand Seignor, who was ſo highly incens'd thereat, that, not prevailing with any one of the Pages to acknowledge the Theft, he, out of a cruelty as much above all credit, as beyond all example, caus'd the Bellies of ſeven of them to be ripp'd up. The Theft was found in the Belly of the ſeventh of thoſe unfortunate Young Men, who, after the execution done on the other ſix, would not acknowledge his guilt, out of hopes, that the Prince's indignation would not have extended ſo far. From that very time, and in commemoration of ſo ſtrange an action, the Pages of the Chamber are not permitted to go into the Gardens of the Seraglio; what one Prince has eſtabliſh'd, as I have hinted elſewhere, being never revok'd by his Succeſſors, who bear a certain reſpect to the enactions of their Anceſtors.

In the midſt of the Great Walk, which goes from the Seraglio, to the Sea-Gate which looks towards *Scudaret*, there is a Pyramid, erected upon a ſquare Pedeſtal, and which four men would have much ado to fathom. About the Pedeſtal they have ſuffer'd ſome bryars and thorns to grow, and it ſeems to have been done out of deſign, to hinder peoples coming cloſe to it. The Pyramid, from the top to the bottom, is full of Figures, whereof the heads are ſtruck off; and it may be conjectur'd by ſome remainders, that there was a very noble head on the top of it, as being the Maſter piece of the work. This Pyramid ſomewhat reſeſembles *Trajan's* Pillar at Rome; and ſome, who have ſeen both, imagine, they were the work of the ſame maſter. *A Pyramid, much reſembling* Trajan's *Pillar.*

All the Fountains of the Gardens have their Baſins of Marble, of different colours. Near each of them, there is a little Scaffold, ſurrounded with Balliſters, which they ſpread with rich Carpets, and Brocado-Cuſhions, when the Sultan comes to take his walk there: and 'tis only at that time, the Waters play; which Diverſion he frequently gives the Princeſſes who bear him Company. *Fountains.*

There are appointed for the Culture of theſe Gardens two thouſand *Boſtangis*; and yet, though there be ſo vaſt a number to keep them, they come far ſhort of the Neat Contrivances and Imbelliſhments of ours. *Too Gardiners.*

CHAP. XX.

Of the Princes who follow the *Mahumetan* Religion, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*.

THE PRINCIPAL HEADS.

General Laws for all the Mahumetan *Sects. A Curious Remark concerning the Emperour of* Java's *Son. Kings, who follow the Doctrine of* Hali. *The Royal Present sent from the Great* Mogul *to* Mecha. *The several ways, by which the* Mahumetans *come to their Prophet's Tomb. Troublesome Deserts to be passed through in their way to the Sepulchre of* Hali. *A Miraculous Channel of Water, of the continuance of Eighteen days Journey. The Burnt-Offering of a Weather.*

General Laws for all the Mahumetan *Sects.*

I Have so often had occasion, in the present Relation I have made of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio, to speak of the *Mahumetan* Religion, that I am content before I put a period to this Work, to make it appear, how far it extends into the three parts of our great Continent: *Mahumetisme* having not yet set footing into that which has been discover'd but two Ages since. I meddle not at all with the Doctrine of it, of which I am sufficiently assur'd that many persons have written: and I shall only entertain the Reader with a Geographical Chart of all the Countries of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, which are under the dominion of the followers of *Mahomet*.

Though the Opinions of their Doctors be different, as to what concerns the Explication of the Law, and that there are principally two great Sects, that of *Mahomet*, which is the Stock; and that of *Hali*, one of his principal Successors: Yet those two general Sects, and the particular ones, which are derivable thence, are all concordant in the fundamental Points, which every *Mahumetan* is oblig'd, in Conscience, to observe and practise. Of those I gave an account, when I made mention of the Prayers or Devotions, which the *Turks* are bound to perform five times a day, and the Pilgrimage of *Mecha* is one of those principal Articles. I have also laid something of them, in the Chapters treating of the Present, which the Grand Seignor sends thither every Year; and in this last, I shall endeavour to express my self fully as to that matter.

In *Europe*, we have no *Mahumetan* Princes but the Emperour of the *Turks*, and the *Cham* of the Lesser *Tartary*: But in *Asia* there are many of them, who are powerful, and possess'd of great Dominions. The Grand Seignor extends his Jurisdiction, in this part, beyond the Sources of the River *Tigris*, and beyond the mouths, by which it falls into the Sea, and towards the North, as far as the Territories of the *Mengrelians*. To go thence from the West to the East, next the Grand Seignor, we must count the Princes of the Three *Arabia's*, with several of whom I have often spoken, in Two of my Voyages, wherein *I* have been oblig'd to pass through the Deserts. The King of *Persia*, the Great *Mogul*, the King of *Visapour*, the King of *Golconda*, the Kings on the Coast of *Malabar*, of whom the most considerable is that of *Comorin*; the Great *Cham* of *Tartary*, and the Kings of the Mountains, to the North side of the same *Tartary*, who are got into *China*; All these Kings, *I* say, follow the *Mahumetan* Religion.

Since

Since I have mentioned the Emperour of *Java*, I shall, by the way, insert here an observation, which *I* made at the time of my being in that Island, which was, That the eldest Son of that Emperour, who regin'd in the year 1648. had six fingers on each of his hands, and six toes one each foot, and all of equal length. *A curious Remark of the Emperour of Java's Son.*

The Kings of *Persia*, *Visapour* and *Golconda* follow the Sect of *Hali*; and the Kings of the mountains of *Tartary*, with some others, have also their particular Sects. Besides, it is to be observ'd, that if we except the Grand Seignor, the King of *Persia*, the *Arabian* Princes, and the *Cham* of Great *Tartary*, all the other Kings, whom *I* have named, have only Idolaters to their Subjects, and all the meaner sort of people is involv'd in the darkness of Paganism. But as to the Grand Seignor's, with all his Militia, they follow the Law of *Mahomet*. *Kings following the Doctrine of Hali.*

In *Africa*, there is a *Mahumetan* King, whose Territories lie all along the Coast of *Abex*, which is towards *Arabia Felix*, as far as the Cape of *Guardafu*, and his Jurisdiction extends over the Red Sea, and the Ocean. The Governours, whom the Grand Seignor employs in *Egypt*, and in the *Islands* of the Red Sea, and those others, whom he has establish'd all along the Coast of *Barbary*, at *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Argiers*, who assume the Title of Kings, are also *Mahumetans*; and, in fine, the King of *Fez* and *Morocco* follows the same Law.

All these Kings and Princes, are principally unanimous in this Point, That they acknowledg themselves oblig'd to send every year some Present to *Mecha*, which ordinarily consists in rich Carpets, to be put upon *Mahomet's* Sepulchre. Sometimes these Presents are made upon a particular Vow; and it happen'd in one of my Voyages to *Agra*, that the Great *Mogul*, by way of thankfulness to the Prophet, for the recovery of his health, sent to *Mecha*, an *Alcoron*, valued at four hundred thousand Crowns, which had, in the midst of the Cover, a Diamond, of three hundred Carats; the rest of it being garnish'd with several precious Stones on both sides. The occasion of this Present was, the fright which a certain *Bramere*, put him into, upon his telling him, That he should die before the year was expir'd, which happen'd not accordingly. But the King being extremely incens'd at that direful Prediction, and, upon the smart Interrogatory he put to the *Bramere*, to wit, whether he knew also the time of his own death, having receiv'd this Answer, That it should be within three days; which really happen'd upon the third day, there was a sufficient ground for him to be frightned, and to conceive an apprehension, that the like accident might happen to himself, before the time limited. 'Twas that induc'd him to send a Present of so great value, to *Mahomet's* Sepulchre, to acknowledge the favour he had done him, in not suffering the Prediction of the *Bramere* to take effect, the King having not had as much as any indisposition, during all that time. *The Great Mogul's Royal sent to Mecha.*

When I gave an account of the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*, upon occasion of the Tent and Carpet, which the Grand Seignor sends thither every year, I made no mention of the several ways which the Caravans take, according to the several parts of the World, from whence great multitudes of *Mahumetans* do every year take their progress thither. *The several ways whereby the Mahumetans come to the Sepulchre of their Prophet.*

In the first place, the Ambassadors, whom the Kings of the Islands, whereof I have given you the names, and the Kings of the *Indies*, on this side the *Ganges*, send to the *Sheck* of *Mecha*, with their Presents come by Sea, to *Mocha*, a Maritime City of *Arabia Felix*, and from thence they travel to *Mecha* by Land, by the conveniency of Camels.

The *Persians*, who inhabit all along the Sea-side make their descent from *Ormus*, or to *Bandar*, and having pass'd over the Gulf, which, at that place, is not above twelve or thirteen Leagues in breadth, are forc'd to cross *Arabia* ere they can get to the Prophet's City. But the Inhabitants of the upper-parts of *Persia*, towards the *Caspian* Sea, and all the *Tartars*, come to *Tauris*, and from *Tauris* to *Aleppo*, from which place, the great Caravans, which take their progress through the Desarts, set forth, and bring the Pilgrims to *Mecha*. Some take the way of *Babylon*, but very seldom, because the *Bassa* exacts a Tribute of them, and particularly of the *Persians* whom they account Hereticks; and that consideration has oblig'd the King of *Persia*, to forbid his Subjects to take that Rode, thinking himself not inferiour to the *Turk*.

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The Publiſher unto the Reader:

THE enſuing Narration was put into my hands Five or Six Years ago, by a very Intelligent Worthy Perſon, who long reſided in the ſame Family with our Author, and did aſſure me, that the Diſcourſe here publiſhed, was written with his own hand, and preſented unto that Honourable Perſon who redeemed him out of Captivity. The Gentleman who beſtowed theſe Papers upon me, will not be reſponſible for the Truth of all therein contained; but I having compared his Account of ſeveral Countries with that of *Olearius* and other more Ancient and Modern Writers, have found them very Conſonant unto each other, and therefore do charitably belive him no leſs Faithful in his Deſcription of thoſe Countries and People concerning whom little hath been ſaid by any beſides. By reaſon of his long abſence from his Native Country, and diſ-uſe of his Mother-Tongue, his ſtyle was ſo rough, odd, and unpleaſant, that I was forced to make therein great Alterations both as to Method and Expreſſion, yet keeping ſtrictly unto his ſenſe: I have alſo much abbreviated his Diſcourſe, many things being often repeated, and he having ſtuffed it with divers impertinencies, which would have been void of all Inſtruction and Delight. He would never own his true Name or Pedigree, for Reaſons mentioned in his Paper, which I thought altogether unneceſſary to be reheatſed; that of *Aſtracan*, wherewith he concludes his *NARRATIVE*, being fictitious, and I ſuppoſe aſſumed, becauſe of his long Reſidence in a City of that name, from which he made moſt of his Excurſions: And which with the Adjacent Country he hath above all others moſt particularly deſcribed, giving us the names of ſeveral Neighbouring Places and Rivers mentioned by no other Writer. I was highly pleaſed with the Account he gives us of *Czaroſtgorod*, which he alſo ſometimes calls *Seraichan* and *Seraichena*; the former of which is the *Muſcovitiſh*, the latter the *Tartarian* Appellation, and inrepreted, both ſignifie the Habitation of the Emperour or *Cham*, it being formerly the *Metropolis* of a great Empire. As alſo with his mention of a place on the Weſt-ſide of the *Volga*, where he ſayes *Aſtracan* was formerly ſituated. Concerning both which Cities, *I* ſhall declare divers things *I* have Collected out of ſeveral *European* and *Arabian* Writers, which either are not commonly known, or little regarded. But *I* muſt neceſſarly premiſe ſomewhat concerning the Antient Inhabitants of the Country wherein theſe Cities are ſituated.

The firſt Nation (of whom *I* find any mention) who made any fix'd habitation in theſe Quarters were the *Chazari*, ſo named by the *Latines* and *Greeks*, but by the *Mahumetans*, *Alchozar*, and *Gorjani*. This Nation during the Reign of the Emperour *Juſtine*, like a Torrent Overflowed all that Vaſt Continent which lies between *China* and the *Boriſthenes*, Conquered part of *India*, all *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and made the *Perſians* Tributary, by whom they are always called *Turks*, and their Prince, *Chacan*, a Title formerly common unto all great *Turkiſh* Emperours. This Mighty Monarch having conquered the *Igors* or *Jugurs*, *Avares*, *Chuni* or *Huns*, *Abtelites* or White *Huns*, and all other Tribes of *Turks* and *Tartars*, together with the *Alani* (whoſe Dominion then extended, as appears by *Marcellinus*, from the *Boriſthenes* far beyond the moſt North-Eaſt part of the *Caſpian* Sea) entred into a League with *Juſtine*, and ſtyles himſelf in his Letters, *Lord of the Seven Climates of the World*. His Acts may be read at large in *Theophilactus Simocatta*; *Excerptis de Legationibus*: and divers others of the *Bizantine* Hiſtorians. This Nation Aſſiſted the Emperour *Heraclius* in his Wars againſt

against the great *Cosroes*, whom by their Assistance he overcame. These *Cazari* were also possessed of all that part of *Turica Chersonesus* which is plain and fit for feeding Cattle, they being addicted, after the manner of all other *Scythian Nomades*, unto a Pastoral life; which *Peninsula* from them was untill the Famous Irruption of the *Tartars* in the Thirteenth Century, called *Cassaria*, or *Chazaria*, and afterwards more corruptly by the *Genoeses*, *Venetians*, and other *Latines*, *Cazaria*. I find mention of these *Chazari* or *Chozars* in divers *Persian* and *Arabian* Historians and Geographers. *Abulpharagius* acquaints us with an Expedition they made into *Persia* the 183 Year of the *Hegira*, which was after our Account in 799. From whence they returned with great Spoile, and above 100000 Captives: and afterwards, in the 514*th*. Year of the *Mahumetan Epocha*, being A. C. 1120. they made another Inroad, accompanied by the *Comanians*,) whom the *Arabians* call *Kaphjacks*;) Frequent mention is made of them by that Deservedly Celebrated *Arabian* Geographer *Al Edrisi*, who flourished in the 548*th*. year of the *Hegira*; of Christ, 1153. He always calls the *Caspian* Sea, *Mare Chozar*: and all that Countrey on the North and to the West of the *Caspian* Sea, *Terra Chozar*. He acquaints us, that the Residence of the Prince of *Chozar* was not far above the Mouth of the *Volga*, which the *Tartars* call *Athel*; which name I suppose it derived from *Attila*, that Renowned King of the *Hunns*, being so called in the Relation of the Ambassadors who were sent by the Emperour *Justine*, unto the Great *Chacan* of the *Turks* residing in the East. *Al Edrisi* and his Epitomizer, commonly known by the Name of *Geographus Nubiensis* intimate, That these *Chozars* inhabited divers other Cities, but that this was the Metropolis; he surpresses the Name, styling it only from the River, the City of *Athel*; and declares it was divided by the River, the chief and greatest part being on the West-side; and that the other less considerable on the East-side, was inhabited only by the meaner sort of People and Merchants, it being a place of great Trade, that which made it more considerable, was the liberty allowed unto all of the Publick Profession, and Exercise of their respective Religious Perswasions, *Jews*, *Christians*, *Mahumetans*, and *Idolaters* being there equally countenanced, which I suppose might occasion that Dialogue published out of an Ancient *Hebrew* Manuscript, by *L' Empereur*, between the Author a *Jewish* Rabbi, and the King of *Chozar*. This City is said to have been extended along the River three miles in length, and its breadth proportionable; the Western part well fortified; adorned with the Emperours Palace, and several other eminent Structures. *Nassir Eddin*, who wrote at the latter end of the 13th. Century, calls this City in his Geographical Tables, *Balanjar*, and from him *Abulfeda*; they place it in 46 degrees 30 minutes of Northern Latitude; where within six or eight minutes our best Geographers seat *Astracan*. And questionless this was that City which our Author and *Olearius* call *Old Astracan*. These *Chazari*, did I suppose, conserve their vast Dominion without any great Interruption, at least until *A. C.* 900. For *Alfergamus* who lived about that Time, places no other Nation in his Table of Climes, between *China* and the *Boristhenes*; And *Eutichius*, who worte about 30 or 40 years after, makes mention of them as a mighty Nation, and many amongst them converted unto the Christian Belief. About the middle of the 10th Century these *Chazari* gave place unto the *Cumanians* or *Commanians*, who were also a *Turkish* Nation known unto the *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Arabians*, under the Name of *Kaphjacks*; whether they expelled the *Chazari*, or that the former becoming the more Eminent Tribe, gave Law and Name unto these latter (as hath since frequently happened among the *Tartars*) I will not here undertake to determine: but this is certain, that suddenly the Name of *Chazari* was extinct, and all that Tract of Land from the *Nepper* unto *Turkestan* 1500 miles beyond the *Volga*, was inhabited by these *Cumanians*, who were often troublesome unto the *Russes*, *Lithuanians*, *Hungarians*, and other Neighbour-Nations. But this People was almost totally destroyed by the *Tartars* in that great Inundation which happened at the beginning of the 12th Century, soon after the death of *Jingiz Chan*; whose Son *Hoota* being chosen Emperour, sent his Nephew *Batu*, or *Batby*, the Son of *Tussy Jingiz Chan*, his Eldest Son with 400000 Men, to invade the Northern Parts of *Asia*. The *Cumani* for divers years valianty resisted, and made the greatest opposition the *Tartars* met with in all their Conquests; repuls'd them in two pitch'd Battels; but then growing secure, and dispersing upon the *Tartars* retreat, they were unexpectedly surprized, the whole Countrey over-run, above 200000 killed, their King *Kuthen* hardly escaping with 40000 into *Hungary*, where

he

he met with a kind reception, had land allotted him, and his Company; which Region is called *Campus Cumanus* unto this day. This Countrey was so miserably wasted by the *Tartars* that in the Years 1253, and 1254, when *Rubriquis* passed through it, going unto and returning from his Ambassage to *Mangu Chan*, there was no fixed habitation, excepting a few Cottages in the Island where *Astracan* is now situated.

But *Bathy* having destroyed the *Comanians*, ruinated their Cities, and established his own Dominion, began to think of a fix'd aboade, which after long observation he chose near the River *Volga*, on the East-side, and immediately beneath the River *Actabon*, a great Arm of the *Volga*, and the first it dismisses, which empties it self into the *Caspian Sea* (having run a course of near 400 miles, and received several other Branches from the foresaid River) about 7 Leagues East off the main River. He had newly began this City at the return of *Rubriquis* from his Embassage unto *Mangu Chan*, in the year 1246, and called *Serai*; which City was enlarged and beautified by all his Successors, unto the time of its destruction by *Tamerlane*, which was almost 150 years. *Bathy* was succeeded by *Barcah*, who was the first professed *Mahumetan* Emperour; he by *Hocola*, or *Hoolay*, Contemporary with *Hayton* the *Armenian*, who hath in his History largely discoursed concerning him: I should here mention all the other Emperours interceeding between *Hocola* and *Tuckt amosch* (who was dispossessed by *Tamerlane*) together with their Acts, but that I hasten unto that which most immediately concerns our present Design, and give some account of this City, which (as I said) was first named *Serai*, which interpreted signifies only a Dwelling or Habitation; the beginning of it being a Palace built for *Bathy*. You may see what our Traveller says concering it, *Page* 112. Besides him I find two Authors who make particular mention thereof; the first is in the History of *Arabshiade*, published by *Golius*. This Author represents it as one of the greatest and most populous Cities in the Universe, agrees with our Traveller in the situation, only he calls that Branch which runs out of the *Volga* and passes to the South-East, *Sencle*. The other is *Michovius*, who wrote his History of the *Tartars* in the year 1515. He affirms, That in his time there remained the ruines of 300 Temples besides the Walls of the City, and several other Magnificent Structures. The *Tarters* have several times attempted to re-edifie it, but divisions amongst themselves, Wars with the *Muscovites*, and attempts of the *Cossacks* caused them to retire unto places of greater security. But because little mention is made of this great Revolution by any *European* Writer I shall here present the Reader with an account thereof out of the most Authentick *Turkish*, *Arabian*, and *Persian* Writers. For *Calcondilas* is greatly mistaken, who seems to have received by his confident way of writing, most particular information, when as nothing can be more remote from the truth than what he affirms, *viz*, That *Tamerlane* after several attempts, and two or three Battles was forced to retire, and glad to secure his Retreat by a Peace, he first made with *Tuckthamisch*, which was by both afterwards kept inviolable; which is contrary to the Reports of much more Authentick Historians. The Origin, Progress, and Event of this War, was after the ensuing manner.

Tamerlane being in effect Prince, but in name only *Coutrachan* (the *Greeks* call it *Kurgan*) that is, Viceroy or General over all those Countries which are comprehended between the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, wherein *Bochara*, *Samarcband*, and several other famous Cities were contained, extended his Conquests towards *Balch* and *Chorasan*, (the *Aria* of the Antients;) which progress of his, filled *Thutetamisch* Emperour of *Serai* (the City we have beforementioned) with jealousies of his growing Greatness; whereupon gathering a numerous Army, he resolved to invade him, using no formality, or so much as pretence, he thought to have surprized his Enemy; but *Tamerlane*, one of whose Master-pieces was to gain early Intelligence of whatsoever was designed, or transacted by neighbouring Princes, having timely notice of his intention, gathering all his own Forces, together with considerable assistance from his Confederates, marched directly towards his Enemy, and passing the *Jaxartes*, met him to his no small astonishment, on the Borders of his own Countrey; for the *Jaxartes* only divided their Territories. After a most obstinate bloody fight, *Tamerlane* gained the Victory, yet neither absolute, nor without great loss, but it was sufficient that he had

had secured his own Dominion. After this success he did for divers years attend other Conquests, and having subdued a great part of *India*, all *Persia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, *Assyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Syria*, he resolved to requite the Invasion of *Thuctamish*: whereupon having drawn together an Army of 500000 men, he marched through *Media Atropatia*, then and still called *Shervan*; passed the *Portæ Caucasiæ*, which the *Persians* name *Derbent*; thence through *Dabestan*, and the great Desart between that and *Astracan* (then named *Gitturchan*) and having wasted all that spacious Countrey on the West-side of the *Volga*, depopulated and dismantled divers fair Cities (the ruines of several being yet visible to those who Navigate the *Volga*, as we are informed by *Olearius*) he passed the *Volga*, and on the East-side encountred *Thuctamisch*, who had Collected a mighty Force, having besides his own *Hords*, the assistance of the *Tartars* of *Cassan*, *Temen*, *Kalmuke*, and *Dabestan*: and his Army by this accession was more numerous than that of his Enemy. The Battel was long doubtful, and exceeding all that happened in that Age for carnage and cruelty, both Parties being full of hatred unto their Adversaries; and knowing that this Fight would lose or gain them a mighty Empire. They fought three days with little intermission, and it could not be discerned which had the advantage. But that which is thought chiefly to have occasioned *Tamerlane*'s Victory, was the departure of a great Tribe from *Thuctamisch*, whose Prince *Ectave* pretended he had received some great injury or affront, but 'twas indeed thought he was corrupted: For retreating unto *Amnarth* the *Turkish* Emperour, he after the same mannner betrayed *Bajazet*, who soon after succeeded; revolting at the begining of the fight unto *Tamerlane*. *Thuctamisch* being defeated, with great difficulty made his escape, leaving his Countrey exposed unto the fury of the *Zagataians*, whom so great a slaughter of their own Friends had highly exasperated. They spared nothing that was capable of being spoiled; demolished *Serai*, together with *Seraichick* upon the *Jaick*, and *Gitturchan*, which were the only considerable Cities on the East-side of the *Volga*, and leaving the Countrey a meer Desart, killing, or Captivating the Inhabitants, driving away the Cattle, they returnd into *Persia* with great Booty. This happened in the 791 year of the *Hegira*. *A. C.* 1388. *Serai*, and *Saraichick* never regained thir former splendour; but (*Gitturcan* now *Astracan*) did by degrees recover, but never arrived to that heighth it attained unto during the Empire of the *Chazari* and *Zavolgensian Tartars*.

For *Josaphat Barbaro*, and *Ambrosio Contarini*, who were both Ambassadors from the *Venetians* unto *Usun Cassan* Emperour of *Persia*, and well acquainted with those Parts; *Barbaro* living sixteen years at the City *Tana* on the mouth of the River *Tanais*; and *Contarini* being forced in his return from *Persia* to reside there some months: They, I say, both tell us, That this City before its destruction by *Tamerlane*, was a very famous *Emporium*; all the Silks, most of the Spices and other Commodities, which were afterwards brought down to *Syria*, were then carried by Shipping to *Astracan* (which they both name *Citrachan*) and thence by Land in a few days to *Tana*, whether the *Venetians* sent every year sixteen great Gallies. But after its subversion by *Tamerlane*, this Commerce ceased and the Gallies receiving their Lading in *Syria*, and at *Alexandria* of *Ægypt*. In the time of the forementioned Writers, which was from the year 1436. when *Barbaro* first went to *Tana*, until his return out of *Persia* in 1488. And *Contarini*, who returned not long before him, *Citrachan* was a mean Town, consisting chiefly of *Tartarian* Huts and incompassed with a pitiful mud-Wall, a place of no considerable Traffick, only the *Muscovites* fetch'd thence Fish and Salt. But *Juan Vassilowich* having reduced it in the year 1554 under his Dominion, it hath been by succeeding Emperours both fortified and enlarged: I shall say no more concerning it, *Olearius* a most deligent and judicious Writer, having left us so particular a Description thereof. I shall only add, That I suppose the cause of so diffrent names, as *Gittarchan*, *Citrachan*, and *Astrachan*, were occasioned by the Princes, who successively præsided, as is very obvious to any who are acquainted with the Customes of the *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Turks*, and other Eastern People.

But to return unto our *Zavolgenian Tartars*, so called by the Neighbouring *Slavonick* Nations, because the Seat of their Empire, and their chiefest places of Residence were on, or near the *Volga* (which River did also almost equally divide their Territory) *Za* being only an Expletive Particle, as I could manifest by Induction

duction of several *Russian*, *Polesh*, and *Lithuanian* Names of Men and Countries. After the devastation of their Countrey they would notwithstanding have soon recovered their former Grandeur, had not divisions and intestine Wars long kept them low; and at length after divers wonderful and great Revolutions given the *Russes* leasure first to breath, and then invite them to deprive them of the best part of their Dominion. They not able to resist, being broken, as I said, by Discord and Division into divers petty Principalities. And on the other side the *Crim Tartar*, assisted by the *Turk*, subdued the remainder, whereby that Tribe which before was comparatively inconsiderable, became Supreme, and is at this day a terror unto all the North-East Countries of Christendom. To shew in what manner, and by what degrees all this was transacted, is rather matter of a just History, than of a Preface the *decorum* whereof I have already transgressed, in making a Porch almost as large as the main Building, to which it should serve only for an Entrance.

I shall therefore conclude with some short and slight Remarks on diver Passages in our Authors Relation. His account of the *Periplus* of the *Exxine* Sea, (leaving out what he allows for the *Teine Sea*, or *Palus Mœtis*) differs little in number of Miles from that of *Arrian*, though they disagree somewhat in particular distances; and is wonderfully consonant to that calculation of *Eratosthones*, *Hecateus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who reckon it to amount unto 23000 *Stadia*, or 2875 Miles, which wants but 15 of our Travellers Computation.

He is also more particular, and I believe, more exact than any I have hitherto met with, in his Description of *Crim* or *Taurica Chersonesus*, whose length and breadth he gives us in several places directly, or by consequence. What he tells us concernining *Arbotka* and the great Field without it, sourrounded by the Sea he calls *The Ratten Sea*, is scarcely mentioned by any Modern Geographer, but wonderfully consonant to what is delivered by *Strabo*. *Arbotka* seems to be *Taphre*, the *Ratten Sea*, he calls σαπρὸν λίμνην, or *Lacus Putris*, and affirms to be part of the *Palus Mœtis*: in compass 4000 furlongs, with divers other particulars, confirming our Travellers Discourse, as may be read at large in his seventh Book. And I find in a Discourse published by Mr. *Thevenot* concerning the *Tartars*, written lately by a Religious Missionary who long resided in those parts, a Description of this place very sutable unto our Author. His words are these, speaking of the most remarkable places in *Crim*. Arbotec *est un Chasteau avec une tour scittuee sur la col d'une Peninsule que est enfermee entre la Mer de* Limen & Tineka Woda, *cette gorge n'a plus d'un quart de lieue, elle est traversee d'une Palisade qui s'ende d'une Mer a l'autre: la Peninsule est appellee par nos* Cosaques Cola, *a cause q'elle a la forme d'une faulx, c'est on ce lieu ou le Chan tient son Paras qui est bien de septante mille Chevaux. Et il est un destroit entre la terre ferme e Cosa 200 pas de large qui est gayable quand il est calme, le Cossaques le passent quand ils vont derober le Chevaux de haras de Cham.*

What our Author tells us of the Communication between the *Tanais* and *Volga* at *Camusshanka*, is particularly described by *Olearius*, who wrote many years after him; who also agrees with us in his account of the Rivers of *Circassia*, and *Comukes* Countrey: only our Writer is more punctual in his Description of their Sourses and Course, and mentions two or three omitted by *Olearius*, or unknow to him. A frequent mention is made by *Procopius*, *Agathias*, and others of the *Bizantine* Historians, of that strait passage between *Georgia* and *Anadoule*, or as they word it, between *Colchis* and *Asia Minor*, or *Armenia*.

Our Authot having given an account of the Course of the *Volga*, and of the most remarkable places lying upon, or near it; at last assures us, That it empties it self into the *Caspian* Sea only by 22 Mouths, whose names he there rehearses: whereas other Writers ascribe unto it 70 Entrances, though as *Olearius* judiciously observes, most of them are rather passages made by the Sea between Islands and broken Ground, than proper distinct Arms or Branches of the forementioned Rivers.

What is said concerning the *Cossacks* retiring unto, and nesting in an Island of the *Caspian* Sea, is confirmed by a late *French* Writer, who long resided in *Persia*, He

largely acquaints us with the great spoil these Outlaws made on the Coast of *Mesanderon*, that they took *Asterabath* one of the Emperours Royal Stats, and having continued several days in possession, retired with great Booty and little loss.

I could render some probable account of those Thieves our Writer calls *Sigaks*, of what Nation they are, when they began, and how they live; but shall for brevity-sake wave this and divers other Remarks; and that I may manifest how impartial my sentiments are in reference unto the Treatise *I* have here Published, I shall first acknowledge, That I never met with any Writer who calls that Vast Plain between the Rivers *Boristhenes* and *Tanais* the Desart of *Ingel* and *Ungul*, although I have seen divers Journals both Antient and Modern, of Persons who have frequently traversed that vast Region: and have read most Histories, and perused Geographical Books or Tables that relate unto the *Tartars*, or their Countrey. Secondly, I must declare my distrust of his computation concerning the compass of the *Caspian* Sea; which he makes less than in truth it is, as I could largely demonstrate; though he hath pretty well salved the mistake, by his allowance of a thousand Miles for Bays, broken Ground, and Promontories. Lastly, Our Author is greatly mistaken, when he affirms, There is no Nation of *Tartars* between those of *Bochara* and *China*; whereas indeed several very Potent Kingdoms intervene. And yet he hath luckily *Andabatorum more*, hit upon the Truth, where he assures us, there are no *Catayans* between the *Usbeg Tartars* and *China*. For indeed there is at present no *Catayne* besides *China*, which is so called by all *Tartars*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, and other *Mahumetans*, as also by the *Muscovites* and other Nations who travel thither by Land, either in the Quality of Ambassadors, or Merchants. Though formerly there was a mighty People, either *Turks* or *Tartars* (they bing both Originally the same, as to Extract, Language, Manners, Religion, and Government) who lay directly in the way between *Persia* and *China*, and were certainly the *Chatæ* of *Ptolomy*, but almost extirpated by *Jingiz Chan*, whom they vigorously resisted. And the remainder have ever since gone under the more general Names of *Moguls* and *Tartars*, as *I* shall hereafter more clearly and fully demonstrate in a Discourse which *I* have long ago written, and may speedily publish, concerning the Beginnings and Progress of the *Turkish* and *Tartarian* Nations and Empires.

A Short Description of all the Kingdoms which Encompass the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas.

Right Honourable and my most Worthy Lord,

BEing given to understand, That I have been represented unto your Lordship, by several who bear me no good will, as a Person possessed with that Vanity, which ordinarly prevails among Travellers, of affirming I was well acquainted with divers Countreys and Languages, whereunto I am utterly a stranger: And perceiving that none of my Discourses have more exposed me unto this Censure, than a pretended monstrous rash Assertion (but indeed a real Truth) That I knew and had visited all the Countreys surrounding the *Black* and *Caspian* Seas: I thought my self necessarily obliged in order unto my Vindication, to draw up a short Account of all those Countreys, which do incompass the formentioned Seas, most of which Places I have personally surveyed, and fear not any Reprehension or Confutation, being resolved to declare nothing but what I saw, or received from such who were best able to give me full and faithful Information. And I am well assured, That the more strict and judicious Enquiry is made into this my Report, the more favour and credit I shall gain with your Lordship, and all other considering impartial persons.

I shall first begin with the *Black Sea*, as being that wherewith I was first acquainted, and near unto this most Famous City of *Constantinople*, where your Lordship may easily learn, whether I am guilty of either falshood or mistake; and if I am found upon due Enquiry to declare any manifest Untruth, I deserve not only unparalleld Reproaches, but the most severe and exemplary Punishments which I should justly merit, when owing life and liberty unto your Lordships Bounty and Compassion, I should instead of a grateful Acknowledgment, present your Honour with a heap of impudent Falsities.

I will begin my Relation or Peregrination, from that side of the *Black* Sea on which *Constantinople* is situated, and round the said Sea, until I return to *Scodra*, which is in *Asia* opposite thereunto.

The first Province is *Romella*; the second *Wallakia*; the third *Ackremen*; the fourth *Crim*; the fifth the great Desert of *Ingul* and *Ungule*, which is between *Crim* and *Asshowa*; the sixth is the *Little Nagoy*; the seventh *Circassia*; the eighth *Abassa*; the ninth is *Mingrellia*; then *Georgia*; and lastly *Anatolia*. All which Countreys are subjected unto the *Turk*; besides the great Desart, the *Little Nagoy* and *Circassia*.

I shall now mention the most noted Places which I know from *Fennara*, which is about the entrance into the *Black* Sea, unto the River of the *Danaw*, so to the *Neistre*, from thence unto the *Nepper*, so round about *Crim*, unto the *Gulf* that goeth from the *Black* Sea into the *Teine* Sea, and thence unto *Asshowa*.

As I said, near the Entrance into the *Black* Sea is *Fennara*, then *Innatada*, *Missewra*, *Warna*, *Balshick*, *Mangalley*, *Constancha*, *Karaharman*, *Keelley*, *Ackremen*, *Osshackowa*, upon the mouth of the River of the *Nepper*.

Now I shall declare the Distances of these Places from each other; the number of miles being the space betwixt what forgoes and immediately ensues. From *Finnara* to *Inatada* 80 miles; to *Missewra* 90; to *Warna* 100; to *Balshick* 16; to *Mangalley* 40; to *Constancha* 40; to *Carahaman* 40; to *Kelley* 80; to *Ackremen* or *Beallohorda* 100; to *Osshakowa*, 80, in all 666 miles; and from *Osshakowa*, which is in the mouth

of the *Nepper*, unto the River *Don* (or *Tanais*) is 500 miles; the Voyage by Sea and journeying by Land being much at one, viz. 1186 miles, unless you go by Land unto *Precop*, about *Crim*, and so unto *Asshowa*, where the *Don* falls into the *Teine* Sea (*Palus Maotis*) and then it amounts unto at the least 1500 miles. Were it not for the formentioned great Rivers of the *Danaw* (*Danubius*) and the *Nepper* (*Boristhenes*) there would be almost continual Wars between the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and the *Poles*, *Lithuanians* and *Muscovites*; for the *Danaw* is one of the greatest Rivers in the World, arising in *Dutchland*, whence it passes through *Hungary*, *Wallachy*, and at the Town of *Kelley* falls into the *Black* Sea. It hath four Mouths or Entrances into the said Sea, which the *Turks* call *Bohasses*, *Boctegene Bohasse*, *Edrelasse Bohasse*, *Sullena Bohasse*, and *Kelley Bohasse*. It abounds with Fish as *Sturgeon*, *Morone*, and *Sheveroke*, besides divers sorts of smaller Fish. The *Neistre* is a River that comes from *Lithuania*, and runs into the *Black* Sea under *Bealborda*. The *Nepper* comes from *Lithuania* and *Russland*, runs by *Smolenske* and *Kiovia* to the *Porrocks* or Falls, thence to *Aslamgorode*, and falls into the *Black* Sea at *Osshakowa*. It abounds with many sorts of good Fish, and all along its Banks feed innumerable wild Beasts of divers kinds. The Town of *Aslamgorod* stands upon the *Nepper*; and in former times there dwelt in it two Brothers, *Ingul* and *Ungul*, who fell first at variance, which ended in cruel Wars, by reason whereof the adjacent Countrey became, though otherwise pleasant and fruitful, a very Wilderness. And besides, the *Cossacks* increasing on both sides the *Nepper* and upon the *Don*, would never since suffer that Countrey to be quietly possessed by these, or any other Hords of *Tartars*; so that now it lieth waste, being a vast Desart 500 miles over, and 1000 miles long, from the shallow Waters near *Precop*, unto the Countrey of *Muscovy*. About 1625. the Grand Seignior sent an Army from *Constantinople* to rebuild *Aslamgorod*, with Orders to inhabit the Countrey, and invite such thereunto as would become subject unto the *Turkish* Government. But they who arrived, finding the Town of great Compass, built only a Castle on the Bank of the *Nepper*, and left 300 Men in Garrison. At the same time *Shaugary* Prince of *Crim*, being beat out of his Countrey by his General *Chan Timur Myrsa*, retired unto the *Cossacks* upon the *Nepper*, and having contracted a Friendship with them and the bordering *Russes*, by their assistance he gathered an Army of 40000 Men, and marched towards *Crim*, leaving behind him a revolted *Ottoman*, with a Brigade of 3 or 4000 Men, who immediately after the departure of Sultan *Shaugary*, marched directly towards *Aslamgorod*, and early in a Morning surprized the Castle, then in the possession of the *Turks*, put every Man in Garrison to the Sword, slighted the Walls and other Fortifications, retired with the Spoyl, and marched to joyn Sultan *Shaugary*, who in the interim arrived near *Precop*, where he was met by *Chan Timur*, and totally defeated, but by good fortune escaped, and by the way of *Astracan* got to *Persia*.

From the *Nepper* we will pass unto *Crim*, with which Countrey *I* am well acquainted, having against my will resided there some years. *Crim* is a small Land, so near as *I* can conjecture 200 miles long, and 50 miles broad, but is wonderfully populous, and exceedingly fruitful, abounding with Corn and Grass; the only scarcity they have is Wood, which grows no where but upon the Sea-Coast, from *Bakssey Seray* unto the Town of *Crim*, which in former times was the chief City: All the rest of the Land is a Plain, where they have no Wood to burn, nor any sort of Fewel, but *Fisshoke*, *Fusshane*, *Curay*, and *Stroa*. The Land is inclosed with the Sea, excepting at two places, *Precop*, and *Arbatka*. By *Precop* there is a narrow passage, through which you may go to the *Nepper*, *Lithuania*, or *Muscovy*, through the Desarts of *Ingul* and *Ungul*, and there is a Water comes from the *Teine* Sea, called the shallow Water, and goeth along the Desart, until it comes to *Precop*, upon the West-side of *Crim* and by North, where it turns back on the North-side of *Crim*, and falls into *Guellae Mare*, commonly called the *Ratten* Sea. So that *Crim* is almost surrounded with Water; for the *Black* Sea is on the one side, and the *Ratten* Sea on the other, which latter produces nothing but Salt, for it is so salt, that no Fish can live therein; *I* have reason to know it, because *I* lived in a Village which was called *Seckely Otta Mawutachy*. The Towns round about *Crim* on the Sea-side are these, *Precop*, *Cusslowa*, *Crim*, *Caffa*, *Kerse* and *Arbatka*; and within the Land, *Carasu*, *Ackmesh*, *Mesheite*, and *Bakssy Seray*. The Town of *Arbatka* lieth on the North-East side of *Crim*, between the *Black* and *Ratten* Seas, which there come so near together, that there is no more Land between them, than that whereon

whereon the Town of *Arbotka* ſtands; and without *Arbotka* is a great Fiel 50 miles long, incloſed with Water, where the *Tartars* in Winter do keep their Hergels or Horſes, which Field goeth to the ſhallow Waters, where *I* ran away from the *Tartars*. I ſhall here take my leave of *Crim*, and paſs unto the *Little Nagoy*, to *Aſſhowa*, on the River *Don*, which runs down from *Bealla Oſſharra*, through the Country of *Ruſſia* between *Ruſſia*, and *Lithuania*, until it comes to *Peilsboy*, not far from the *Wolga*; for from *Peilsboy* to the River *Cannuſſhanke*, is not above 20 miles, all level, which is called *Perewolog*, where the *Coſſacks* do draw their Strukes or Boats upon Wheels, to the River of *Cannuſſhanka*, by which they paſs into the *Volga*; whereupon this Place is called *Perewlog*. The *Don* runs down between the *Little Nagoy* and the Deſarts of *Iugel* and *Ungule*, ſo to *Aſſhowa*, right under the Town, and there falls into the *Tein* Sea. This River is full of Fiſh, eſpecially *Sturgeons*; well inhabited by *Coſſacks*, for there are ſeldom leſs than 10000 upon it, beſides thoſe that go on Freebooting. There are alſo 16 Gorodkees, or ſtrong Skonces, well manned, and with ſtore of great Guns, they being in continual fear of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and ſometimes alſo of the *Muſcovites*. The *Little Nagoy*, lies between the *Tein* and *Caſpian* Seas, the former on the Weſt the latter on the Eaſt, *Shercaſſan* to South, and the *Volga* on the North; and there is never a Town in all this Countrey excepting *Aſſhowa*. It is inhabited by *Tartars*, who go altogether in Hords; their Prince in my Time was *Caſſay Myrſa*, whom the *Tartars* call alſo Sultan *Vlugh*, or the Great Prince. They ſowe no Corn but *Proſs*, which they ſowe upon the Sea-ſide up unto *Aſſhowa*; and after ſowing they depart with their Hords, and graze up and down the Deſarts to the *Don*, to *Capbane*, *Shurpoha*, *Tedeeul*, *Comnia* and *Curray*, to *Maſſhargorodoke*, and to *Shercaſſan* Land, under the Rivers *Terigke*, and *Balky*, and almoſt to *Pettigor*, and by the River of *Cupba*, and back again unto the *Black* Sea. Thus they ramble all the Summer, until their Harveſt be ripe, and their Proſs gathered, and put into Yams under ground; after which they ſettle from *Aſſhowa*, all along the Sea-ſide, amongſt the Reeds, and leave their Horſes to winter in the Deſarts. So I ſhall leave the *Little Nagoy*, and paſs unto *Temeroſſa* in *Shercaſſan* Land, which is 500 miles from *Aſſhowa*.

Now in all *Circaſſia* are but two Towns, *Temeroſſa* on the *Black* Sea, upon the Gulf that goeth from the *Black* Sea into the *Tein* Sea, right over againſt *Arbotka*. The other is *Tumein*, upon the *Caſpian* Sea, the diſtance between them being 1100 miles; and all the reſt of the inhabited Places are only Cubbacks made in the Woods, piled round with Timber. Their Houſes are very high, in the midſt whereof they make the Fire. Their Men are proper Men, very like the *Iriſh* both for perſon and garb; for they go in Trowſes, with ſhort Mantles, wear long Hair on both ſides of their Heads, with a ſhorn Crown between. Their Women are very beautiful, and loving to Strangers; for if a Stranger come unto their Houſes, their young Women and Maidens will look Lice in their Shirts, and all about them, the moſt private parts not excepted, and will allow them the liberty to examine and handle all parts of their Bodies beſides their Breaſts. The *Circaſſians* are excellent Horſemen, and very Couragious, but withal exceedingly ignorant and ſuperſtitious; for when they kill a Goat or Kid, they cut off the privy parts, and caſt it againſt a Wall, if it ſtick, they pray to it; if otherwiſe, they caſt it away, and ſpread the Skin upon Stakes, place it in their Corn-fields, and worſhip it. They have no Writing among them, yet pretend to be good Chriſtians. Do ſtrangely bewail the Dead, making great Cryes, ſcratch their Hands and Faces, until they draw much Blood, knock their Foreheads againſt the ground, until Knobs ariſe bigger than Plums. The Men are notorious Thieves, ſtealing from each other, and he that ſteals moſt is accounted the braveſt Fellow. Their Countrey is very fruitful, abounding with moſt ſorts of Grain; and they have ſtore of excellent Graſs. They have alſo much Fruit growing wild; many ſorts of Beaſts, as Harts, Hinds, Kine, Eiſſubraſs, Hogs and great Addets.

The conſiderable Rivers which *I* know are *Cubba*, which runs from *Pettigor*, between *Shercaſſan* Land and the little *Nagoy*, betwixt *Temeroſſa* and *Aſſhowa*, 20 miles from *Temeroſſa* it falls into the *Jein* Sea, and hath a Courſe of 500 miles. The next is the River of *Balky*, which comes out from *Cabardy*, and falls into the River of *Terigke*, 200 miles from its Source; which River of *Terigke* deſcends from the Mountains

between

between *Shollohofe Knaffe* and *Mundarawa Knaffe*, runs through the Country almoſt due Eaſt, paſſes by *Goracho Colloda*, thence to the *Shuffa*, and the *Shunſa*, ſo on to the *Weſtra*; and 6 miles from *Tumein*, between *Tumein* and the *Commocks* Countrey, it falls into the *Caſpian* Sea, having a Courſe of 600 miles. There is another River called *Tumenka*, which is a branch of *Terigke*, runs through *Tumeine* Town, and 3 miles beyond it enters the *Caſpian* Sea. There is alſo another River which they call *Keeſlar*, which falls out of *Terigke*, and 60 miles from *Tumeine* is received by the *Caſpian* Sea.

Having formerly mentioned *Pettigor*, I ſhall give you ſome Account thereof. *Pettigor* being interpreted, is in Engliſh, 5 Hills. They are five very great and high Mountains, diſtant about 500 miles from the *Black* Sea, and 700 from the *Caſpian* beyond *Cabardy*. I came thus to know them:

In the Year 1618. *I* was ſent with *Shiedka Myrſa*, from *Aſtracan* to the *Little Nagay*, to ſeize upon *Orrake Myrſa*, who being informed of our coming, fled up to *Pettigor*; yet he made not ſuch haſt but we overtook him, and having fought, overcame him, and took away his Hords, by which means *I* became acquainted with *Pettigor*. Nevertheleſs there are higher Hills than *Pettigor*, as *Sneeſnagore* in *Cabardy*, which is incredibly high, which is in Engliſh, the Hill of Snow; for upon that and *Shadgore*, which ſignifies a wonderful high Hill, and overtops the former, and ſo along for 100 miles, from *Cabardy* to *Shollohofe*, prodigious quantities of Snow are lodged, which it's thought were never diſſolved ſince the Creation. *I* asked a *Circaſſian*, Whether ever any Man arrived at the top of *Shadgore*, which to me ſeemed much elevated above the reſt; who anſwered me, They had a Tradition among them, that formerly a *Bohatteere*, whoſe Name was *Hroda*, attempted to climb it, and after two or three days hard labour, arrived not unto the middle; but after a few days, being better accommodated, he returned, with a reſolution, if it were poſſible, to ſee the top, but was never afterwards heard of; and added, That it was to that day cuſtomary for the Neighbouring *Circaſſians*, at a certain ſeaſon of the Year, with divers Ceremonies and great Lamentations to bewail his loſs.

The next Country to *Sheercaſſen* Land is *Abaſſa*, which is ſituated between *Circaſſia* and *Mingrellia*, and the Inhabitants are a kind of *Circaſſians*. *Mingrellia* is under the Dominion of the *Turks*, and lies on the *Black* Sea. Of theſe two Countreys, *I* have no great knowledge, having only coaſted them three or four times in Boats, when *I* was among the *Coſſacks*, where alſo we landed divers times, taking ſtore of Kine and Sheep, but no Priſoners, becauſe they affirmed themſelves to be Chriſtians. They are a proper handſome People, but very poor, and notorious Thieves, for they ſteal not only Goods, but even Women and Children from each other, and ſell them unto the *Turks* and *Tartars* chiefly for Salt, which is there very ſcarce.

Next unto *Mingrellia* is *Georgia*, whoſe Inhabitants are little better than the former, only they have a kind of Scripture; for they Worſhip Idols or Images, yet have Cloiſters, and a ſort of Monks, with ſome Prieſts of the Greek Belief. *I* once landed in *Georgia* with an Army of 5000 Men, we marched up into the Countrey, until we came within 4 days journey of *Deimur Capon*, or the Iron Gate, which is a narrow paſſage between *Georgia* and *Anatolia*, with Rocks on each ſide, and a ſtrong Town built in the midſt: We ſtayed ten days ravaging the Countrey; they told us, this Town and Caſtle belonged to the King of *Perſia*, and there is no other paſſage out of *Georgia* into *Perſia* but through it.

The next Countrey unto Georgia *is* Anatolia, *where our Traveller reſided ſeveral Years, having been ſold by the* Precopenſian Tartars, *unto a* Turkiſh Spahi, *or* Timariot; *of which Countrey, and the Manners of the Inhabitants, he gives a large Deſcription: But we being ſufficieintnly informed thereof by divers intelligent* Europeans, *who dwelt long in thoſe Parts, ſhall with our Traveller paſs on to thoſe Countreys which are leſs known. But firſt we will take his Account of the* Periplus *of the* Euxine *or* Black *Sea.*

From

From *Fennara*, which is at the head of the Strait or Gulf that enters the *Black* Sea to *Procop*, is 700 miles; from thence to *Caffa*, a noted City and Port in *Crim* 300 miles; to *Aſſhowa* 500 miles; to *Temeroſſa* 500 miles; to *Mingrelia* 400 miles; to *Trebezond* 400 miles; and from thence unto *Conſtantinople* 1000 miles; in all 3800 miles. Thus much I know of the *Black* Sea, which I have three times coaſted by Sea, and traced above half by Land; ſo that now it is time to ſpeak concerning the *Caſpian* Sea, and ſhew all the Kingdoms and Countreys which lie upon it, beginning at *Aſtracan*, and proceeding thence Eaſtwards, until I return unto the ſame City from the South.

Aſtracan is placed on a riſing ground, not far from the mouth of the *Volga*, from which it is not diſtant above 50 miles; it is in an Iſland on the *Great Nagoy* ſide, made by the River *Volga*, and a branch thereof, having the *Caſpian* Sea on the South. The Town or City is ſecured by a ſtrong Caſtle, furniſhed with ſtore of great Ordnance, and in the midſt of the Caſtle is a Roskade, which commands both Caſtle, Town, and the Fields round about for above a mile. The *Tartar*'s Town is adjoyning, placed near unto *Cutuma*, which is a River naturally derived from the *Volga*, or one of its many branches; ſo that the Town is incompaſſed with Waters, having the main body of the *Volga* on the Weſt, and *Cutuma* on the Eaſt. Now if you would know whence the *Volga* comes, I will acquaint you with what I have learned from the *Muſcovites*. Its utmoſt Source is ſaid to be at the foot of a great Tree, whence it runs unto *Ziriſlave* 1000 miles; whence it proceeds to *Neiſna* 500 miles, and thence unto *Caſſan* 300 miles; from *Caſſan* to *Samara* 500; to *Saratoſt* 350 miles; to *Saraichena* 350, and thence unto *Aſtracan* 500 miles; from whence it is, as we ſaid before, unto the *Caſpian* Sea, 50 miles; in all 3550 miles.

The *Volga* is a wonderful great River, abounding with divers ſorts of great Fiſh, as *Sturgeon Belluga*, *Severnka*, *Sbelren*, *Sterlet*, *Som*, *Saſſan*, *Suka*, *Soudak*, *Kownee*, *Sablee*, *Leſſee*, *Wobla*, *Tarane*, and many others both great and ſmall, which I cannot readily call unto remembrance, notwithſtanding that I dwelt there ten years. The *Volga* enters the *Caſpian* Sea by 22 mouths, and upon each of them is an *Oughſuke* or Fiſh-wear, for to take Sturgeon, every one of which *Oughſukes* is called by the name of the Water, as *Soellova*, *Dertullee*, *Bſſerigee* and *Ruſſowa* upon the main *Wolga*. *Cokelon*, *Berullee*, *Ewanſuke*, *Manſer*, *Argeſſan*, *Keſſan*, *Camuſſhuke*, *Naowara*, *Tuſſockly*, *Collobery*, *Malla Collobery*, *Tamanſuky*, *Errichſha*, *Surka*, *Libeſha*, *Buſſan*, *Carabuſſan*, *Bealla Wolloſke*. In all which *Oughſukes* or Wears, they take no Fiſh beſides Sturgeon. They are made of *Shignas*, or long Poles made ſharp at one end, and beaten into the ground under Water, and a pleiting made of Rods, ſomwhat reſembling Oſier, after the manner of our Matts, which are faſtened to the Poles, and hinder the Fiſh from paſſing up the River. And Houſes are built near the Wears for the Conveniency of the Fiſhers, 40, 50, more or leſs, according unto the greatneſs of the Water, or reſort of Fiſh, and twice every day, uſually in the morning and evening, they ſet about their Fiſhery. They imploy only long ſlender Poles with an Iron Hook or Cruke in the end baited, and do ordinarily take 400 every day in the ſmaller, and 600 in the larger Streams. The Sturgeon they take is all ſalted, excepting that wherewith they ſerve the Town of *Aſtracan*, where a whole fair Sturgeon may be bought for ten pence Engliſh; and when the great Caravan comes from *Ruſſia*, it takes off moſt of their Fiſh, which is conveyed into dives parts of *Muſcovy*, but chiefly unto the great City of *Moſco*. They return alſo with great quantities of Caviar and Salt, there being not far from the *Volga*, on the *Little Nagoy* ſide, great Salt-pits, which yield an immenſe quantity of Salt, prepared yearly by the heat of the Sun, without any further trouble, than taking it off the ſuperficies of the Water where it daily kerns.

The *Volga* a little above *Saraichena*, 500 miles from *Aſtracan*, diſmiſſes a great Branch named *Aſſabon*, which paſſing through the Deſart of the *Great Nagoy* through *Baſſame*, enters the *Caſpian* Sea. The remainder of the *Volga*, after having parted with ſeveral ſmaller Branches, moſt of which joyn with the forementioned River, divides the *Little* and *Great Nagoy*, paſſes under the Town of *Aſtracan*, whence it proceeds unto *Ruſſowa*, on the South weſt ſide of *Croſna Boggar*, and then falls into the *Caſpian*. And the diſtance between the Eaſt-ſide of the *Volga* near *Aſtracan*, and the River *Aſſabon*, is about 20 miles, which is moſtly Water and Iſlands.

And that the Courſe of the *Volga* from its firſt Source, until it doth diſ embouge it ſelf into the *Caſpian* Sea, can be no leſs than what we have aſſerted, is hence confirmed; That

That the Snow which falls abundantly in *Russia*, and begins to be dissolved about the latter end *April*, and do mighily increase the Waters of the *Volga*, come not unto *Astrachan* until *Midsummer*, when it so raises the *Volga*, that overflowing the Banks, it covers with his Waters all the Islands near *Astrachan*; so that from the *Little Nagoy*, in *Actabon* in the *Great Nagoy*, all the Countries seems, excepting a Hillock or two, one continued Lake, or a great Gulf of the Sea. Wherefore they who go in the *Spring* from *Astrachan* to fetch Wood, having cut it, make great Floats, which are lifted up when the River overflows, and guided each by a few Men, until they are brought unto *Astrachan*, or those other places for which they are designed.

The most remarkable Towns and Habitations upon the *Volga*, between *Seraichend* and *Astrachan*, (which are 500 miles distant from each other) are *Camena*, *Rokegowa*, *Osshenoska*, *Chornoyar*, *Boriss*, *Offatalka*, *Poollowoy*, *Colmakof Satone*, *Cessoyar*, *Crosnoyar*, *Nassonoyar*, *Satone*, *Tanatavy*, *Danceloska*, *Perre Onsshake*, *Killansuke*, *Eiskyborro*, *Crukla*, *Enssan*, *Balsheeke*, *Tollotongorod*, *Dolgoa*, *Goradocha*, (which was old *Astrachan*) *Sharne*, *Bogar*, which is near *Astrachan*, besides many other Places, with whose Names I have not charged my memory. We will now pass over the *Volga* through *Astrachan* into the *Great Nagoy*.

The *Great Nagoy* may be properly enough divided into Islands and Continent; the former are made by the *Volga*, and several Rivers which fall out of it, variously mix'd with each other, and are all at length emptied into the *Caspian* Sea. Those Rivers or Brances have their several Names; those which *I* remember are *Cuttoma*, *Boulda*, *Malla*, *Guelluса*, *Creewantya*, *Busane*, *Actabon* and *Berekat*. The Kingdom of the *Great Nagoy* is all plain and desert; 1200 miles in length between *Astrachan* and *Semara*; 500 miles in breadth from the said *Astrachan* unto the River of the *Teike* or *Jaick*. There is no wood in all this Countrey, except what grows near the Rivers. It hath no Towns or fixed Habitations, though it had formerly divers, and some among them very considerable, as *Czarofsgorod*, or *Czarofs Pollate*, in English, the Emperour's Town, which formerly must needs have been as its name imports, an Imperial or Capital City. I have often viewed it with admiration, and cannot compute it to have been less than 20 miles in Circuit; *I* have told fourscore great eminent Buildings, which must have been either *Moschees*, *Pallaces*, or *Caravanseries*, and some of them 6 miles distant from the other. The *Muscovites* are of divers Opinions concerning its Destruction: Some say it was ruined by the *Cossacks*; but the *Cossacks*, who are ready enough to brag of Atchievements, know nothing thereof, only that they have often dispossessed the *Russes*, when they endeavoured to rebuild part of it. For indeed the situation is very excellent, having the *Volga* on one side, and the *Actabon* on the other: The Countrey very beautiful, healthful and fertile; and yet notwithstanding all these encouragements, it is not yet inhabited, not by the *Russes* because it standing on the main Land, they would be continually expoted unto the Inroads of the *Tartars*; nor by the *Tartars*, because its nearness unto the Rivers, would render them obnoxious to the *Russes*, every time the great Caravan passes that way, which is at least twice each year. Yet the *Muscovites* do frequently fetch Brick and Stones from this ruined City, wherewith they have built a great part of *Astrachan*, and the neighbouring Forts or Towns, where such solid Materials are imployed. But besides this *Serai*, (for so the *Tartars* call any fix'd Habitation) there were in ancient times five or six more down along the Rivers side, in each of which formerly dwelt a *Chan*; but Time and Wars have almost intirely ruined them. There is also another *Serai* upon the River *Jaick* named *Seraichika*, where is said formerly to have been the Residence of a great *Myrsa* or *Chan*; but 'tis now quite ruinated.

The *Tartars* who inhabit the *Great Nagoy*, both Men and Women, are very proper, at least of much taller Stature than many other *Tartars*, but have ill-favoured Countenances, broad Faces, flat little Noses, small Eyes sunk in their Heads, all which are common to most of the Eastern *Tartars*. But the *Tartars* of *Crim* are more comely, which I suppose, may partely proceed from their Wives, who are many of them Captive *Circassians*, *Russes*, *Poles*, *Hungars*, and of divers other Nations. The *Nagoy Tartars* are also Black or rather Tawny; which I Conjecture is not so much natural, as proceeding

proceeding from the heat of the Sun, which is in theſe Parts ſome Months of the Year much more exceſſive than one would expect from the Climate. And beſides, their Children go ſtark naked during the great heats in Summer. It is alſo remarkable, That the Cold in Winter in the ſame Country is exceeding ſevere, and one would think to them who have ſuch mean accommodation, intollerable. Theſe *Nagoy Tartars* have great ſtore of Cattle, as Kine, Sheep, Horſes and Camels, and yet notwithſtanding they are very ill clad, moſt of their Cloathing being Sheep-Skins, and thoſe but ſcurvily dreſſed. They have no ſort of Corn or Grain, mightily ſcorning the *Europeans* and *Perſians*, whoſe chief Diet they ſay, is the top of a pitiful weed. Poligamy is not only allowed, but altogether in faſhion among them, moſt having divers Wives, more or fewer according unto their Quality and Ability; who unleſs they are Captivated by War, are ſuch as they buy of their Parents or Kindred for Cattle. If one Brother dye, the other takes all his Wives, who are uſually five or ſix. But if all the Brothers die, either in War or by Diſeaſes, then they are devolved like other Goods or Chattels unto the Elder Brother's Son, they never ſuffering any married Woman, during life, to go out of the Kindred.

Here our Author hath inſerted a Diſcourſe concerning divers odd, and ſome barbarous Cuſtoms which have long prevailed among the Nagoy-Tartars, *and wherewith they will not eaſily Diſpence. But they giving little light unto Hiſtory or Geography, I have not thought them worthy the trouble of tranſcribing; nor do I apprehend they would afford any conſiderable inſtruction or divertiſement unto the Reader.*

Theſe *Tartars* of the Great *Nagoy* when they remove their habitation, tranſport their Houſes from place to place in Waggons with four Wheels, which are drawn uſually by Camels; they paſs up and down the Country in great Hords, their ordinary march is from the *Volga* unto *Buskowſhake*; thence to *Veroſlane*, *Semara*, *Eirgeſſe*, *Eiſbene*, *Ongogura*, *Reimpeska*, and all along under the *Calmuks* Country, until they arrive at the *Jaick* or *Yeike*: Sometimes they paſs by *Caſſoone*, *Auerrow*, *Camoyes Samar*, and ſo to *Saraichika*: this is ordinarily their Summer Progreſs. Againſt Winter they return unto thoſe parts of the Countrey which border upon the *Caſpian* Sea. As *Bakſake* upon the *Caſpian* Sea; *Beallanſia*, *Kitgach*, *Sheennamara*, *Coudake*, *Caradowan*, *Actabon*; and higher upon the *Volga*, ſcattering themſelves upon the Sea-ſhore and Banks of the Rivers among the Reeds and Woods, or whereſoever they find the Climate moſt mild and beſt defence againſt the Cold, which in the Winter is in theſe Parts extremely Severe; ſo that 'tis hard to determine whether they ſuffer more from the Heat in Summer, or Cold in Winter. During which latter Seaſon they leave their Hergels or Horſes, and moſt of their greater Cattle to ſhift for themſelves in the Deſerts.

Having often had occaſion to mention the River *Jaicke* or *Yeike*, I ſhall here give a ſhort Account of what I have obſerved and learnt concerning its Riſe and Courſe. It comes from the *Calmukes* Land, where it is thought to ſpring; though ſome of the *Ruſſes* affirm its Fountains are more Remote in *Siberia*, the Southern parts of which is alſo inhabited if not poſſeſſed by the *Kalmukes*, ſome of whoſe *Uluſſes* or Hords are ſubject unto the *Muſcovites*; others in League with them: but they have ſometimes cruel Wars, and did formerly deſtroy *Tumen* with ſome other Towns and Caſtles of the *Ruſſes*, who they apprehended did incroach too faſt upon them. But to return unto the Courſe of the *Yeick*, after it hath paſſed through the *Calmukes* Country, it divides the Great *Nagoy* from *Caſſachy Horda*, and after it hath paſſed in all a Thouſand miles, throws it ſelf into the *Caſpian* Sea a little below *Seraichika*. This is a very large River, and the Land on each ſide well cloathed with Wood, Graſs, divers ſorts of Herbs and wild Fruits, and the Water full of good Fiſh; which Conveniences do oft-times invite the *Coſſacks* to make their abode there, and from thence they make Incurſions on divers parts bordering on the *Caſpian* Sea. This River, among

divers other Fiſh, doth ſo wonderfully abound with Sturgeon, that a man may ſtand upon the Bank-ſide with a Pole in hand arm'd at the end with an Iron Crook, make choice of what Sturgeon beſt pleaſeth him, which he ſhall rarely fail of taking though never ſo inexpert in Fiſhing, if he have but ſtrength or help to draw it on Land. Not far from the Mouth of the *Jaick* in the *Caſpian* Sea near the Shore, are many Coves and Corners which they call *Lapateens* and *Calmuks*, which are always full of Swans uſually ſwimming on the Sea, which are ſo numerous, that it is impoſſible to make any reaſonable Computation thereof. Theſe Swans after Midſummer every Year caſt their Feathers, a little before which time there parts from *Aſtracan* many Boats which are manned by *Ruſſes*, and moſt of them are their Youth; after a paſſage of five hundred miles they arrive at theſe places which the Swans moſtly haunt, and having filled their Boats with Swans Skins and Feathers, they return unto *Aſtracan*, where a great Trade is driven with the *Perſians* who give ordinarily a Dollar apiece for theſe Skins.

The next Countrey unto the Great *Nagoy* towards the Eaſt is *Caſſachy Horda*, which hath, as I ſaid, on the Weſt the *Jaick*, by which it is divided from the Great *Nagoy*. On the North the *Kalmuks*, North-Eaſt the *Turgeach*, or *Turgench-Tartars*, and to the South the *Caſpian* Sea and *Caragans*, who inhabit on the North-Eaſt-ſide of the *Caſpian* Sea. Theſe *Caſſachy Tartars* march up and down the Country much after the manner of the *Nagoys*. They have frequent Wars with the *Kalmuks* and *Turgeachians*; but ſeldome with either *Nagoys* or *Caragans*. Only after the manner of moſt other *Tartars*, they will clandeſtinely ſteal even from thoſe Neighbours with whom they have the moſt uninterrupted and profound Peace.

Caſſachy Horda is altogether Deſart, excepting ſome Woods Northward, bordering upon the *Kalmuks*, where there are divers ſmall Rivers which empty themſelves into the *Jaick*; which River is alſo in moſt places bordered with Woods unto its Entrance into the *Caſpian* Sea. And therefore the Inhabitants may well be named *Caſſachy Horda*, or wild People, as the Name imports: They ſow no ſort of Corn, their chief Food being Horſe-fleſh and Mares milk; which is alſo common to divers other Nations of the *Tartars*.

On the North of *Caſſachy Horda* dwell the *Kalmuke Tartars*, if ſuch a life as they lead may be called dwelling. The Country they inhabit deſerves a better People, the Land abounding with all things neceſſary for a Comfortable ſubſiſtence. This Country hath ſtore of Sables, Martens, Black Foxes, Squerrils, and ſeveral other ſorts of Furs, which they Exchange with the *Ruſſes* for Aqua-vitæ, Mead, Tobacco, and other Commodities. This Country hath ſome Towns, as *Siberia*, the Head of a Province of the ſame Name, and *Tumeen*, both which the *Ruſſes* have gained from them: *Ouffa*, *Wadle*, *Sellona*, *Lucomoria*, which latter place, they ſay, is ſituated upon a Cold Sea. But *Ouffa* is a midland Town, 500 miles from *Caſſan* which is near the *Volga*. The *Kalmuks* are accounted good Souldiers, being kept in continual Exerciſe by the *Muſcovites* on the one ſide, the *Nagoyans* and *Caſſachy-Horda* on the other. Their unmarried Women do not only accompany the Men unto the Wars, but are ſaid to be little inferiour unto the Men in Skill and Valour, ſhooting almoſt as ſtrongly and dexterouſly as the men, from whom they cannot be diſtinguiſh'd by their Garb, being apparelled and riding much after the ſame manner: Both Men and Women in all their Expeditions ſeldome carry along with them fewer than five or ſix Horſes apiece. I cannot preciſely determine what their Religion is, but I do perceive by Converſe with them, that they have a more favourable Opinion of the Chriſtians than of the Mahumetans, or of ſome of their fellow *Ethnicks*; for if I miſtake not, they are Heathens, I not being able to diſcern among them any Religious Worſhip, excepting ſome kind of Adoration which they pay unto the Sun and Moon. They have a very peculiar kind of Diet; for beſides Horſe-fleſh, which is a great Dainty, they ſcruple not to eat Snakes, Adders, Foxes, and indeed even Carrion of divers ſorts of Creatures, ſuch Food as to *Europeans* would be intollerable, even in the greateſt Famine. They wear a kind of Caps or Hats which are called by the *Muſcovites*, *Coudpackes*, open before and behind, with broad Brims on each ſide. And thereupon they are called by the other *Tartars*, *Calmuks*.

Eaſtward

Eaſtward from theſe *Calmucks*, inclining unto the South towards *China*, live the *Jurgeachians*, ſo named from their chief Town, which ſome call *Jurgeach*, others *Jurgeneh*: Of which Country I cannot ſay ſo much as concerning the former, having never been therein but once; for in the Year 1620. there being great Wars in *Jurgeach*, between the *Chan* or King, and the *Myrſa* his Son; ſome of the *Nagoy Tartars* hearing thereof, invaded the Country, who whilſt they were united, durſt not peep out of their own Borders, the *Jurgeachians* being a numerous and warlike People. Theſe *Nagoys* were all Volunteers, who went without any Command from their own Prince, or Allowance from the *Muſcovites*, without whoſe conſent by mutual Agreement they are not permitted to War. The News of their Expedition being brought unto *Aſtracan*, the *Voyvod* who had not long before made a League with the *Jurgeachians*, ſent out *Allye* (I ſuppoſe his true Name was *Ali* or *Hali*) *Myrſa* a *Tartarian* Prince, with a Thouſand of his own Subjects, and Five Hundred *Ruſſes*, all Horſe. We were 20 days marching before we came to the Borders of *Jurgeach* from *Aſtracan*; whence we proceeded 10 days journey, the Country through which we paſſed being miſerably ravaged by the aforeſaid *Nagoys*. At the end of which 30 days by a reaſonable Computation, 'twas judged we were diſtant from *Aſtracan* at leaſt 1000 miles; about which time we overtook them in the Valley of *Ougogura*, having got from the *Jurgeachians* an innumerable company of Cattle of divers ſorts, as Horſe, Kine, Camels and Sheep. We took all their Booty from them; and as a further puniſhment for their Riot, took away their own ſupernumerary Horſes, leaving them only a Horſe a Man for to convey them home. Then *Ally Myrſa* divided the Spoil, half he beſtowed upon thoſe who did accompany him, and ſent the remainder for a Preſent unto the *Voyvod*, returning nothing unto the *Jurgeachians*, becauſe they were taken from Thieves. In the mean while the Prince of *Jurgeach* in a pitcht Battel overthrew his Father, took him Priſoner, put out both his Eyes, and cauſed himſelf to be Crowned King. He had a younger Brother, whom fearing that in time he might occaſion ſome Inſurrection, he gave Command unto ſome of his Creatures, that they ſhould ſtrangle him, and bring his Head: But divers of the Nobles, by whoſe means he obtained the Soveraignty, gaining intelligence thereof, would not permit his Order to be put in execution; but ſeizing on the Child, ſent him unto the Emperour of *Muſcovy*, with whom he remained when I was laſt at *Aſtracan*.

But I muſt return from the *Jurgeachians* unto the *Caragans*, whom I have left behind, and they do more immediately refer unto my promiſe, which was to give an Account of all the Nations and Countries incompaſſing the *Caſpian* Sea.

The Country of the *Caragans* occupies moſt of that vaſt ſpace, which interceeds between the River *Teike* and the Dominions of the *Ousbegs*, or *Tartars* of *Bouchara*, and their Territory ſurrounds the North-Eaſt corner of the *Caſpian* Sea, proceeding Southwards unto the River *Jaxartes*; and ſome Hords of the ſaid People do inhabit between the ſaid River and the *Oxus*, which divides the *Tartars* of *Bochara* and the *Caragans*, from the *Perſians* and the *Tartars* of *Balk*. This Country of the *Caragans* is very deſart and barren; the People miſerably Poor; their Houſes are wretched Huts, the greateſt part under ground; they are very tawny and ill-favour'd; their Habitations are ſcatter'd, ſcarcely deſerving the Name of Villages: And they have no Town, as I have been informed, beſides *Precoſſannes*, which is ſituated on the South-ſide of the *Jaxartes*, near the *Caſpian* Sea; which whilſt I dwelt in *Aſtracan*, was by ſurprize taken by the *Coſſacks*, but they had little cauſe to brag of their Victory, finding little booty therein; and the *Caragans* gath'ring together, beat them out with great loſs of Men, forcing them to retire into an Iſland two or three Leagues from the Land, which they poſſeſs unto this day, no Nation being able, or elſe not caring to un-neſt them, although *Tartars*, *Perſians*, and *Muſcovites*, do continually ſuffer by their Depredations.

Towards the Eaſt and by South of the *Caragans*, dwell the *Tartars* of *Bochara*, who are by divers called *Tusbegs*. The Country which they poſſeſs is better watred, and more fertile than moſt of the preceeding, and there is great reſort of Merchants from divers Parts unto them, eſpecially *Perſians*, *Muſcovites*, and ſeveral Nations of *Indians*, as *Moguls*, *Bontans*, with many others, whoſe Names I cannot recollect. I have been

also told, That the *Chineses* do sometimes trade with them. I am perswaded, that this is the famed Kingdom of *Cataye*; for the *Carayans* are a sort of *Tartars*, and I know no other *Tartars* between this Country and *China*. *Caragan* lieth from them to the North-West; *Urgenshe* due North; *China* to the East; the *Tartars* of *Balk* to the South; and the *Persians* South and by West; and the *Caspian* Sea duly West. They are almost continually in Wars with the *Persians*.

The next Country I am to describe is *Persia*, in which Land I was never, excepting once, in that part thereof which borders upon the *Comukes*; but I have conversed with several *Persian* Merchants at *Astracan*, who came by Shipping from *Gilan*, which when the Wind is very fair and good, they sail in two or three days and Nights. They wear Turbants like the *Turks*, and so do the *Bouchars*. Therefore not having seen much of *Persia*, nor having sufficiently informed my self concerning it, I shall pass through it unto the *Comukes* Land, of which I have obtained more perfect knowledge both by War and Traffick. This Country is bounded on the South by *Persia*, on the East by the *Caspian* Sea; Westward by *Circassia*; and on the North by the River of *Tumeine*; on which stands a Town of the same Name, from which unto *Chabamate*, the most Northerly Habitation of *Persia*, is 600 miles A great part of this Country, especially Westward, is very mountainous; I could never learn where it doth exactly Terminate. *I* have been in four of their Towns: The first is *Tarkee*, where *Gilar*, whom they own for their Prince, doth ordinarily reside. The second is *Derbeine*, in the Mountains. The third *Derevena*, in the same mountainous Tract. The fourth *Kossa*, upon a River of the same Name, not far from the place where it empties it self into the *Caspian* Sea. These *Comukes* are proper Men and very couragious; and that which makes them more daring and adventurous than most *Tartars*, is the goodness of their Horses, and the advantage of their Arms, both offensive and defensive; for they seldome engage in Wars without Helmets, Jacks of Steel, Shirts of Mail, and Targets, which excepting those times wherein they fight, hang behind their backs, being very light, and not very large, and therefore not cumbersome. They have, as other *Tartars*, both Bows and Cymetars, and withal never go without Lances, which they use with great strength and dexterity. In their Apparel they differ little from the *Circassians*; but as for Religion, they are generally *Mahumetans*, and their Language is in substance the same with other *Tartars*, their vicinity unto the *Persians*, *Muscovites* and *Sheercasses*, having somewhat disguised it. The Countrey they inhabit abounds with Wood; part of it is hilly, with small pleasant Valleys between the Hillocks; and in some places, especially towards *Persia*, and thence into the Land, it hath many great and almost inaccessible Mountains, by reason of their heighth and steepness. This Land was reduced under the Government of the *Russes* many years ago, after the ensuing manner: *Evan Vossilywich* being *Czar* or Emperour of *Russia*, after he had taken *Cassan* and *Astracan*, sent part of his Army into *Circassia*, where they took in *Tumeine*. Another Body entred the *Comukes* Country, and possessed themselves of *Derevena*, *Derbeine*, *Tarkee* and *Kossa*. The *Russe* Emperour constituted a *Voyvod*, whom he ordered to reside in *Tarkee*, and left with him 10000 Men; he ordered also at the same time another considerable Brigade to stay at *Coissa*, where he left a great number of Boats and other Vessels, who had brought supplies of Men and Provisions from *Mosco*, and other Parts of his Dominions. And having, as he apprehended, secured his new Conquests, he returned unto *Mosco*: Immediately after his retreat, the *Comukes* gather'd their whole Force, and set down before the Town of *Tarkee*, which after a vigorous resistance they took, and in it with the *Voyvod*, several Officers of divers Nations, whom with the common Souldiers they sold unto the *Circassians*, *Tartars*, and other neighb'ring Nations, so that few were ever afterwards recover'd. From *Tarkee* they marched unto *Kossa*, which by the instruction of Captives they did pretty regularly besiege and assault, and after some repulses took it by storm, kill'ing all the *Russes*, excepting such as escaped in the Ships and Boats which lay before the Town. The *Russe* Emperour being speedily informed of these Successes, immediately raised a great Army, with which he ordered all the *Cossacks* between the *Don* and *Volga*, unto the River of *Tumeine*, to joyn his Forces, and assist them, in order unto the recovery of what he had lost, and utter extirpation of the *Comukes*: Who hearing how highly the *Czar* was exasperated, and how great a Force was ready to invade them, they began to be solicitous about the Event; and having consulted

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together agreed to make ſome kind of ſubmiſſion, and ſue for pardon and peace. Whereupon they ſent Ambaſſadors unto *Temeine*, where the *Ruſſe* Army was encamped; and after a Treaty with the *Czar*'s Plenipotentaries, they agreed upon theſe Articles, That the *Comukes* ſhould reſtore the Towns they had taken, and aid the Emperour with ſuch a number of Souldiers, as he ſhould require, againſt any Enemy whatſoever, whereunto their Heads being Sworn, they have inviolably obſerved the Agreement unto this day. But it's time we take our leave of *Gildar*, Prince of *Terki*, and his *Comukes*, and proceed into *Sherca ſſen* Land, part of which as I hinted before, lyes upon the Black Sea, and extends it ſelf unto the *Caſpian*.

This ſide of *Circaſſia* which borders upon the *Caſpian* Sea, is a very plentiful Countrey; and as for Fiſh, it is ſo wonderfully plentiful, that in *Tumeine* you may ordinarily purchaſe a good Sturgeon for two pence, and ſometimes for a penny; a moſt prodigious quantity of Fiſh being taken in the River of the *Weſtra*, and about the Iſland of *Chekiene*, which is off at Sea not far from *Tumeine*. On the main Land, over againſt this Fiſhery, 4 miles above the River of *Terike*, there is a great Well, made by a Spring, which falls from a Rock, on the ſide of a great Hill, and immediately fills this Little Lake, which whether it is Natural or Artificial, *I* know not. The Water of this Lake is ſo ſcalding hot, that the Fiſhers flinging in their Sturgeon or other Fiſh, it is in a ſhort time boyled, as if over a fire, the heat being ſo intenſe, that no Man can detain his hand in it for a moment; from which ſtrange Quality it derives its Name, being called by the *Ruſſes*, *Goracha Colloda*, or the Scalding Well.

I ſhall conclude my Diſcourſe with a ſhort Account of the Little *Nagoy*, or of that part thereof which confines upon the *Caſpian*; for all that ſpace between *Tumeine* and *Aſtracan*, is by many aſcribed unto the *Nagoy Tartars*. I did before declare, That the Little *Nagoy* is for the moſt part a wide waſte Deſart, the worſt of which is all that Tract which lyeth between *Tumeine* and *Aſtracan*. Theſe *Tartars* have no Town but only *Aſſhoma*, which is not properly theirs, though lying in their Countrey, being poſſeſſed by the *Turks*.

There is a ſort of people in this Countrey, whom the *Tartars* call *Sigakes*; I could never learn what their language is, or from what Place or Nation they proceed; nor could *I* underſtand after what manner they live, whether they have any Religion, or Civil Government. Their chief Subſiſtance is what they gain from the *Tartars*; for they gather ſomtimes 2 or 3000, and rob the ſmaller Hords of the *Tartars*, and thoſe which are moſt remote from help. But ſometimes the *Tartars* diſcovering the place of their Retreat or Rendevous, ſurround them with their Carts, and then fall in, cut them all off, never giving Quarter unto any; no Crime being ſo ſeverly puniſhed amongſt the *Tartars*, as Thievery; which makes me apprehend, that theſe *Sigakes* are ſome of their own people, who formerly deſerted them upon ſome extraordinary occaſion: But whatſoever is the reaſon, they do moſt irreconcileably hate each the other.

The moſt noted Places on that ſide the Little *Nagoy*, which regards the *Caſpian* Sea, and lye all along the Coaſt from *Tumeine* to *Aſtracan*, are *Sheerlona Yeare* (where I was firſt taken Priſoner by the *Tartars*) *Peremetka*, *Arſi Baſh*, *Moyacke*, *Bealla Oſhera Baſhmackake*, *Kaboylly Machakoſiska*, *Choſtoway*, and ſo over the *Volga* unto *Aſtrachan*.

And to conclude all, *I* ſhall here enumerate all the Places on the Coaſt near *Aſtracan*, which have Names that are conſiderable for Havens, Trade, Fiſhing, or any other remarkable Circumſtance. *Soteeza Bockgra*, *Vcuſlowa Coſſa*, *Beeruliska Coſſa*, *Ewanſhoiska Coſſa*, *Semmne Bogaroffe*, *Tuſſocleoff Lapateene*, *Chaska Coſſa*, *Croſna Bogore*, *Cockloviska Coſſa*, *Owarska Coſſa*, *Comaſhaska Coſſa*, *Colloberinska Coſſa*, *Cockabow*, *Buſſaniska Lapaten*, *Kara Buſſan*; which laſt place is not far from *Sheene Mare*, which *I* have formerly mentioned.

I cannot ſo exactly tell the Circumference of the *Caſpian*, as of the Black Sea, having been only on the North and Weſt ſide; but howſoever I ſhall from what I have ſeen and learnt from experienced perſons, be enabled to approach very near unto the Truth.

The Diſtance between *Aſtracan* and the *Jaick*, is 500 miles; from thence unto the Confines of *Bochara* 500 miles: From *Jaxartes* to *Perſia*, and thence unto *Gilan* is, according unto my Information, 1100 miles. From *Gilan* unto *Koiſa* 500 miles: From

thence unto *Astracan* as much; in all, 3100 miles. But if any person should endeavour by Land to Travel round this Sea, or in a Voyage by Sea follow the Coast, he would make at least a Thousand miles more: for this Sea is full of great Gulphs, Bays, and broken ground; so that the Calculation I make, is upon a direct passage by Sea, suppose from *Astracan* to *Gilan*, from thence to the *Oxus*, from the *Oxus* to the great North-East Bay, into which the River *Jem* falls, which is full of Islands and broken Grounds, Shelves, Sand and Shallow Water; and from thence back to *Astracan*.

Having presented your Lordship with a short but true Account of those Countries encompassing and lying between the two forementioned *Mediterranean* Seas, I shall no less briefly and faithfully declare by what Accidents *I* came unto this Knowledge: which cost me so dear, that *I* suppose the most inquisitive person would not purchase the gratification of his Curiosity at a far less Expence of time and trouble, than *I* have imployed (though often against my will) in my Travels and Enquires.

I was born *Ireland*, yet of *English* Extract: my Family Noble, but my Estate not corresponding with my Quality, being ambitious, and withal naturally inclined to see Forraign Countries, I hoped to Raise my Fortune by my Sword. After *I* left *Ireland*, before *I* had been long in *England*, an opportunity presenting it self, I engaged in the Service of the King of *Sweden*, who had then Wars with the *Muscovites*; having given some Considerable proofs of my Courage, I was gradually raised unto a Considerable Command; but being engaged too far in a Body of the Enemies, I was unhappily taken Prisoner by the *Russes*, and carried Prisoner unto *Plescow*, then in their possession, having at the same time Arrears due unto me from the *Swede* above 5000 Dollars. The *Swedes* taking no care for my Enlargement, being willing, I suppose, to save so great a Sum of Money, as at my Return *I* should have challenged: after Three years close Imprisonment, I was protered Liberty by the *Muscovite*, upon condition I would faithfully serve him against all his Enemies; whereunto assenting, I was sent unto *Moscow*, and there before the Chancellor sworn a *Tolmack*, and preferred unto a Command little inferiour unto what I enjoyed before. And the *Poles* advancing towards *Moscow* with a great Army, fearing lest I should go over unto them, I was sent unto *Astracan* where I remained 10 years, being continually Employed against the *Tartars* and *Circassians*. By which means I came to know *Pettigor*, *Sneesnagor*, *Shadgore*, *Cabardye*, and the Great and Little *Nagoy*, the *Comukes*, the *Tartars* of *Cassen*, the *Kalmukes*, *Cassachi*, *Horda*, *Caragans*, *Ungensh*, and *Usbeg Tartars*. During which Wars, I conflicted with great difficulties and hardship; in making long Journies, faring hardly: Nor was it a small labour to make floates in order unto our passing over the great Rivers *I* have mentioned, to say nothing of the Danger. Besides, we run great hazards in our Journeying over those waste wide howling Desarts, which on every side surrounded us; frequently wanting provisions, and somtimes Guides; so that had we failed never so little in our Conjectures, we had all perished. After Ten years hard Service, in my Return from Conveying *Shollohofe Knez* into *Shercassen* Land, I was taken Prisoner by the *Tartars* of the Little *Nagoy*, and by them carried unto *Assowa* upon the Mouth of the *Tana* or *Don*. There I was sould unto a *Precopensian Tartar*, who carried me along with him towards *Crim*: But upon the shallow Waters I very happily made my Escape. I had little Knowledge of the Country, but having formerly understood by our *Cossacks* at *Astracan*, that great Bodies of the same name, mortal Enemies unto the *Tartars*, dwelt upon the *Nepper* not far beyond *Crim*; by the help of the Sun and Stars, I journeyed due West many days without any disastrous Adventure, until I found them; who gave me a very kind reception: In this escape *I* traversed almost the whole Desart of *Ingile* and *Ungule*. *Doroscusko* who then Commanded all the *Cossacks* upon the the *Nepper*, immediately made me a *Poskofucke*, from which time for the space of almost two years, I did accompany them in divers expeditions, in which we visited most of those Countries which lye upon the Black Sea, to the no small vexation and loss of the Inhabitants. We kept a Correspondence with the *Cossacks* upon the *Don*, and frequently assisted each other. And being all Foot, and the Country exactly level, we travelled surrounded with Wagons (which they call a Tabor) for fear of the *Tartars* who often set upon us, but were as often repulsed, we being well accommodated with Fire-Arms and small Field-pices, which the *Tartars* do exceedingly fear and will not ordinarily attempt closely, unless they have greatly the Odds in Number. But at length

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it was my ill Fortune between the *Nepper* and the *Don* to be again taken by the *Tartars*, and by them carried into *Crim*, where I lived long in great miſery, and was at length ſould unto a *Timariot Spahi* living in *Anadoule*, (*Anatolia* or *Aſia minor*) with whom I lived 5 years, but in more eaſie ſervitude than among the *Tartars*. And to make my ſervice leſs irkſome, my Maſter beſtowed on me a *Wallachian* Woman, whom I received for my Wife, though without the uſuall Solemnities of Marriage, which are practiſed among Chriſtians: Underſtanding at length that a Lord Ambaſſador was reſident at *Conſtantinople* in behalf of the King of *Great Brittian*, and to manage the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Nation in *Turkey*, I prevailed with my Maſter, whoſe Favour I had gained to grant me my freedom, together with my Wives, if I ſhould procure an hundred Dollars. Whereupon he diſmiſſed me in the company of a *Turk* his Friend, who upon my humble ſupplicacion unto your Lordſhip receiving the formetioned Sum, did in the behalf of his Friend before the *Cady* make me free, and leave the Woman alſo at my Diſpoſal. At the ſame time I very happily met with ſome *Vallachian* Gentlemen, who were ſent on a Meſſage from their *Vayvod* unto the *Grand Seignor*, They gladly received my Woman, and took her along with them, promiſing upon their Return into their own Country, to Reſtore her unto her Parents.

Now that I may fully ſatiſfie your Lordſhip, that *I* had really viſited all thoſe Countries which I have mentioned, *I* beſeech your Lordſhip let your Interpreter try me in thoſe Languages wherein he is skilled; and as for others wherewith he is not acquainted, I am ready to converſe with any of thoſe Nations whom I pretend to know. For although I have never converſed much with Books, yet my great Travel accompanied with a pretty good Memory, will ſufficiently Qualifie me to paſs through the Countries I ſhall hereafter mention.

To begin my Progreſs from *Conſtantinople*, *I* can paſs over from *Scutery*, and thence by the help of my *Tukiſh* Language paſs through all *Anatolia*; Thence leaving *Armenia* on my right hand, and having the *Black Sea* on the left, go through *Georgia*, *Mingrellia*, *Abaſſa*, and *Sherceſſen* Land with the ſame Tongue, and another, which with little variation is common unto them all. Thence into the *Comukes* Countrey, who are a ſort of *Tarters* and do agree with others of the ſame name in ſpeech, as indeed moſt *Tartars* do; only they who are *Mahumetans*, and converſe much with the *Turks*, uſe divers *Arabick* and *Turkiſh* words whereunto the Heathen *Tartars* are ſtrangers: From *Comukes* Land I can paſs into *Perſia*, but *I* am not ſo well acquainted with their Country and Language, as *I* have elſewhere acknowledged. Therefore to return unto *Conſtantinople*, I can proceed from thence unto *Romellia*, or *Romania*, through *Wallachy*, *Bealla Horda*, *Crim*, the Great *Deſart* I have ſo often mentioned of *Ingell* and *Ungull*, the little *Nagoy*, ſo over the *Vogal* unto *Aſtracan*; thence through the Great *Nagoy*, and leaving the *Caſpian* on my Right hand into the *Caragans* Country, and ſo through *Boghar* into *Perſia*. *I* can alſo by my knowledg of the Languages peculiar unto the following Countries traverſe all *Ireland*, *England*, *Norway*, *Sweeden*, *Finland*, *Leifland*, *Poland*, *Ruſſia*, *Mordwa*, *Sheremiſſa*, *Caſſan*, *Kalmukes* Land, *Caſſachy Horda*, *Yurgench*, and leaving *China* on the left hand through *Bochara* into *Perſia*.

And now, Sir, nothing remains, But that I make moſt humble and hearty acknowledgment of your great Generoſity and Chriſtian Charity, in delivering a Stranger out of Captivity, wherein I had Otherwiſe continued without hope of ſeeing my Friends or Country. And were I as expert at my Pen, as I have heretofore been at managing a Sword, *I* would by Conſigning my Travels to Writing, leave behind me a laſting Monument of your Fame: But being for want of Learning and by long Diſuſe of my Mother Tongue rendered unfit for ſuch a Work, I ſhall whereſoever *I* come proclaim your Worthineſs, and continually pray unto the Omnipotent GOD to return your Kindneſs into your Boſome a Thouſand fold. And ſhall ever remain, during Life,

Your Faithful Slave,

Aſtrachan.

FINIS.

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